File

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

P. O. BOX 806, DILLON, SOUTH CAROLINA

A Book Compiled by
RALPH E. COUSINS, Marion
JOSEPH R. HORN, III, Florence
LARRY A. JACKSON, Florence
JOHN S. LYLES, Marion
JOHN B. MORRIS, Dillon

October 22, 1957

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman
Federal Court Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Enclosed is a copy of the new book, South Carolinians Speak, sent to you with the compliments of its compilers.

The general purpose of the book, as explained in the Preface, is to promote a moderate position on race relations in our State. Since you are one of the primary leaders of the people of South Carolina, we sincerely hope that you will understand and respect such moderate approaches as this book sets forth. Your influence and action in seeking equitable solutions of this difficult situation are a heavy responsibility. We pray that God will strengthen you for providing the leadership these crucial times require.

Assuring you of the deep concern of each of the compilers and writers for the welfare and progress of our State, I remain

Faithfully yours,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN AND WESTERN DISTRICTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C.

CHAMBERS OF
GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN
DISTRICT JUDGE

October 29, 1957

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I thank you for a copy of "South Carolinians Speak". It came to my office while I was away holding court in another city.

I have only read the preface. I judge that it discloses the purpose of the book and the motive of those who originated the idea of its publication.

The preface manifests the authors' opinion that the social order in South Carolina and throughout the South is ill; that the cure for the sickness is a complete change in the social order that has prevailed in the United States since colonial days. It is also quite manifest in the preface that its authors feel that immediate racial integration is the sure cure for what is termed the "sickness of society". With this view I completely disagree, although I agree that the authors of the preface are entitled to their opinions. However, all those who honestly believe that racial integration is the salvation of our social order should first try it out on their own families before attempting to force it on the families of others.

Personally I think that the most condemnatory evidence against our social order is the presence among our population of too many mulattoes. The cure for this social sickness is not more, but less of it.

To my way of thinking there is no middle ground on the issue of racial integration. It cannot be both right and wrong. To integrate is either all right or all wrong. I believe that God knew what He was doing when He created the races and separated them, just as I believe He knew what He was doing when He created the beasts of the fields and the birds and gave them the instinct to live apart.

One of my earliest recollections is of being taught by my parents that God made me. I still believe that He made me as He wanted me to be - white. All the enemies of our system of government - a government that no functionary has the power to change - can not alter that conviction or

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, S. C.

10/29/57 #2

inveigle me into an attempt to play God. Too many of our churchmen and public officials have been carried to the mountain top and have been tempted, and have succumbed.

I resent the implication in your preface that men and women who oppose the mongrelization of the races are bigoted and intolerant, or that they are bent on a course of discrimination against negroes. Such is not a part of the creed of white men and women who are loyal to themselves, their families, their race, their communities and to their nation, and, above all, loyalty to the God that made them as they are. Whether you know it or not there are millions of white citizens in the United States - many of them in the North - who believe that the talent of race was given to be used for improvement, not to be hidden or profaned. Moreover, they are firmly convinced that, if God made a mistake in creating the races and in separating them, Christ knew about it and would have corrected it while He was on earth; that so important a matter would not have been left for the infiltraters of our seminaries to discover and correct.

In a word, these millions of good white citizens, who have helped the negro race upward since Northern greed placed it in the South, and are willing to continue doing so, do not want the United States of America to become a modern Egypt, Portugal, Spain or Brazil. The lessons of history should be heeded.

Sincerely yours,

George Bell Timmerman

The News and Courier
South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper
104 CHARLESTON, S. C., SUNDAY, JANUARY 5, 1958

Clearing The Air

Elsewhere on this page today appears a letter by the Rev. John B. Morris, rector of St. Barnabas Protestant Episcopal Church at Dillon. Mr. Morris is one of five clergymen who sponsored publication of a book called "South Carolinians Speak," presenting several viewpoints about racial separation, especially with respect to public schools.

In his letter to The News and Courier, Mr. Morris unequivocally expresses opposition to integrating public schools in the "Deep South." For this clear statement we are grateful. We believe it helps to clear the air. Surely it makes easier discussion of other aspects of race relations in this region.

The News and Courier time and again has said there are many avenues for improving opportunities for Negro citizens once it is understood that these avenues do not include mingling the races in public schools. We are thoroughly aware of the mutual dependence of the races on one another. We sympathize with the humanitarian motives of some persons with whose judgment on details we may disagree. If it is generally accepted that mingling the schools will not serve the best interests of either race, Southerners can iron out differences of opinion and proceed without further interruption to develop the well-being of all the citizens.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Race Moderates

To The News and Courier:

I have procured a copy of "The Lasting South" which you have editorially commended several times recently. It is an excellent book and, as you have indicated, should be read by every Southerner concerned for the future of this region. It should serve to inform persons outside of the South on the nature of Southern society, and thus gain more understanding for the complexities of our race problem, and it should remind Southerners of the qualities of our region which are primary and which are to be preserved because they are good. A phrase from this book, as quoted by Anthony Harrigan in your review of it, most aptly sums up the message of "The Lasting South" for Southerners today: ". . . what must be preserved is not the way of life, but the tone of life. . .

In an editorial recently (December 21, 1957) you say that there are "cracks in the defense" of Southern "mass resistance" to integration and you indicate that "clergymen, educators and editors" have some responsibility for this.

Allow me to suggest that these professional people, in all instances known to me, have an appreciation for the "tone" of Southern life and will strive to preserve it. At the same time many of them look dubiously upon the spirit of massive resistance as offered us by political leaders.

Speaking for myself alone I can say that I do not think it would be wise to integrate public schools in the "deep South". However, we should not let our maintenance of this position deter us from the progress that was being made in race relations prior to the Supreme Court decision. With proper planning, desegregation of public transportation and graduate school facilities would accord Negro citizen the equal rights they are due.

It is not only persons from certain professions who believe that the best qualities of "the lasting South" do not lend support to extreme segregationist ideas and "massive resistance". I have talked with hundreds of leading citizens of South Carolina, persons prominent in the business and civic life of the State, and found nearly all of them to be moderate in their views on the race issue. These persons who most often appreciate the "tone of life" in the South have readily deplored the "way of life" offered us by extremists on either side, including "mass resistance".

Rev. JOHN B. MORRIS
(Pastor, St. Barnabas Episcopal Church)

Dillon.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

P. O. BOX 806, DILLON, SOUTH CAROLINA

A Book Compiled by
RALPH E. COUSINS, Marion
JOSEPH R. HORN, III, Florence
LARRY A. JACKSON, Florence
JOHN S. LYLES, Marion
JOHN B. MORRIS, Dillon

January 10, 1958

The Honorable George Bell Timmerman
United States District Court
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your thorough letter of last October 29th. The press of work relative to the issuance of our book is [redacted]t now letting me reply to some of the [redacted]mmunications we received - both pro and con. JUST MANY

In your letter you state a very complete case for one approach to the race problem and I respect your right to hold and express these views. While we would differ on some points, we actually would not have the divergence of outlook which you suggest.

I am enclosing a clipping from this past Sunday's Charleston NEWS & COURIER which provides some indication of my own personal views on the [redacted] issue. In reference to the public schools I have made it even clearer elsewhere that I do not think it would be wise to integrate public schools in the "deep South" - now or in the foreseeable future. RACE

Thanking you again for your letter, I am

Yours sincerely,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

CHAMBERS OF
GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN
DISTRICT JUDGE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

EASTERN AND WESTERN DISTRICTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C.

January 14, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806,
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 10 and a clipping from The Charleston News and Courier that accompanied your letter.

The clipping contains a letter written by you to The News and Courier, apparently for publication. I have noted in it a few statements that appear to me to be significant. I shall quote and comment on two or three of them since they seem to point up the main differences in our thinking.

You say, "I do not think it would be wise to integrate schools in the 'deep South'". What I would say is, that white and negro children should not be forced to mix in public schools or elsewhere.

Your statement, taken in or out of context, implies that you do not oppose mixing in public schools in places other than the "deep South". There we part company.

At one time the proponents of the mixing movement professed to be interested solely in improving educational advantages for negro children. Now it is generally conceded that the real goal is the integration of the races. To use a more understandable phrase, the purpose of the movement is to mongrelize the races.

According to my religious philosophy God made the races and set them apart, one from another. It is not within the competency of any person to question or condemn what God did, or to attempt to correct what He did.

Frankly, I am afraid to mock God, as the integrationists seem not to be.

Why He did so, I do not profess to know, but I do know that God made the races different. It is apparent to anyone who will look that there are marked ethnic and physical differences among the races, and none more marked than those between the white and negro races.

I note your agreement that, "With proper planning, desegration of public transportation and graduate school facilities

would accord Negro citizens the equal rights they are due". That assumption of the negro's rights implies superiority. It suggests that a white person has no right to object to what a negro demands, but that what a white person demands may be successfully objected to by a negro - a strange brand of equality. The ardent integrationists, certainly those who are such for pay, would condemn your proposal as being too slow an approach to ultimate mongrelization. I agree that so limited it would materially slow the movement.

The concluding paragraph of your letter to The News and Courier very clearly implies that you oppose "massive resistance" to racial integration.

If I favored racial integration, I most certainly would disapprove any opposition to it, whether it was massive, moderate or mild. In other words, racial integration is either right or wrong, and it makes no difference whether the attempt to bring it about is at the point of a bayonet or by the evil persuasion of subsidized propaganda. Consequently, every good citizen should be on one side or the other. Where the choice is between right and wrong, between condemning God and praising Him, there is no respectable middle ground.

> "He that is not with me is against me;
> and he that gathereth not with me scattereth
> abroad."

Sincerely yours,

George Bell Timmerman

COPY

January 17, 1958

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman
United States District Court
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Thank you for your letter of January 14th. I am humbled by your taking the timetto write one so insignificant as I so thoroughly about your views on the race controversy. In exchanging views via this correspondence we are involved in what is probably needed most by everyone - communication. Abroad in the land is a great need of people to hear and be heard with reference to this issue. I truly believe that the Negroes would not be pushing the issue as hard if they could have the opportunity to be heard in bi-racial conferences designed just for hearing and telling.

As grateful as I am for the communication afforded each of us in this exchange of correspondence, I shall not expect a reply to this letter since I know that you are a busy man. Of course, if any of my observations prompt you to note your views I shall welcome hearing from you again. Whatever our disagreement, I respect your right to your position and "would defend to the death your right" to hold it.

While it is not stated in your letter it would appear to me that your position carried logically forth would result in a "White Supremist" outlook. Forgive me if I am wrong in seeing the potentiality of this in some of your observations. While believing, as noted in the clipping I sent you with my last letter, that segregation is the best thing for public schools in the "deep South", I cannot accept the position generally indicated as White Supremist. I believe that it is the outlook and rigid unbending in any area whatsoever that will harm the South most in its fight to handle its own problems. We stand a chance of convincing the bar of public opinion across the nation of the wisdom of public school segregation. But White Supremist doctrine will only hasten a trend fostered by the NAACP - total integration - and we will lose our case before the nation and before the courts. If, on the other hand, we could prove our "good faith" in accomodating the few talented Negroes who rise above the average of their race, we would stand a better chance of preserving public school segregation honorably.

I beg, sir, if we would preserve the good qualities of Southern living, not to require that all Southerners be totally "with" you or, if not, thereby "against" you. There is a "respectable middle ground", I believe, and I have talked with hundreds of leading South Carolinians who stand there. Let us agree to stand together where we can - and honor one another where we cannot. Only in this way will our beloved South be saved much travail.

Yours faithfully,

John B. Morris

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN AND WESTERN DISTRICTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C.

CHAMBERS OF
GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN
DISTRICT JUDGE

January 21, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806,
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 17th instant.

I must confess some amazement at your repetitious use of the communist cliche, "White Supremist".

What, in your estimation, is a "White Supremist"? How does one differ from a Jew or Gentile Supremist, or from a Black, Brown or Yellow one?

I note that you see in observations contained in my letter to you a '"White Supremist' outlook". I take it, therefore, that you disagree with these observations, viz. (a) That it is now generally recognized that the purpose of the mixing movement is to integrate the races; (b) that God made the races and set them apart; (c) that it is not within the compentency of any person to question or condemn what God did, or to attempt to do so; (d) that I am afraid to mock God, as integrationists seem not to be; (e) that it is apparent that there are marked ethnic and physical differences among the races, especially between the white and negro races; (f) that I agree that "massive resistance" is proper in fighting any evil, none more so than the God defying racial mongrelization movement; and (g) that where the choice is between right and wrong, between condemning God and praising Him, there is no respectable middle ground.

With which of these observations do you disagree, with a part or all of them; and which of them indicates a "'White Supremist' outlook"?

You speak of "a chance of convincing the bar of public opinion across the nation of the wisdom of public school segregation". Do you believe that consorting with the opposition, giving aid and comfort to it, is going to accomplish that end? And why should it be accomplished, if it isn't right? If segregation is right, Why aren't you on the side of it all the way - not just a part of the way?

The Bible, God's Word, doesn't teach me to compromise with sin. What does it teach you?

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806,
Dillon, S. C.

1/21/58 #2.

In your letter you speak of "a trend fostered by the NAACP - total integration" - which will cause us to "lose our case before the nation and before the Courts". I gather from this that you realize that those who control the NAACP activities are out to integrate the races. To that extent you agree with me that the mask is off and that it is no longer to be doubted that total racial integration is the object of those who are fighting to mix our children in schools, churches and elsewhere.

And, to what do you refer as "our case", which you prophesy that we will lose before the nation and the courts? Do you mean by this prophecy that you anticipate that the Supreme Court will order us to integrate the races, that it will enjoin us from preserving the purity of our race, and that the nation will approve?

Have you ever satisfied yourself why it is that Christ did not command racial integration? Was His failure to do so an effort to cover up God's mistake in creating the races and setting them apart?

Remember Christ said:

> "He that is not with me is against me;
> and he that gathereth not with me
> scattereth abroad".

In my judgment the greatest travail that could befall the South or the nation would be racial mongrelization. Upon that issue, to me, there is no respectable middle ground for any race.

I note you say you have talked to thousands. You should talk to the tens of thousands that you have missed.

Sincerely yours,

George Bell Timmerman

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

May 30, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have received word from the Fund for the Republic that they are making a grant to the Southern Regional Council for the purchase of copies of South Carolinians Speak. Pardon me for writing to you, when the situation suggests that I should simply wait upon your order.

The reason, however, for my writing is to suggest that I personally deliver such copies as you may order on Thursday, June 5th. What with the cost of shipping and the need for adequate packing, etc., it would probably be to our advantage to make a personal delivery. I must make a trip, also, to Greenville and Spartanburg to pick up copies at the news distributors and would plan to combine this with coming to Atlanta. A further factor is my desire to investigate a matter of personal business in Atlanta. Thus, the suggestion that I bring the books in person. With a family wedding the following week and, then, a two-week session at our church's conference center in Hendersonville, the suggested date is about the only time I could accomplish all this before July.

I shall await your pleasure on this suggestion. If you prefered we could get the books to you another time and by other means.

That which I wish to investigate while in Atlanta are the graduate school facilities that might be available to me beginning the mid-year of the next academic year. I have decided to procure further background in history, sociology, or such areas as might the better equip me in the area of the Church's involvement in the Southern race controversy. I shall welcome any suggestions you might wish to make.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

John B. Morris

June 2, 1958

Mr. John B. Morris
St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 East Cleveland Street
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Morris:

I am glad you wrote about delivery of the copies of "South Carolinians Speak" which we are to acquire under the special grant from the Fund for the Republic. The only reason you have not heard from me before now was due to my absence from the office.

We would be very glad to have the copies delivered by you personally when you are in Atlanta on Thursday. As to the quantity, my understanding was that the remaining stock is approximately 2,500 copies, and the grant of $1,250 from the Fund was intended to purchase this number at the full single copy rate of .50 each. If the remaining supply is smaller than that, we will adjust the amount accordingly, since Hallock Hoffman felt that no more than the single copy rate could be paid. If this should be the case, perhaps any small surplus remaining could be applied to the expense of postage involved in distributing them. But these are matters we can work out when we see you.

At the same time, we will be glad to make any suggestions we can for the graduate school study in which you are interested.

I am glad that the Southern Regional Council can serve as the instrument for assisting the distribution of "South Carolinians Speak" and at least a partial reimbursement of the investment by your group.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

KANUGA CONFERENCES

The Episcopal Conference Center

HENDERSONVILLE, N. C.

WILLARD P. VERDUIN, Manager

P. O. Box 806
Dillon, S. C.
June 23, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of June 19th was forwarded to me here where I am spending several weeks at one of our conferences.

In the decision by Judge Lemley at Little Rock I noted in the AP account that he said he loved the South so much it was almost like a religion to him. This, as I am sure others have long since deduced, is hardly conducive to objectivity in his decision. This pattern is likely to be repeated by other Federal judges - Geo. Bell Timmerman, Sr., being a rather obvious one where he is not likely to function as jurist but as "white Supremist" in integration cases that may confront him.

The purpose in writing you is to reiterate my willingness for my correspondence with Judge Timmerman to be put to any helpful use - by the Southern Regional Council or any reputable agency. I made this clear when I was there, I believe. However, this is to say that I should be happy to personally direct the file to any appropriate agency myself if this were thought best.

I had not thought of the file having too much value as evidence of the possibly non-objectivity of Southern judges until this new decision at Little Rock. This is a battle requiring every subtle counter-attack deemed wise. You may use the file of correspondence or advise me on their possible use.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

John B. Morris

July 7, 1958

Mr. John B. Morris
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Morris:

I appreciated your letter, written from Hendersonville, a couple of weeks ago. I have delayed answering until I could explore several possible uses of the correspondence between you and Judge Timmerman. I could not agree more with your strong feeling that Judge Lemley's decision gives this insight into a Federal judge's bias particular timeliness.

It seems to me that the best possible place for this correspondence to be publicized is in the Washington Post Times-Herald. This newspaper, as you probably know, is read by everybody of importance in Washington - where the impact of the correspondence would be most useful. With this in mind, I have consulted the appropriate people on the staff of the Washington Post. They are very much interested and would be glad to do a lengthy feature article if they are sure that you are willing for them to do so. I too would want to be very sure that publication of these letters would not expose you to any adverse consequences that you have not fully considered. It is

reasonable to suppose that the publication of the letters will create quite a stir, and it is always possible that some of the animosity may be directed toward you. I do think you are in a perfectly defensible position, in that the Judge wrote you on his official stationery without any request that the correspondence be kept quiet or confidential and in such a vain as to suggest that he would gladly say these things to the whole wide world. Under normal circumstances, such correspondence may be made public with complete propriety. The only thing that would give me pause is that possibly you might be exposed to some kind of petty harrassment or reprisal.

If this possibility does not seem to you to be a likely or serious one, and you still feel as you did when you wrote me last, please write a letter to that affect to Mr. Robert E. Baker, Washington Post Times-Herald, 1515 "L" Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. I have already sent in confidence to Baker photostatic reproductions of your letters and Judge Timmerman's. It is understood that no use whatever will be made of these until a letter of release from you is received by Baker.

Since you may be needing the originals soon, I am returning them herewith. If I may, however, I would like to hold on to the remainder of the letters you sent to me earlier.

I shall look forward to hearing from you and hope you will send me a copy of any letter you may write to Robert Baker.

With appreciation and all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures (Ltrs. between Morris and Timmerman)

VIA AIR MAIL

July 7, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Here is the whole works on the Morris-Timmerman correspondence. I am enclosing Morris's last letter to me and a copy of my letter just written to Morris. As you will see, I tried to put very strongly the wisdom of his considering any and all consequences that may result from the publication of the correspondence with Timmerman.

Since I am not sure you have a copy, I am also sending separately a copy of the booklet, "South Carolinians Speak," which is what prompted the whole exchange. It occurs to me that, if you have the space, you might want to quote enough from the foreword to suggest the mild approach and tone of the booklet. This makes Timmerman's rabid reaction all the more striking.

I trust that great fun will be had by all.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - (Morris-Timmerman correspondence)

Copy

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

July 9, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Baker
WASHINGTON POST TIMES-HERALD
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

With regard to use of the correspondence between Judge Timmerman of South Carolina and myself, I give my consent for the following:

1. You may prepare and publish any form of a news story that utilizes the correspondence, in full or in part, quoted or described, but without identification of the Federal Judge involved. I may be identified if you choose and the reason for the exchange - being the fact that the Judge was sent a complimentary copy of SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK to which he replied with his first letter. Reference may be made to the correspondence being with a Federal Judge in the "deep South". It would seem that this use of the correspondence would be within the context of a story on the possibilities of ~~non-objective~~ bias in Southern courts. I am sure Mr. Fleming could furnish you with documentation of actual cases where the Judges has been more "Southern" than jurist. However, any story or its subject is not my business.

2. You may share the letters, together with the identity of Judge Timmerman, with any persons who would be effective in using this information in the Justice department as a guide for knowing what some Southern judges are like. This should be on a confidential basis and not for publication.

If you would prefer to utilize the correspondence and identify Judge Timmerman, I would like to write him and ask his permission to give a release on the corresoondence which I would say was already with you. I would suggest to him that I am sure both he and I stand by what we said in our letters and, since he has expressed himself partially in public addresses, I would hope that he wouldn't mind the correspondence being released, etc. I doubt that I would receive a reply from such a request, and then might consider myself bound to maintain a confidence on personal correspondence as far as his identity went. On the other hand, he just might write and proclaim that he had no secrets and what he had said to me he would say to the world.

The position I have taken here is a little more reserved than what I first suggested to Mr. Fleming I was willing to adopt. My wife's sensitivity to the release of personal correspondence has prompted some reviewing of this - at least as far as putting the finger on the Judge. Of course, this would not be half so inappropriate as what the Judge's son, the Governor, did last summer in releasing the Prospectus that dealt with the book over which all this correspondence has arisen. But, do we fight fire with fire, or only with an ember?

I shall appreciate hearing of your disposition and will in this matter.

Yours sincerely, John B. Morris

cc. Mr. Harold C. Fleming

(REPRINT)

Dillon, South Carolina
July 12, 1958

A FINAL REPORT ON "SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK":

The compilers and publishers of South Carolinians Speak: A Moderate Approach to Race Relations are able to report that its total costs of almost $7,000 are now virtually met through sales and contributions. This is a final report on the project and is being sent to writers for the book and to others who have had a particular interest in its progress. It is made two years after preparatory work on the book was begun, a year following the attack on the project by Governor Timmerman, and ten months after publication.

Nineteen thousand copies of South Carolinians Speak have been distributed to date. Of these about 9,000 comprised the free distribution we made to community and state leaders in South Carolina. News stand and book store sales in South Carolina (with one distributor still to report final sales) totaled 4,760 copies. A definite correlation was evident between the number of copies sold by area distributors and the racial attitudes of the respective agency managers or their fear of handling the book. In some areas the distribution was quite good, and in others it was only sparse - with copies remaining out on the stands only a limited time. Some intimidation of news stand operators was suggested in a few locales. One agency solicited the opinion of the local newspaper before consenting to distribute the book. Mail orders from within South Carolina presently account for 639 copies. Including these, the initial free mailing, and subsequent donations of copies to various organizations, church groups, and individuals, the total distribution within South Carolina comes to about 15,000 copies. The bulk of these were distributed in the two months following publication date. The total number of copies sold outside of the state presently comes to 3,848.

The response of South Carolinians to this book has been overwhelmingly positive. There have been the usual few anonymous letters, some signed ones, together with an array of spurious literature, but in the first months of publication we heard from people all over the state who wrote to express their appreciation for the book. During ensuing months commendatory letters have continued to come from South Carolinians, but also from as far away as have the mail orders - including such distant places as Paris and New Zealand. Within the state we feel the response fully substantiates the claim that the greater number of thinking South Carolinians want moderate leadership in the racial crisis. Financial contributions, coming largely from South Carolinians, are an additional indication of this concern among the people. From the northern part of our country have come letters that suggest the book is serving to strengthen communications in that direction by helping others understand the complexity of our problems.

Response to South Carolinians Speak from political leaders in the state has varied. Some have expressed positive feelings for the book, although such expressions have been on a confidential basis generally. It was apparent that Governor Timmerman sought no favors for us last summer when he released a copy of the project's "Prospectus" to the press along with his own covering statement. While he must have hoped that pressures brought against us after his statement would cause the

termination of the project, it worked quite to the contrary and provided the stimulus to public interest and a general anticipation of the book's appearing far beyond what we might have desired or hoped for. To the often-asked question, "How did the governor obtain a copy of the Prospectus?", we can only surmise that one or more influential persons who failed to reply to our correspondence that sought writers for the project chose to furnish the governor with the Prospectus we had sent them. The prospectus asked that the matter be kept between those with whom we corresponded and ourselves, because no one publishing a book goes around publicizing it before he is sure it will come out. Several newspapers were appropriately critical of the governor for his action. Since the appearance of the book, he has declined to comment upon it on several occasions when members of the press have asked his opinion.

Press reaction to South Carolinians Speak has been quite favorable for the most part. Some headlines in the beginning were slanted to suggest that this was an "integrationist" book, but as the weeks went by and the book received public support from significant persons, the press increasingly reported on it altogether fairly. One exception to this is a major newspaper which changed the sub-title of the book in several stories from "A Moderate Approach to Race Relations" to "A Moderate Approach to Integration". They have persisted in doing this despite repeated and unacknowledged communications to them pointing out the error. The several letter writers from the North who castigated us for publishing such a conservative document would not understand this distortion of fact! On the more positive side it can be reported that an equally major newspaper in South Carolina editorially commended the book several times. Altogether there were seven negative editorial-type comments on the book as compared to eighteen positive references. These all appeared before the Gaffney dynamiting incident. In reaction to that affront to freedom of speech nearly every daily and many weekly newspapers in the state had editorials deploring such violence.

Public statements in commendation of South Carolinians Speak included one from former Congressman James P. Richards who said the book was a "real contribution" towards preserving freedom of expression. Henry Savage, Jr., author and former mayor of Camden, said in a statement of praise for the book, "It is high time that South Carolina should start building some measure of freedom of speech and freedom of thought." Dr. R. Wright Spears, President of Columbia College, said, "With hearts of gratitude many, many people will welcome the statements of this book in sharp contrast to the cutting remarks of extremists of various groups."

How seriously South Carolina will contend with persons who would abridge freedom of speech with acts of violence remains to be seen. Proceedings are pending against alleged Ku Klux Klansmen who are charged with dynamiting the home of one of the book's writers, Mrs. J. H. Sanders, of Gaffney, on the evening of last November 19th. Only a technical failure in the explosive device limited the damage to the house and spared the lives of four persons inside. The influence of official South Carolina is being brought to bear in favor of extremists in that a state senator is serving as defense attorney for the suspects in the case. Recent reports indicate a possibility that persons responsible for pressing the case may not do so as thoroughly as they could. With a little influence here and a little sympathy for the extremists there,

it could all be overlooked on the basis of technicalities if the authorities grow weary of pressing their charges which, according to the newspaper accounts, contained considerable evidence. The State Law Enforcement Division, responsible for preparing the case and collecting the evidence, is to be commended for its good work. It is frustrating for them, though, as one agent expressed it to me, for a case to be thoroughly prepared and have justice fail. Such was the occasion with the Camden assault case of several years ago. We may hope that the righteous indignation of the South Carolina press and the people generally when this dynamiting occured will be sufficient stimulus to obtain justice in the Gaffney case.* Happily I can note that Mrs. Sanders has survived the strain and tension of the whole experience satisfactorily through drawing upon the resources of her deep Christian faith and the support of her family and friends.

Other writers for South Carolinians Speak indicate there has been a generally positive response to the book in their communities. Exceptions to this include an instance of a threat of bodily harm, similar to the Gaffney matter, and anonymous phone calls were inflicted on one or two of the writers for a brief period. In most cases, though, there were neighbors and associates who were quick to register their approval for the stand taken and especially for the fact that some had dared to speak out in a moderate manner. One writer reports that his volume of business has increased since the book's appearance, and another writer was elected to the state legislature three months after the book came out.

Of the five clergymen who compiled and published the book, one was enroute to a long-desired overseas appointment at the time of the governor's attack. Three of us have suffered no particular strain, although there have been moments of stress in our pastorates. For the most part we have found a sympathetic and supportive laity. It did not go so well however with the Rev. John S. Lyles, of Marion. Although our project's plans were known locally, the release of them by the governor provoked his church's governing board to plan the termination of his services. This separation was planned before the book could attest to its moderateness. Mr. Lyles left in December and is now serving a large church in West Virginia. There are those who rejoice at the departure of young Southern clergymen who speak their conscience and the Will of God, but for everyone who has to leave the South there are countless others who are awakening to the prophetic mission of the Church.

In summary, the accomplishments of our booklet could be described as giving strength to the moderates, buttressing the principles of freedom of thought and speech, and generally assisting in improving communications across racial and regional lines and between white South Carolinians. Instances may be noted where the book has helped a clergyman, a church group, or other persons to speak positively on the issue where they might have neglected an opportunity. In short, the book's chief accomplishments are in intangible ways that have to do with public

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* - NOTE APPENDED TO REPRINT: The Klansmen were not convicted, and the case has not been pressed or reopened by the authorities.

opinion and personal stands. While some political leaders have tempered their racial views with a little more moderation due to the book's influence, the greater consequence is in the hearts of the many who were given cause to reconsider their position.

What does the future hold for South Carolins in the racial controversy? I do not know - nor does our booklet offer a single answer. Its purpose is to stimulate constructive discussion - which, in itself, must be a part of any solution. We will have dark days ahead if official South Carolina holds to a rigid position and does not move ahead voluntarily in the improvement of race relations and in providing equal educational opportunities for all its people. Our sister Carolina state is setting an example we would do well to consider. In desegregating at the upper levels, with some desegregation at lower levels, they are showing a "good faith" compliance with moral and legal imperatives of the day and are, thereby, insuring for themselves a strong position before the courts. While I do not believe it would be wise to desegregate the public schools in most parts of a "deep South" state such as ours, I know that it is an affront to our democratic heritage and our religious conviction that we have made no movement at the graduate school level and in other areas. Even Virginia, the present leader in "massive resistance", long ago began to correct the situation with regard to higher education, and Florida has indicated it will do so peacefully this coming fall. This is what the moderate position means in South Carolina, I believe: careful and wise planning for a more democratic society through definite, although limited, movement ahead - at the same time that the expediency of separate facilities at certain levels is dispassionately maintained. To do otherwise we move backwards and begin to compete with South Africa for the foremost place in the West in maintaining a structure that is repugnant to our Christian teaching and our American tradition.

For you who wrote the chapters for South Carolinians Speak - I have the highest respect and admiration. Because you took a stand, however much you may differ among yourselves, there are now more South Carolinians who will speak when a calm voice is needed. The publishing of a book containing personal views on the race issue will be forgotten, but the principles that the book presupposed - freedom of thought and the need for open discussion - will be more firmly imprinted on the minds of a host of South Carolinians because of your witness. That we have been on an adventure or pilgrimage together in this project is an understatement. The fact of our association is a sufficient bond, though, to warrant enduring relationships. In the next year I shall enter upon a program of graduate study in areas that pertain to the churches' role in the South's racial crisis. I shall hope to see you from time to time - both for the renewal of personal friendships and for a sharing of mutual concerns.

Faithfully,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

July 23, 1963

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Sr.
United States District Court
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Toward filling out his perspective on the varying viewpoints in the South today I have permitted Mr. Robert E. L. Baker of the WASHINGTON POST & TIMES HERALD, Washington, D. C., to go over the exchange of correspondence that you and I had between the dates of October 28, 1957, and January 21, 1958. It was with a clear understanding that he would not identify any of the persons involved in the correspondence in any story that he might write on it.

Mr. Baker has asked if he might identify the correspondents. I have told him that he is free to note my identity, but that I would prefer to write you and ask your permission for your name to be used. If you would prefer that he not provide such identification, I shall ask him to respect this wish. Please let me hear from you as to your preference on the matter.

Faithfully yours,

John E. Harris

cc. Mr. Robert E. L. Baker

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

July 16 1958

The Hon George Bell T
United States District Court
Columbia, South Carolina

CHAMBERS OF
GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN
DISTRICT JUDGE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN AND WESTERN DISTRICTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C.

July 17, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806,
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I have your letter of July 16. From it I note that you "have permitted Mr. Robert E. L. Baker of the Washington Post & Times Herald, Washington, D. C., to go over the exchange of correspondence that you and I had between the dates of October 22, 1957 and January 21, 1958", and that it was with "the clear understanding that he would not identify any of the persons involved in the correspondence in any story that he might write on it".

I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, commencing with your letter to me under date October 22, 1957, and ending with my letter to you of January 21, 1958, which last letter was in reply to your letter of January 17, 1958. I would not accord to anyone, to Mr. Baker or any other person the right to put words in my mouth or to take words out of it, or to take something I have written out of context and distort it into a meaning never intended.

I do not know Mr. Baker and I am not implying that he would distort any statement that I have made or that he would attempt to pervert its meaning, but I do know that the Northern press persistently misrepresents the South. I do not think that

the Washington Post is disposed to fairness or justice where the South is concerned.

Sincerely,

George Bell Timmerman

CHAMBERS OF
GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN
DISTRICT JUDGE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

EASTERN AND WESTERN DISTRICTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C.

July 17, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris,
P. O. Box 806,
Dillon, S. C.

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the Washington Post is disposed to fairness or justice where the South is concerned.

Sincerely,

George Bell Timmerman

Rcd 7/18/58

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

July 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The enclosed clipping is for your information and whatever possible reprint use of it you might wish to make. It pertains to a correlation of news data that was too little noticed. I was glad for the strategic opportunity to draw an association for the benefit of the Charleston paper.

Regarding the Timmerman correspondence - Mr. Baker has indicated he will use it without identifying the Judge if necessary, but asked if I would write and ask the gentlemen (?) whether he might be identified. I have just done so and will be interested to see if I hear anything.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

John B. Morris

July 24, 1958

Mr. John B. Morris
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Morris:

Many thanks for the copy of your letter to Bob Baker and of your excellent piece in the News and Courier. The latter was about as effective a piece of interpretation as I have seen. I hope you will continue to take up the pen when the spirit moves.

As to the Timmerman correspondence, I am glad that you gave this whole matter such careful judgment. If you should get a reply from the Judge I would appreciate your sharing it with me. Otherwise, I will look forward with interest to the anonymous treatment that Bob Baker will give to the correspondence.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

601 Jefferson St.
Dillon, S. C.
July 29, 1958

"Letters to the Editor"
THE NEWS AND COURIER
Charleston, South Carolina

Gentlemen:

With reference to the book SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, which you have previously commended to your readers (November 3, 1957), your editorial on July 27th entitled "Grist For The Mill" makes much ado over the purchase of copies of this work by the Southern Regional Council through the assistance of a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

It should be observed that the publishers of this book offered it at public sale and that copies were sold to such diverse organizations and their representatives as the Southern Regional Council and the citizens council movement. The large order placed with us by this former group was only filled this past June when it was apparent that the publication had been thoroughly distributed in South Carolina. Distribution within South Carolina has exceeded 15,000 copies, while about 3,900 copies have been distributed outside the state. Southern Regional Council paid the face price of 50¢ per copy and obtained 2,500 copies which are a part of the number sold outside South Carolina.

The Fund for the Republic made it possible for the Southern Regional Council to purchase our book just as it provided the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows with the money to underwrite travel fellowships such as the one enjoyed by the Editor of THE NEWS AND COURIER.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

601 Jefferson St.
Dillon, S. C.
July 31, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Let me catch you up on a few things:

I did hear from Judge Timmerman. He said: "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred....." Accordingly, I wrote Baker and authorized him to identify Timmerman if he quoted the entire correspondence, but indicated that he could "make a selection of content from the letters only if a full identification of both the correspondents is not made." I said that he could identify me in any context in which he might write on the matter. I sent Timmerman a copy of my letter to Baker and, perhaps wisely, have generally kept my skirts as clean in the matter with the old Judge as possible. I have not heard from Baker since sending him the authorization, and that was on July 18th, but I trust he'll make suitable use of it all. I hope he deduces from my wording that it's o,k. with me to quote the judge partially if an identification is not made.

SRC and SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK shared the limelight together recently. The enclosed clippings tell the story. Also enclosed is a copy of a "Letter to the Editor" which I doubt they'll print.

To keep you up to date on another matter I am enclosing a copy of the revised Prospectus with reference to the symposium for clergy on the Church and the Race Issue. Waldo Beach (Duke) and Neil Tarplee are the two mentioned herein who have indicated an interest and willingness to serve in an editorial capacity. Please note especially the paragraph marked "Publishing" and keep this in mind if there is an appropriate time for a good word with the right Foundation.

I'm betwixt and between Emory and UNC with regard to plans for graduate study. If you have strong points on the Atlanta area as the place to come - let me know. Have about decided that USC is for the birds, that S. C. is so bad off that I need a change in atmosphere, and/or I may have about said all that I can effectively say in S. C.

Best regards,

John B. Morris

P. S. The tear-sheet from the NEWS AND COURIER is for your pleasure if you're short of good reading!

JBM

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

August 1, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The editors have decided against publishing the exchange of correspondence between the Rev. John B. Morris and Judge Timmerman. A study of the judge's stipulation about the use of his name shows he consents to same only if all of the letters -- both his and Mr. Morris' -- are published in full. This simply means the newspaper doesn't have the space to do this. The editors also decided against using excerpts and clothing the judge in anonymity. The decisions were made with regret. I am keeping the copies of the correspondence just in case.

Waiting on my desk upon my return from Atlanta yesterday was a copy of "The Southern Heritage" by James M. Dabbs which I shall review for the Post. From your description of it, I look forward eagerly to reading it.

I don't know when I shall get back to Atlanta again, since Virginia and the desegregation problem there will take up my time for a while. But when I do, I shall look forward to seeing you again.

Very truly yours,

Robert E.L. Baker
Staff Reporter

copy to Mr. Morris.

August 1, 1958

The Rev. John B. Morris
Saint Barnabas' Church
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Morris:

With real regret, the editors have decided against publication of the exchange of correspondence between you and Judge Timmerman.

Judge Timmerman's stipulation that his name could be used only if all the letters involved were published in full, both yours and his, has made publication impossible because of space limitations. Publishing excerpts without identifying the judge was reluctantly turned down by the editors because such anonymity dulls the sharpness of the exchange, on one hand, and might reflect on other Southern judges, on the other.

With your permission, I am keeping copies of the correspondence in case it can be of use at some future date.

I hope to be in South Carolina in the not-too-distant future and will stop by to see you then. In the meantime, please drop me a line to keep me abreast of things there.

Very truly yours,

Robert E.L. Baker
Staff Reporter

copy to Harold Fleming

August 7, 1958

Mr. John B. Morris
601 Jefferson Street
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear John:

Thanks for your several recent letters, and enclosures, which have kept me well posted. Let me try to catch up on my end of the correspondence by dealing with several different matters.

1. First, I greatly admire both your promptness and skill in the field of epistles. You can have my proxy any time. I'm a bit weary of attempting rebuttals of the News and Courier's canards, but either Dabbs or I may return Brother Morse's fire yet once more. As to the outcry over SCS, I thought it pretty ineffective and was well satisfied by your answering letter.

2. You may have decided by now where you will spend the coming academic year. I don't have any special qualifications as an adviser on that question, aside from my enthusiasm for Atlanta as an interesting and central location. I can add that your presence in Atlanta would be very welcome here at SRC. Your interests and ours are obviously close together, and I'm sure we would develop a fruitful working relationship. But I know you must base your decision on more pragmatic considerations, and I can't honestly try to influence you on that basis.

3. I was very sorry that the Washington Post decided it couldn't publish the full Morris-Timmerman correspondence. I agree with you thoroughly as to its timeliness and am by no means ready to concede defeat. If we exhaust all other avenues, I will be glad to have SRC do the honors. But, first, assuming I have your permission, I am going to try Harper's and The Reporter, in that order. Failing those and any

other equally suitable possibilities, I feel sure SRC can take on the publication and distribution. I'll keep you posted.

Finally, on a personal note, have you considered putting in a stretch as a professional in the human relations field? It's becoming increasingly clear to me that you would do a whale of a good job. I have nothing specific in mind at the moment, but it's a busy field and an appropriate opportunity might well appear one of these days. If the idea isn't in irreconcilable conflict with your status and career as a cleric, let it simmer on a back burner.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

P. S.
Thanks for the prospectus. I'll be glad to help if I can, as the project progresses.

601 Jefferson St.
Dillon, S. C.
August 6, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I don't know if the publishing of the exchange of correspondence between Judge Timmerman and myself would serve any effective purpose or not; and I'm a little dubious of the publishing of my sentiments in these letters which represent my more conservative viewpoints without a full balance of opinion. However, I can bear this latter factor if the dissemination of the correspondence would serve a constructive purpose.

With Mr. Baker's and the POST's decision not to use the correspondence I had assumed in my own mind that this was a closed matter. However, with the additional significance of the Prince Edward decision by Judge Sterling this past Monday and the Associated Press notation: "segregationists consider him friendly to their views.", I have been pondering this thing further. The papers today report approval of plans for appointed an additional Federal judge for South Carolina. Also, today the Columbia, S.C., STATE editorializes on a matter I hadn't seen reported - namely, Judge Timmerman calling "impudent" a Federal attorney who called on the Judge to disqualify himself in a case involving the government and DuPont versus South Carolina. I'll enclose that clipping herein. The sum and substance of my pondering is that we're headed into a period of definitive court cases where a goodly number of Southern judges are going to make decisions solely on the basis of public opinion and personal prejudice and not in consideration of legal factors. This is my lay observation on the matter. Closer home is the renewed petition to the courts to enjoin Clarendon County here in South Carolina to plan for desegregation. I can't imagine Judge Timmerman ruling in any way fairly in this case.

Therefore, to get to the point, I want to take advantage of the Judge's reply to me on July 17th where he said: "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, commencing with your letter to me under date.....Etc." Let the whole exchange of letters be published in mimeographed form and made available to anyone interested. Then, what is done with it would be up to others.

I am enclosing the entire file herein and invite SRC to mimeograph them from my first letter of October 22, 1957, to the Judge's reply dated July 17, 1958. You may do this at your initiative and make such distribution to the press or others as you see fit, or you may simply do the work for me and return copies together with the originals and I'll send them out. I realize, of course, that for the benefit to be obtained, this may be too much for you all to do, but I wanted to let someone else decide.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

cc. Mr. R. E. L. Baker

August 5, 1958

Dear Harold:

Just in case you're short of good reading the enclosures are for your information. Can't we get a "package" on this guy Morse (He writes in this vein quite often.)? Probably way back he's got Negro blood and is trying all the harder to justify himself.

The "Letter to the Editor" is going out today to the Charleston NEWS AND COURIER, the Charlotte OBSERVER, as well as to the Greenville paper.

Regards,

John

John Morris

REVISED PROSPECTUS

Note: This is a revision of a document sent to a sampling of Southern church leaders on June 3, 1958, and is based in part on their suggestions. Further counsel and criticism will be welcomed.

Proposal: Publication of a symposium on the prophetic mission of the Church in the South in meeting relevantly the segregation crisis. It would encompass the background of the South's racial problem, the role of the churches in Southern history, the present crisis and the response of the churches to it, the Church's prophetic ministry through corporate and individual witness, together with such resource chapters as might be of assistance to Southern churchmen. There also would be actual accounts of instances where effective prophetic ministries have been exercised.

Purpose: To challenge the Church in the South, and clergymen in particular, to meet with adequate concern, strategy and faith, the controversy over racial discrimination and attendant efforts to eradicate or support it. To give comfort and counsel to church leaders already actively involved in prophetic witness and seeking new paths and fresh thinking. To bring together into one comprehensive volume some of the excellent thought in this area that is appearing increasingly in various journals.

Scope: The varying climates of opinion in the South should be considered in this symposium, but with a particular attention to conditions in "deep South" states. It should be oriented to the major Protestant churches in the South, with recognition of contributions being made by others in the field. It should be designed primarily for leadership personnel in the churches. Special consideration should be given to the problems and opportunities that confront clergymen.

Authorship: Competence in the particular subject should be the chief criterion in the selection of writers for the various parts. They might include several lay persons particularly suited to certain areas, but the greater portion would be prepared by clergy from both academic and parochial backgrounds. All writers should be Southerners. If possible, without sacrificing quality to diversification, the writers should include persons from each of the major churches - with consideration given to such as would the more readily command attention from others of the same persuasion.

Editing: The undersigned will hope to secure the consent of about five others to serve with him in an editorial and planning capacity. As of this writing, two very suitable men have been invited to share in this and have accepted. The editorial group will have the responsibility for any further revision of this prospectus and outline, and for determining who will be asked to write the particular parts of the symposium. Such processes move slowly in the summer, and it will, of necessity, probably be fall before definitive plans can be made. I trust that personal plans for travel abroad in the fall for six weeks will not be cause for any delay. Upon returning I shall

enter upon a program of graduate study in areas related to the symposium and will be prepared to follow through on the execution of the project at the discretion of the editorial group.

Publishing: At the discretion of the editorial group, and at such time as the outline and possibly the complement of writers are firmly in mind, an approach might be made to a suitable foundation for underwriting the project. Concurrently with this , major church publishing firms should be approached for negotiations on publishing prospects. Toward encouraging wide distribution of the book, material costs should be kept at a minimum, and there should be no realization of financial profit to either editors or authors. Foundation assistance might enable free distribution through appropriate denominational offices or by other means. Otherwise, it would be sold through regular channels at a minimal cost.

August 1, 1958

John B. Morris
St. Barnabas' Church
Dillon, South Carolina

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Outline

FOREWORD (By prominent churchman.)
INTRODUCTION (Purpose of book defined.)

Part I - CROSS AND CRISIS IN THE SOUTH

1. Resume of Southern History. (Social, economic and political factors up to 1954 as these bear on the South's bi-racial culture and pertain to the present situation.)
2. The Church in Southern Culture. (Role of churches in the evolving stages of the South's social patterns.)
3. Crisis Since 1954. (The Supreme Court decisions. South's response. The resistance and general mood. The "moderates". "Border" and "deep South" states, etc. Problem of communication. Summarily: The world crisis over race.)
4. Challenge Before the Church. (Reaction of churches in the South to the crisis. Problems of polity. Evaluation of official pronouncements and local resolutions. Various positions of clergy. Assessment of effectiveness of churches.)

Part II - CRISIS AND THE CHURCH'S PROPHETIC MINISTRY

1. Theology of Christian Social Concern. (Theological basis for prophetic role of churches.
2. A Christian Ethic on Race. (Informed by Biblical and doctrinal teachings of the Church. Nature of the Church and Race.)
3. The Christian in Society: Conviction or Culture? (Prophetic witness by individuals. The pull to conformity - a tension. Dealing with personal conflicts and background. The witness that is in "being", and that which is "doing". Pitfalls of involvement. Its imperative.)

4. The Parish Church: Sonscience to the Community. (Implementation of prophetic mission of Church through total parish life. Problems in facing issue. Study siggestions. Strategies for varied climates of opinion. Suggestions for leadership in community by church.)
5. The Prophetic Witness in Pastoral Situations. (Leadership and reconciliation in personal relationships and contacts. Adjusting to hostility. Counselling and special problems. Different and similar opportunities for clergymen and laymen.)
6. The Prophetic Ministry Through Preaching. (General theory and specific suggestions. Biblical references and their interpretation.)

Part III - "WHO CAN BUT PROPHESY?"

(Accounts by about eight Christians where a particularly effective witness has been noted: Including a description of the situation, what was done or said, and an evaluation with suggestions for others in similar circumstances. Two or three of these might be by laymen, the others by clergy. Should include more dramatic instances, some less spectacular, and others where no particular local crisis has yet existed but where there has been creative work.

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APPENDIX:
I. Official Statements of Churches.
II. Directory of resource personnel in churches.
III. Recommended Reading. (Books, articles, tracts. With suggestions on which might be good for study groups, for general distribution, etc.)

****

Possible Changes or Additions in the Outline;

1. Because of limitations in length, or for other reasons, drop personal accounts that depict the prophetic ministry at work (Part IIII)
2. Include a chapter on the responsibilities of Negro churches and churchmen in the South. Or, have a chapter wherein a leading Negro would give his analysis of the plight of the white churches.
3. Broaden the scope of the outline to include Roman Catholic approaches, or have a chapter on difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant methods in meeting this issue.
4. Include a Northerner's view of the South and his assessment of the racial problem in the North.
5. In Part I - combine Chapter 1 with Chapter 2, and Chapter 3 with Chapter 4.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

August 13, 1958.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This correspondence between the Rev. John B. Morris and the Hon. George B. Timmerman fills me with dismay. But I regret that we can't see a way of doing anything with it in Harper's because we have already published so many pieces on segregation-integration and other aspects of the racial problem - and have still more in hand awaiting publication - that we have decided to call a halt lest we bore our readers to the point of desertion.

I trust that you will quickly find another editor who hasn't published as much in this area as we have and who can be receptive, and I appreciate your giving Harper's this chance.

Sincerely,

John Fischer

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

John Fischer/RD

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 8, 1958

Mr. John Fischer, Editor
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Fischer:

Enclosed is a colorful exchange of correspondence between the Rev. John B. Morris of Dillon, S. C., and Federal District Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr. As you doubtless know, the judge is the father of the outgoing governor of South Carolina and has jurisdiction over the Clarendon County school case.

Morris thought, correctly in my opinion, that the correspondence sheds interesting light on the psychology of a Southern Federal judge whose loyalty to race prejudice overrides all else. Accordingly, Morris wrote Timmerman asking if he would object to the correspondence being made public. Timmerman wrote in reply, "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, commencing with your letter to me under date October 22, 1957, and ending with my letter to you of January 21, 1958, which last letter was in reply to your letter of January 17, 1958."

Morris subsequently discussed publication with the Washington Post and Times-Herald. Finally, the Post reluctantly concluded that the space requirements were prohibitive. Morris has asked me to explore other possibilities.

Despite the length and repetitiveness of the letters, I thought you might be interested. The Lemley decision in Arkansas put the attitudes of Southern judges in the lime-light, and other rulings seem

to be contributing to this interest. Moreover, the correspondence has - at least for me - a kind of grisly fascination.

I shall be looking forward to your reaction to this admittedly off-beat suggestion. Meanwhile, I'm sending you a copy of the booklet South Carolinians Speak so that you can see what all the shooting was about.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. Morris-Timmerman correspondence

B

BC sent to Mr. Morris

August 26, 1958

Graduate School
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I understand that the Rev. John B. Morris of Dillon, South Carolina, has submitted an application to the Graduate School, and I should like to say a word of recommendation in his behalf.

As you doubtless know, Mr. Morris has given leadership not only in his church and community, but also in constructive approaches to race relations at the state level. In these efforts, he has won the respect of responsible leaders, conservative as well as liberal. He has shown imagination, sound scholarship, and Christian principle to a very high degree.

I take pleasure, then, in recommending Mr. Morris to you as a young man of exceptional ability, character, and promise. The Graduate School would undoubtedly have many future occasions to feel gratified by a decision to admit him.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

time to be of some value.

Your response to my last letter - despite the stimulant - struck me as quite sound. I'll look forward to a chance to discuss these ideas further with you.

Thought you'd be interesting in the enclosed editorial (by Virginius Dabney) from the Richmond Times-Dispatch. This ought to give even Tom Waring pause - if not Brother Morse. I'm referring them to it.

August 26, 1958

Mr. John Morris
605 East Cleveland Street
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear John:

Sorry the rush of events and travel have delayed this reply to your last two welcome letters.

I hope my tardiness in returning the enclosed correspondence hasn't inconvenienced you. I paid a visit to Washington last week, with results that you would find interesting. I'll tell you about it when we meet next.

I have written as enclosed to Emory; trust it's in time to be of some value.

Your response to my last letter - despite the stimulant - struck me as quite sound. I'll look forward to a chance to discuss these ideas further with you.

Thought you'd be interesting in the enclosed editorial (by Virginius Dabney) from the Richmond Times-Dispatch. This ought to give even Tom Waring pause - if not Brother Morse. I'm referring them to it.

Keep me posted on your plans.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures
P. S. - Harper's regretfully declined the Morris-Timmerman correspondence. I'm trying The Reporter. Will advise you if anything results.

H.C.F.

Rcd 8/14/58

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

August 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I should save up the matters about which I write you - to save you opening so many envelopes. But, it 's easier this way if you can bear with me.

In making application to Emory I find that they want three letters of recommendation ("I know this young man and think .....etc.,etc.") While you don't know me personally very well yet, you do know something of my activities in the areas in which I will do graduate study - and you're in Atlanta which I thought would be good for one reference. Would you oblige me with a letter of some sort of reference to: Graduate School, Emory University, Atlanta 22, Ga.? Little did you know how quickly I would call for that proxy you mentioned in your last letter.

Another matter - when it's convenient please send back to me the correspondence I had with the White House. I started to pen a gentle blast to the Golfer of Gettysburg today and found myself wanting to refer to previous communications. I'm irritated that he replied personally to Mr. Herbert in appreciation for his article in South Car. Speak (as per a news story last fall) but only the flunkie has written me - notwithstanding having met him at Columbia and having been in his personal quarters at the White House with Patsy's grandmother who is a personal friend of his. Recent news of his do-nothing attitude on things southside calls for another plea to lend moral support to the South's "moderates". (I'm afraid all that's to be forthcoming will be just a smile and pat on the back with the "you're doing a fine job" kind of observation!) Elmo Roper summed it up in a letter to me when he said: ".....Mr. Eisenhower must shoulder a pretty fair share of the blame -- not because he's done anything very wrong but because he hasn't done anything!"

Thank you for your attention to these matters.... and please do know that I understand you have other matters to do in addition to reading mail from me.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

P.S. - Look up the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER's editorial on Ike in edition of July 11th. It's final thrust: "Mr.E is still relying on platitudes - perhaps with the 101st Airborne in reserve."

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

August 11, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Discussing our future, impending vacations and whatnot, Patsy (my wife) and I have just polished off a gift bottle of sparkling burgandy over a leisurely supper. Notwithstanding this fact I'll seek to send off an answer to your letter of August 7th. (Typing mistakes to be chalked up to the burgandy!)

By all means follow up whatever leads on the correspondence with Timmerman ~~that~~ seem profitable - as long as the complete exchange of correspondence will be published. Then let commentators with the POST or elsewhere make whatever they want to over it - quoting such portions from the published form as seems appropriate. Just let me know before anything appears so that I can send off a note to the Judge (Just before actual releasing of the data.) to report that, on the basis of his blanket permission, etc., I have allowed such and such to publish the correspondence.

I could definitely be interested in some work as "a professional in the human relations field". If Neil Tarplee or Will Campbell were to ask me to join their staffs I would jump at it. Were it work in some secular (meant in a descriptive and not judgemental sense) agency I would think long and hard over it but would give it my serious consideration. However, in the latter case I would the more interpret it as a temporary exercise of my ministry in an area of special need - looking toward returning to involvement in the mainstream of church life.

When I say I'd jump at opportunities with Neil or Will, etc., I mean by this that I think there's a tremendous amount to be done in the churches in waking up and getting on the ball with reference to the race issue. The tragedy of the last four years in the South can be written in direct proportion to the inertia and irrelevance of the churches to life around them. So I'm real interested in this area particularly - which is only natural because of my primary committment, which, I trust, is a religious one and for which my vows of ordination have some definite meaning. There's a wealth of possibilities awaiting exploration in the area of the role of the churches. The preparation of the symposium, about which you've received a prospectus, is just one thing. We are also in need of a great deal of leadership training for clergy - through conferences for them specifically on their role in this issue. (Neil came and conducted one for us in the Episcopal church in this part of S. C. and it was most helpful.) In fact, we need a center of concern in the churches in this field - i.e., a confernce center where the leadership training would take place, from which a news letter to the churches on the subject would emanate, etc., etc.

You've got a man in charge of liason with labor and Mrs. Tilly pertaining to Church women (or is it just women?). Why not create a division of liason with the churches. Invite me in and I'll at least turn the heat on high on the back burner where I'll put all this to simmer.

Enclosed for your reading pleasure are printed versions of the letter I have already sent you. The OBSERVER betrays its moderateness through the big headlines. The NEWS AND COURIER feels called upon to editorialize on the letter. Strange lot they are. They almost give credence to what I've said - at the same time that they try to argue back. Note also their editorial on the Tenn. elections. I could have written it for them - knowing that they'd make much ado over the governor's race and minimize the senatorial race although some weeks ago they said that the latter was crucial!

Glad to have NEW SOUTH in the mail today. Always refreshing to see the Golden plans reiterated. (I, of course, receive the CAROLINA ISRAELITE, as I'm sure all Southern liberals must at this point - and, likewise, THE PETAL PAPER.) Some humor is necessary in the face of such depressing factors.

No decision yet on where to study. I'll probably send off my applications to both Emory and UNC this week and make a decision after hearing from them. USC in Columbia is still tempting just in order to remain in S. C., but I suspect it'll be one of the other.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

P. S. I'll be here until the first of September. Then for two weeks at: Cottage 5, Sea Island, Ga.. Following that I'll be with Neil Tarplee at a conference in New Hampshire, back down here, etc., but most likely available by mail through my in-laws: c/o H. Irving Pratt, Shutter Lane, Oyster Bay, N. Y.

JBM

P.P.S. The Burgundy's caught up with me!

ack 9/26/58

c/o Pratt
Shutter Lane
Oyster Bay, N.Y.
September 20, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Any slackening of my correspondence with you certainly means no loss of interest or action in the areas of our shared concern. Patsy, the children, and I spent a very pleasant - albeit segregated - two weeks at the beach in Georgia during the first two weeks of September. We headed north and are now at her parent's home. I went on up to New Hampshire for a conference that Neil Tarplee had a part in calling and am just before driving back south tomorrow with various stops on the way.

The enclosed sheaf of carbon documents represents the work of the New Hampshire conference. This data is to be mailed in printed form to all 1500 or so delegates to our Church's convention in Miami (Oct. 5th) and will be public property by the middle of next week. I think it's a quite good statement - although it's temperate in assessing the extent to which things that "alarm" us have gone. If you have influential friends in our Church who will be at Miami you might put in a good word with them - but, then, if you have such friends they will likely be out in front for this anyway!

A little background on this mailing to convention delegates - though it would have come out this way regardless: we have a clergyman in N.C. who's long gone with the rabids. He and his associates just sent out a mailing to convention delegates saying, in essence, that they hoped that convention would leave the whole issue alone so that everybody would be happy. Worse than that, actually - they sent along a racist address he made to someone's Lion's Club....additional copies available from the Waco, Texas, place that turns out some of the worst crap! Anyway, we knew that a lot of pious folk would like to see the issue forgotten and this guy's letter might have the effect of saying to some: "let's not deal with the issue at convention lest someone get unhappy". Which brings me to ~~p-ei~~ pointing out that I'm enclosing a copy of an exchange that I had with the jerk wherein is suggested the fact that he's so thoroughly identified with the extreme as to be hopeless and beyond any communicable point. Please return this document to me just so I'll have sufficient copies down at Miami in the event it may be useful in combatting the influence of such people.

I was glad to receive the copy of your letter to THE NEWS AND COURIER. Reluctantly, I've paid them to send me their rag sheet - so I was looking to see if they'd print your letter. Enclosed is a clipping from their September 16th edition where, I believe, they've run it in full. Also enclosed is a clipping from the Sept. 18th edition with a letter in answer to yours. It looks like they got this reply all lined up - then waited a day and printed it. Since it was ~~here~~ two weeks from when you wrote your letter to its appearance and ~~one~~ two days from then to the answer - one can suspect anything of such demented folk. (Talked with Bill Peters of the McCall's article last night and he says he's doing a ~~stery-on-the~~ book on the South. An examination of the News and Courier's role figures into it somehow.)

Thank you also for the copy of the "Midsummer Report of Program Activities". I found it very interesting - but now, with all of the developments in Ark. and Va., I feel the need for an opening fall report. Would like to have an opportunity to talk with you and hear what gives with all these closings and any liklihood of positive accomplishment: We needed to have Fred Routh with us in New Hamp. - he had thought of being there, I think.

Also, thanks for the letter to Emory. I haven't heard from them or UNC yet but hope to shortly.

Since you haven't written anything further about the Timmerman correspondence, I assume that you've not found a "publisher". Perhaps it's becoming increasingly apparent that the personal feelings of southern judges are entering in (I should give more credit, though, to some of the Va. ones.). However, it would seem profitable to show Judge Timmerman's blatant white supremist ideas for what they're worth - as both indication of what we're fighting and the fact that this is in high places and not just with the Klan.

I'll be picking up mail in Dillon the end of next week and, again, the following week. Also, anything sent to me here will, of course, reach me. We go to the convention in Miami for a week and then leave on October 20th for the 6-week trip abroad.

Hope you're well and tuned in on all of the developments - as I'm sure you are.

Faithfully,

John

John Morris

P.S. We have a committee of five or six meeting at Duke Sept. 29-Oct.1 to work on the symposium matter. Now I've brought you up to date on everything, I believe.

JM

THE EATON CENTER CONFERENCE

101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
September 17, 1958

Dear Fellow Churchman:

Meeting at the invitation of the Rev. and Mrs. David A. Works, an interracial group of bishops, priests, and lay people from all parts of the country, the majority being from the South, convened at Eaton Center, New Hampshire, September 15-17, to consider the role of the Church in the improvement of human relations in these times of national and world crisis. In view of a momentous opportunity for the Episcopal Church to speak relevantly to this matter through the forthcoming General Convention, I am writing to you at the direction of this group to report our findings.

We brought to our meeting a unanimous conviction that Christ's Church is, by nature, an inclusive body that knows no restriction in its fellowship based on race. At the same time, we see the protest from the preponderant colored population of the world which stands ready, in many areas, to capitulate to an atheistic ideology if our Christian convictions are not implemented both in our churches and at all levels of society. We know that we have failed too often in the Church and in all regions of our land to translate into practice that which we affirm in our Christian and democratic heritage. We are concerned that in the North there is unequal access to employment and housing, and implicit segregation in other areas. We are alarmed at the instransigence of many segregationist elements and the violence inherent in their pronouncements with counterparts in deed that have repeatedly shocked the nation and the world. In the face of such crises we listen with appreciation to the counsel of the bishops meetings at Lambeth where they said in the summer of 1958 in their encyclical letter:

> "In such a situation (as this) it is the urgent duty of the Church to be the channel of Christ's reconciling power....Tensions and differences there must be; they become creative when they are brought under the power and influence of God. When men, or groups, or nations find themselves in conflict because their opinions or their interests clash, though the flesh is weak, the way is open for an advance into a new and richer partnership."

We feel that the inherent moral imperative laid upon the Church by our Lord and conditions of the present day call for a reiteration by General Convention and the Triennial Meetings of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Church's position on racial desegregation as declared by Lambeth, by previous conventions, and by Southern dioceses. A forthright statement from General Convention would provide a continually needed support of embattled clergymen and laymen caught in the agonies of attempting relevant ministries and practicing Christian fellowship in places beset by fear and tension.

The corporate expression of the Church again, at this new juncture of efforts to maintain national unity, would provide comfort and direction to all persons suffering in isolation and silence and, also, should remind us that the racial problem is national and international in scope, requiring varied approaches in different regions. Let the Church, through its assembled Convention, boldly proclaim the mind of Christ as He is understood and call upon each churchman to exercise a prophetic and reconciling ministry in his parish and community. Such was our conviction in our deliberations which we submit for your prayerful consideration prior to the opening of Convention.

That the word might be clothed with power and because resolutions are rightly a quickening to action and not a balm to conscience, we further concluded in our meeting that the work in intergroup education carried out by the Department of Christian Social Relations should be continued with top priority and expanded upon and that Convention delegates and bishops should be earnestly requested to lend every effort in the support of an adequate budget and program for the Department. Staff members, when requested, have consulted in crisis situations where churchmen have been on "the firing line" of human conflicts generated by a changing world. The unusual conditions arising out of the racial controversy have made it imperative that trained personnel be invited in for guidance to both clergy and laity as they seek to help communities adjust in transitional periods. More than thirty church and secular agencies, with many of the former having large staffs, are working to assist in the accomplishment of a more just social order. It is the least for us to continue present programs and may be hoped that the Church will rise to the new occasions which have demanded new duties in our ministry of reconciliation.

Finally we invite prayers for the Church and State from all Christians in this time of travail and adjustment -- confident that devotion to our Lord will bring a new unity among peoples. In the words of a prominent Southern bishop: "The matter is before us demanding a solution, and this solution will be found if all involved, with charity and forbearance, humble in the face of so great a problem, work together in harmony and good will seeking earnestly the honest answer step by step."

Yours faithfully,

Wilton S. Dillon
Secretary
The Eaton Center Conference

RESOLUTION

The following is a resolution proposed by the Eaton Center Conference for adoption by the General Convention and the Triennial Meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary.

WHEREAS recent tragic developments have created tensions both in the nation at large and within the Body of Christ, and

WHEREAS we, members of the Episcopal Church, know that when one member suffers the whole body suffers, and being moved to compassion for those Christians of every race and nation who bear the burden of discrimination or the guilt of inflicting discrimination on their fellow men,

THEREFORE, be it resolved by the House of _____, the House of _____ concurring,

That in this time of world crisis and domestic conflict we turn anew to the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, seeking the forgiveness and assurance it offers to each penitent sinner.

We know that the Gospel for all men is neither validated nor invalidated by any difference of constitutional interpretation by the citizens of our nation. Variances in understanding of the law are transcended by the supreme law of love which Christ has revealed. In Him we are united as one body. In His Body, the Church, all members are fitly joined together in mutual dependence and in individual freedom, and in His Body discrimination on the basis of race or nationality is an abomination.

We call on all our fellow Churchman to work actively to eliminate all occassion of discrimination in our congregations and in our common life. We affirm with our Christian brothers of other communions that it is a failure of Christian love to deny any person the right of equal opportunities in education, housing, employment, and public accomodation, by reason of race.

We affirm our moral support of those ministers and laymen who labor in areas of misunderstanding and tension, that they may confidently proclaim the Gospel of freedom in Christ, and we encourage all Church members to work actively for the achievement of justice in the social structures of their communities.

In His Church, Christ has given us a means of reconciliation in Baptism, and a means of communication in the Holy Communion. We urge all congregations to take up joyfully the mission of the Church, and use these means of grace for all men without regard to race. Those who through Baptism are one body with Christ and each other, and who kneel together to receive His Body and Blood, may better stand together in forgiving love.

Let us pray for one another, that God may grant us His grace to this end.

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

August 24, 1958

The Rev. James P. Dees
Trinity Episcopal Church
Statesville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Dees:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 22, 1958, together with enclosures.

My letter to THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, which you seek to rebut, spoke solely to the threat to America posed by the various racist groups - the Citizens Councils and Klans and their leaders, the Kaspers and Coles. I am distressed to find that a priest of the Church would rise to the defense of such elements. I hope you will re-examine your position, so sordid are their pursuits which include many instances of lawlessness.

As to the label of "integrationist" that you fix on me without any substantiation or provocation from the OBSERVER letter, I must disavow such a description and lay claim, rather, to the "moderate" approach in the racial controversy. Publicly and in print elsewhere I have maintained that desegregation of the public schools in various "deep South" areas would be unwise; at the same time I have deplored the failure of some states (e.g., South Carolina) to plan even for desegregation at the level of higher education. I respect the calm and progressive manner with which North Carolina is approaching this whole issue and trust that you will not be too great an influence in retarding it.

As for your allusions, if not outright charges, that I espouse the Communists' program, please be informed that I am quite happily a Capitalist and hold various stock certificates with no intention of dividing them up.

I shall add the enclosures you sent to my file of such spurious literature. They are typical of materials being given extensive distribution by White Supremists today. I note that one is from the "Grass Roots League, Inc." which is the group that so viciously attacked the National Council of the Episcopal Church in 1955.

Recently the press has reported that you are being instrumental in the creation of a segregationist group in the Diocese of North Carolina - "Concerned Churchmen". Contrariwise, it is good to see in the June, 1958, issue of THE NORTH CAROLINA CHURCHMAN that the last convention adopted what appears to be a

wise and constructive report from the Diocese of North Carolina's Commission on Racial Subjects. This is in line with the wisdom shown by your convention in 1955 and by Bishop Penick again in his observations to convention in 1956. I trust that your fellow-churchmen will give "Concerned Churchmen" every consideration due a minority group.

Although I have not had the opportunity of meeting you nor of hearing from you before, the position you take is somewhat known. I am additionally alarmed, however, that your views are such as to prompt you to defend the racist groups to which my OBSERVER letter made reference. I hope that the other members of "Concerned Churchmen" will be more temperate in their viewpoints. I can only conclude that others should be fully informed on the extent of your support of racist groups and I am, accordingly, furnishing copies of our correspondence to clerical friends in North Carolina.

The observations I have made are, by no means, easy to make to a fellow-priest of the Church. I hope that the things which bind us together are still more numerous than the things which divide us. I must pray for myself in this matter of judging you, and I shall pray for you.

Faithfully,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

Trinity Episcopal Church

Statesville, N. C.

THE REV. JAMES P. DEES, RECTOR
421 WALNUT STREET

August 22, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Sir:

I note your remarks in a letter in the Charlotte Observer FORUM, August 8th. You point out that there are very many different sorts of people who are opposed to integration. This is not surprising, since you find some sensible people in all walks of life. You stupidly, I think, "wonder" if the top-leadership of segregationist groups "are not guided in some manner by subversive elements." Anyone who is acquainted at all with current events knows that this is not true: that one of the major projects of the subversive elements is to create racial strife by attempting to force racial integration on the South. The subversives are integrationists, not segregationists. There is ample documentation to this effect in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I call attention to the people with whom you integrationists cohabit: the NAACP, the Communist Party, and (to use Senator Eastland's words) "the almost equally Red National Council of Churches. One does not "wonder," it appears self-evident that it is you integrationists who are "guided in some manner by subversive elements." You certainly are espousing their program. There is no doubt of it. Public records show it.

Yours very truly,

James P. Dees

Rev. James P. Dees

THE OBSERVER FORUM

Racist Groups Are Menace

AS REPORTED by the Associated Press, Dr. James A. Jones, president of the Presbyterian Seminary in Richmond, in an address before more than 1,000 Southern industrial leaders on July 18 deplored the emergence of racism as the new nationalism. He said, in part, to the gathering of executives at Blue Ridge, N. C., "Loyalties are being forged and positions are being taken by whole blocks of mankind simply on the basis of the color of a man's skin."

THAT THERE is a sinister collaboration of elements which support this "racism" is evident from a careful reading of news reports. The appearance of Ku Klux Klan leader James Cole at the state rally of the Kentucky Citizens Council in Louisville last February 1st is a case in point. Also billed as a principal speaker for that meeting was retired Admiral John G. Crommelin of Alabama. Recent news stories report that both Klan and citizens council movement representatives were to welcome John Kasper, prominent racist, upon his release from Federal prison. The executive secretary of the Florida Citizens Council announced Kasper's appearance at the Tallahassee courthouse. Today a news report in The Observer tells that Kasper is visiting Admiral Crommelin in Wetumpka, Alabama. All such indications of alliances with extremist groups notwithstanding, the published "Platform" of a South Carolina citizens council is able to claim: "The Council movement in the South is one which has sprung up solely to provide a peaceful solution to a grave national emergency."

[illegible] what he called a Ku Klux Klan underground" was arrested for car theft in Greenville, Mississippi. Found on him was a membership card in the Red Shirt group.

THE GRAVE national emergency is the rise of this new racism in all of its sordidness and antipathy to democratic American traditions. There are the racist groups for the country club set and other groups for those less prominent in the social structure. While individual members of some of these groups may be persons of integrity, the alliances which their leaders make should be sufficient to demonstrate their basic inimicalness to our democratic heritage. Indeed, one must wonder if the racist groups, at their top-leadership level, are not guided in some manner by subversive elements.

(Rev.) JOHN B. MORRIS
Dillon, S. C.

* * *

To America

The Charlotte Observer

Established 1869

NIGHT, President and Publisher — J. E. DOWD, General Man
GHT, Editor — E. B. HUNTER, Assistant to the Publ

E, Associate Editor — J. G. WARD, Circulation Man
NORTON, Assistant to the Editor — R. J. ALANDER, Advertising Man
FESPERMAN, Managing Editor — Wm. B. SANDLIN, Production Man

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1958

601 Jefferson St.
Dillon, S. C.
August 25, 1958

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Appearing on this sheet is a reproduction of a "Letter to the Editor" that appeared in THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, Charlotte, N. C., on August 8, 1958. Accompanying this is a facsimile copy of a letter I received on August 23, 1958, from the Rev. James P. Dees of Statesville, N. C., written in response to this newspaper item. Also included here is a facsimile copy of the carbon of my reply to Mr. Dees.

JOHN B. MORRIS

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

Thomas R. Waring, Editor — Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor — Anthony Harrigan, Editorial Writer

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

12-A CHARLESTON, S. C., FRIDAY, SEPT. 26, 1958

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The News and Courier welcomes letters to the editor when they are concise (no longer than 200 words) and bear the writer's signature in longhand. They also must carry the sender's address and be plainly written, preferably typed. All letters are subject to rejection or editing. None will be returned.

Reply From SRC

To The News and Courier:

I have no wish to prolong a debate in your columns with the tireless detractors of the Southern Regional Council. But R. J. Zehnder's letter of Sept. 18 seems to require a reply.

He cites the testimony of one Manning Johnson, before the segregationist Rainach Committee of Louisiana, as reflecting on SRC's present activities. Mr. Zehnder is misinformed about Mr. Johnson, as follows:

(1) Johnson is not and never has been "a director of research" for the U.S. Dept. of Justice. I understand the department itself advised The News and Courier of this inaccuracy in Phil Stroupe's article of March 9, 1957, and reportedly a correction was published on March 12, 1957.

(2) The Justice Department has specifically dissociated itself from Johnson's testimony before the Rainach Committee.

(3) Earlier, on Aug. 11, 1956, the U. S. Subversive Activities Control Board expunged from its records what it termed "tainted" testimony given by Johnson.

Johnson, in short, is a thoroughly discredited professional ex-Communist. His charges against SRC, whether concerning the past or the present, are utterly unfounded.

It's a bitter pill, but SRC just doesn't have any use for Communists — or for their cousins of the right who also prefer character assassination to honest disagreement.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
(Executive Director, Southern Regional Council)
63 Auburn Ave. NE,
Atlanta.

Tribute To Jenner

To The News and Courier:

A great U. S. senator, William E. Jenner of Indiana, has retired from the U. S. Senate. This great man took a leading part in trying to pass laws to curb the Supreme Court while some Southern senators did not fight for their native South.

J. A. SMITH
Auditor's Office,
Dillon.

Secret Weapon

To The News and Courier:

The American people are perhaps the most patient and tolerant in all the world. They have sat on the sidelines observing the tragic, sickening political drama being played out in Washington with the attitude that Politics must be given its head, no matter how vile. With us it has been too long a "game." Have we grown to feel that everything must be sacrificed on the altar of Politics?

Because of the prospects of gaining enough Negro votes in Northern States the people of the South are considered expendable. Behind the scenes the Communists and Socialists are trying to convert our country into a "classless" society as has been done in Russia.

Our secret weapon, however, has not yet been used. This weapon is the parents and teachers of our children. Those attempting to use force to integrate the races are too cowardly to engage in integration themselves. Instead their attempt to use the defenseless children, that is, other peoples' children.

It is time fathers and mothers and schoolteachers united with a will to fight this menace to the bitter end.

The Parent-Teachers organizations are our secret weapon, both the white and the Negro organizations.

L. K. ROBERTS
Savannah, Ga.

c/o Pratt
Shutter Lane
Oyster Bay, N.Y.
September 28, 1958

Dear Harold:

Good letter to the NEWS AND COURIER. Enclosed is clipping of it together with some other epistles of the sort they most usually have. I cut off one letter that I wanted for my files - a lady from Beaufort, S. C., condemning clergymen. Said she: "It has come to such a stage now, that we must protect ourselves and our children against the ministers' teaching in some cases." (Too few!) and: "....some of them are leading us in the ways that we know not."

I spent last night here in Hartsville, S. C., with the rector of our church and am writing this in his study. Killing time before going to Durham for meetings of our editorial group on the symposium project. The rector, Karl Garrison, and I went to a KKK rally that was held just outside of Hartsville last night. It was the usual trash, but two things stood out. After condemning all of the northern press, etc., the speaker turned on magazines and said, among other things, "There isn't a white man's magazine in print except the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT". The other thing was that on the way out from the rally Karl and I stopped and talked with the Sheriff and a State Law Enforcement Officer. Both deplored the KKK before us - the former only really assenting to what the latter said. While we chatted two Klansmen came by taking up a collection for the Klan in a barrel with a top slotted for receiving money. The State man said he didn't want to have anything to do with the KKK. Karl and I just stared at the Klansmen with obvious disapproval. They paused before the Sheriff and with clearly discernable embarrassment he hesitated and then took out a dollar bill and put it in the barrel. This was the most depressing thing in the whole spectacle. Karl and I took our leave. We came home and I called a friend at Radio Station WIS in Columbia and gave him the poop on it in the event he could make a story out of it and, also, channel it along to AP. We'll see what comes of it - if anything. In addition to reporting the Sheriff's action I hope they will report the quote I gave him on U.S.NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. The role of this magazine needs to be made more and more apparent for any who don't see its subtle (sometimes!) influence.

Glad to see that both the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER and THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION .....(MY FRIEND'S LOUSY TYPEWRITER HAS GONE HAYWIRE.....CAN'T GET IT OUT OF CAPITAL LETTERS!) ....REPRINTED THE RICHMOND TIMES DISPATCH EDITORIAL.

DAMN MACHINE .....AND KARL'S NOT HERE TO EXPLAIN ITS QUIRKS!

BEST REGARDS,

JOHN MORRIS

File - John Morris

PROSPECTUS

Background: Positive response to an original prospectus submitted to a sampling of Southern church leaders, its subsequent revision, and a meeting of an editorial committee at Duke University, September 20-October 1, 1958, are the preliminary factors regarding the project described herewith. The committee, including clergymen from five denominations, is listed on the next page.

Proposal: Publication of a book in symposium form on the prophetic mission of the Church in the South in meeting relevantly the segregation crisis. It would encompass the background of the South's racial problem, the role of the churches in Southern history, the present crisis and the churches' response to it, the Church's prophetic ministry through corporate and individual witness - together with such resource chapters as would be of assistance to Southern churchmen, both lay and clerical. A final portion would depict actual instances of where an effective witness has been or is being demonstrated. See the attached outline for a more complete description of the proposed contents.

Purpose: To challenge the churches in the South to meet the controversy over racial discrimination with concern, effective planning, and renewed commitment to Christian principles. To give comfort and counsel to church leaders already involved in prophetic witness and seeking new paths and fresh thinking. To draw into a comprehensive and definitive volume a portion of the clear guidance on this subject that is increasingly appearing in journals and articles, but in a disconnected fashion. To provide a resource document to study groups within churches.

Scope and Reader Potential: While recognizing the national and international context in which the Southern crisis is set, it will be the intent of the symposium to deal with the subject in its varied Southern manifestations - with particular attention to conditions existing in "deep South" states. It will be oriented to the major Protestant churches in the region that are predominantly white, with recognition for positive contributions being made by other groups. The greater part of the material will pertain to all church members, but certain portions will deal with the problems and opportunities that confront clergymen more particularly. While presupposing some agreement on basic principles on the part of the reader, there is a progression planned in the contents which commences with essential background and theology and moves toward its application in individual witness and parish life, with the final part being an indication of how this has been demonstrated in actual situations. It will be a volume that is relevant to both laymen and clergymen in average Southern communities. At the same time, it should meet a need at the college and seminary level for a succinct description of the crisis and the inherent imperatives laid upon the Church for concern and witness. It is felt that a large reading public already exists for this material and there is every indication it will be increasing.

Authorship and Editing: Competence will be the chief criterion in the selection of writers for the various chapters. These will include both lay persons and clergymen according to the demands of the particular chapter. All writers

will be Southerners and their number will include persons from the major churches. Some will be established writers, while others will have the acuteness of insight derived from personal encounter and a developing concern. An honorarium of $100.00 will be given to the writer of each chapter. Skilled personnel will be secured to describe the instances of effective corporate or individual witness included under Part III. All manuscripts will be reviewed by the editorial committee and will be referred to other persons for constructive criticism.

Procedure and Timetable: The greater part of this must necessarily remain unspecified here and await further evolvement. The present plan is that letters of invitation to prospective writers asking them to participate in the symposium will be sent in January, 1959, or soon thereafter. The choice of writers is being made by the editorial committee, with the advice of interested consultants. With so many potential writers for most of the topics it is only to be regretted that more can not be invited to participate. Persons agreeing to write will be asked to submit within a month of acceptance a general outline or description of how they propose to treat their subject. After consultation with the editorial committee they will be asked to proceed, embracing any additional points or revision that may be mutually agreed upon. In some cases a close contact between writers will be necessary to avoid overlapping. It may be that a conference of all writers and the editors can be arranged in the early spring so that the specific parts of the symposium can be seen in relation to the whole, and for a general sharing of thought before final manuscripts are submitted. This latter prospect will depend upon the extent of financial support made available to the project. Whatever the procedure, a deadline of no later than May 1, 1959, should be anticipated for the completion of manuscripts.

Publishing, Distribution & Financial Backing: Financial assistance to cover honoraria, editorial consultations, secretarial help, and, possibly, a conference of writers, will be sought from a foundation. The publishing will be done, in all probability, by one of the standard publishing houses, several of which have indicated an interest in the project and desire to be kept informed of its progress. Maximum distribution will be sought through both regular trade channels as well as through denominational offices or otherwise.

Editorial Committee:

Dr. Waldo Beach, Professor of Christian Ethics, Divinity School, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

Rev. Will Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee

Rev. Colbert Cartwright, Pastor, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Hillcrest and Spruce, Little Rock, Arkansas

Rev. John B. Morris, Chairman of Editorial Committee, Box 806, Dillon, S. C.

Dr. Benjamin I. Rose, Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Leadership, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia

Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, Associate Secretary, Division of Christian Citizenship, National Council of Episcopal Church, Box 853, Lynchburg, Virginia

November 1, 1958

OUTLINE

FOREWORD (By prominent churchman.)
INTRODUCTION (Purpose of book set forth by editors.)

Part I - SOUTHERN CRISIS AND THE CHURCHES

1. Resume of Southern History. (Social, economic and political factors from pre-Civil War era to 1954 as these pertain to the South's bi-racial culture and the present crisis - including some perspective of the relationship of our domestic situation to world trends and vice versa.)

2. The Churches in Southern Culture. (Role of the churches, both Negro and white, in the evolving stages of the South's social patterns from the pre-Civil War era up to 1954.)

3. Crisis Since 1954. (Supreme Court decisions. South's response. Resistance and general mood. Varied means of evasion or compliance. "The moderates", "border", and "deep South" states, etc. Failure in leadership and role of the politicians. Problems in communication. The Negro's views.)

4. The Response of the Churches. (Reaction of churches in the South to the crisis. Relationship of polity to response. Evaluation of official pronouncements and local resolutions. Various positions of clergy and laity.)

Part II - CRISIS AND THE CHURCH'S PROPHETIC MINISTRY

1. Theology of Christian Social Concern. (Theological basis for prophetic role of churches. Corporate dimension of the Christian ethic as distinct from pietism.)

2. A Christian Theology and Ethic on Race. (Biblical and doctrinal teaching. Concept of the Church and implications for racial policy.)

3. The Christian in Society: A Tension Between Christ and Culture. (Conflicting loyalties to Christ and culture and the tension resulting. Dealing with personal conflicts and estrangement from family or background outlook. Constraints and imperatives of the Christian conscience on racial attitudes and practices versus the pull to conformity and practical considerations for the peace and stability of church and community. Opportunities for prophetic witness by individual Christians and pitfalls.)

4. A Prophetic Witness in Pastoral Relations. (Leadership and reconciliation through personal relationships. Adjusting to hostility and creatively encountering it. Counselling and problems arising out of prophetic witness. Opportunities met by clergy and laity.)

5. Worship and Preaching in the Prophetic Ministry. (Resources in worship affecting racial attitudes. Perils and possibilities in preaching on race. Biblical authority. Effective communication in varied climates of opinion.)

6. The Parish Church: Conscience to the Community. (Prophetic mission of the Church through total parish life. A dynamic of reconciling life within the Body of Christ and its testimony to the world without. Relation of polity to racial policy; hierarchial versus congregational principle of authority. Policies relevant to conservative and permissive situations. Problems in transitional periods, etc. Program and study suggestions. Leadership in community by the parish church.)

Part III - "WHO CAN BUT PROPHESY?"

A single writer to descriptively tell in sequence the actual accounts of where an effective witness has been demonstrated by four clergymen and four lay people. This would include a description of the situation, what was done and/or said, and an evaluation of the witness. Persons from different kinds of situations should be included. Along with the account of apparent involvement this should convey the depth of concern and struggle involved. Personally written accounts, followed up by one or more interviews by the writer or editor should produce both the detailing of action and testimony necessary as well as a grasp of its inner significance.

****

APPENDIX:

I Official Statements of Churches
II Directory of resource personnel for leadership and guidance.
III Recommended Reading. Including areas pertinent to the issue not covered in this work as well as elaborating documents. Suggestion of materials for study groups or general distribution.

ITEMIZATION OF PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS ASKED AS ASSISTANCE TO SYMPOSIUM PROJECT

Total: $10,000

For:

$ 1,500.00	-	Honoraria to writers
1,000.00	-	Editorial committee consultations, five estimated meetings at $200.00 each.
500.00	-	Secretarial assistance.
1,000.00	-	Conference of all writers and editors.
1,000.00	-	Fees to professional writer for Part III, and for retaining services of a top-flight editorial consultant.
5,000.00		TOTAL ASKED FOR ASSISTANCE IN PREPARATION OF BOOK.
5,000.00	-	For acquisition of a quantity number of copies from publisher, thereby: --Allowing for limited complimentary distribution through denominational offices so that volume is put in appropriate hands. --Providing assurance to publishing house that they can assume responsibility for publishing with certain guaranteed sales. --Probable lowering of price on trade copies commensurate with anticipated sales herein provided.
$ 10,000.00	-	TOTAL ASKING.

c/o H. Irving Pratt
Shutter Lane
Oyster Bay, N.Y.
December 8, 1958

Dear Harold:

You may see me before you see this. Patsy and I just returned from our very fine trip to Europe and we set out for Atlanta tomorrow to look for housing. Hope to find a place to rent, go back to Dillon and meet movers, and get moved and back up here before Christmas. It may not be possible.

Now that you know we're coming, you can bake a cake. Better still, keep your ears open between when you get this and when I call you in Atlanta (which may be an impossibility in time!) for any three or four bedroom homes renting somewhere near Emory (not essential) at a reasonable rate. What we know about Atlanta we could put in a thimble, so I'll call you for any advice on the matter you might have. We should get there sometime late Wednesday. We spend tomorrow night with Neil Tarplee.

Thought you all would get this race issue cleared up while we were in Europe, but seeing that it's still around I'm enclosing a copy of the prospectus on the project I'd told you about. (Or did Neil send you one???) I hope to get hot on this after getting settled in Atlanta.

Best regards,

John Morris

P. S. Several times abroad the race issue came up. One little Frenchman - no, he was an Italian - asked where we were from. When told "S.C." he replied something like, "Oh, where they bomb temples." I didn't tell him we were moving there.

Too much for airmail without a salary!

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

January 28, 1959

Dear Fred:

Here's a copy of the Dees' exchange I mentioned today.

Apparently he was so unhappy with my reply that he took it upon himself to write me another letter of similiar proportions. In fact he took out more of his anger by writing to the Charleston, S. C., NEWS AND COURIER, and giving me the long-coveted honor of being labeled a communist. (You've heard: "Breathes the the minister with soul so dead, That never hath been called a Red?") I gave no reply to these latter communications. The reasons for having these copies made was to send them to selected persons at whom Dees' had beamed some "Let the General Convention leave the issue alone" material. I thought his indictment of himself in his letter to me sufficient to the cause.

Trust we'll have opportunity to see leisurely another member of the "Brothers" movement in our newly settled home soon.

Best regards,

John

P.S. Just read Wright's letter to Dees. Excellent!

THE OBSERVER FORUM

Racist Groups Are Menace To America

AS REPORTED by the Associated Press, Dr. James A. Jones, president of the Presbyterian Seminary in Richmond, in an address before more than 1,000 Southern industrial leaders on July 18 deplored the emergence of racism as the new nationalism. He said, in part, to the gathering of excutives at Blue Ridge, N. C., "Loyalties are being forged and positions are being taken by whole blocks of mankind simply on the basis of the color of a man's skin."

THAT THERE is a sinister collaboration of elements which support this "racism" is evident from a careful reading of news reports. The appearance of Ku Klux Klan leader James Cole at the state rally of the Kentucky Citizens Council in Louisville last February 1st is a case in point. Also billed as a principal speaker for that meeting was retired Admiral John G. Crommelin of Alabama. Recent news stories report that both Klan and citizens council movement representatives were to welcome John Kasper, prominent racist, upon his release from Federal prison. The executive secretary of the Florida Citizens Council announced Kasper's appearance at the Tallahassee courthouse. Today a news report in The Observer tells that Kasper is visiting Admiral Crommelin in Wetumpka, Alabama. All such indications of alliances with extremist groups notwithstanding, the published "Platform" of a South Carolina citizens council is able to claim: "The Council movement in the South is one which has nothing in common to provide a [illegible] to a grave national emergency."

[illegible] their collaboration are with neither. On [illegible] the head of the South[illegible] of Red Shirts, [illegible] in a news report [illegible] organization has ties with the Klan. [illegible] what he called a Ku Klux Klan underground" was arrested for car theft in Greenville, Mississippi. Found on him was a membership card in the Red Shirt group.

THE GRAVE national emergency is the rise of this new racism in all of its sordidness and antipathy to democratic American traditions. There are the racist groups for the country club set and other groups for those less prominent in the social structure. While individual members of some of these groups may be persons of integrity, the alliances which their leaders make should be sufficient to demonstrate their basic inimicalness to our democratic heritage. Indeed, one must wonder if the racist groups, at their top-leadership level, are not guided in some manner by subversive elements.

(Rev.) JOHN B. MORRIS
Dillon, S. C.

* * *

The Charlotte Observer

Established 1869

NIGHT, President and Publisher — J. E. DOWD, General Man
GHT, Editor — E. B. HUNTER, Assistant to the Publ
E, Associate Editor — J. G. WARD, Circulation Man
NORTON, Assistant to the Editor — R. J. ALANDER, Advertising Man
FESPERMAN, Managing Editor — Wm. B. SANDLIN, Production Man

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1958

601 Jefferson St.
Dillon, S. C.
August 25, 1958

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Appearing on this sheet is a reproduction of a "Letter to the Editor" that appeared in THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, Charlotte, N. C., on August 8, 1958. Accompanying this is a facsimile copy of a letter I received on August 23, 1958, from the Rev. James P. Dees of Statesville, N. C., written in response to this newspaper item. Also included here is a facsimile copy of the carbon of my reply to Mr. Dees.

JOHN B. MORRIS

Trinity Episcopal Church

Statesville, N. C.

THE REV. JAMES P. DEES, RECTOR
421 WALNUT STREET

August 22, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Sir:

I note your remarks in a letter in the Charlotte Observer FORUM, August 8th. You point out that there are very many different sorts of people who are opposed to integration. This is not surprising, since you find some sensible people in all walks of life. You stupidly, I think, "wonder" if the top-leadership of segregationist groups "are not guided in some manner by subversive elements." Anyone who is acquainted at all with current events knows that this is not true: that one of the major projects of the subversive elements is to create racial strife by attempting to force racial integration on the South. The subversives are integrationists, not segregationists. There is ample documentation to this effect in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I call attention to the people with whom you integrationists cohabit: the NAACP, the Communist Party, and (to use Senator Eastland's words) "the almost equally Red National Council of Churches. One does not "wonder," it appears self-evident that it is you integrationists who are "guided in some manner by subversive elements." You certainly are espousing their program. There is no doubt of it. Public records show it.

Yours very truly,

James P. Dees

Rev. James P. Dees

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

August 24, 1958

The Rev. James P. Dees
Trinity Episcopal Church
Statesville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Dees:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 22, 1958, together with enclosures.

My letter to THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, which you seek to rebut, spoke solely to the threat to America posed by the various racist groups - the Citizens Councils and Klans and their leaders, the Kaspers and Coles. I am distressed to find that a priest of the Church would rise to the defense of such elements. I hope you will re-examine your position, so sordid are their pursuits which include many instances of lawlessness.

As to the label of "integrationist" that you fix on me without any substantiation or provocation from the OBSERVER letter, I must disavow such a description and lay claim, rather, to the "moderate" approach in the racial controversy. Publicly and in print elsewhere I have maintained that desegregation of the public schools in various "deep South" areas would be unwise; at the same time I have deplored the failure of some states (e.g., South Carolina) to plan even for desegregation at the level of higher education. I respect the calm and progressive manner with which North Carolina is approaching this whole issue and trust that you will not be too great an influence in retarding it.

As for your allusions, if not outright charges, that I espouse the Communists' program, please be informed that I am quite happily a Capitalist and hold various stock certificates with no intention of dividing them up.

I shall add the enclosures you sent to my file of such spurious literature. They are typical of materials being given extensive distribution by White Supremists today. I note that one is from the "Grass Roots League, Inc." which is the group that so viciously attacked the National Council of the Episcopal Church in 1955.

Recently the press has reported that you are being instrumental in the creation of a segregationist group in the Diocese of North Carolina - "Concerned Churchmen". Contrariwise, it is good to see in the June, 1958, issue of THE NORTH CAROLINA CHURCHMAN that the last convention adopted what appears to be a

wise and constructive report from the Diocese of North Carolina's Commission on Racial Subjects. This is in line with the wisdom shown by your convention in 1955 and by Bishop Penick again in his observations to convention in 1956. I trust that your fellow-churchmen will give "Concerned Churchmen" every consideration due a minority group.

Although I have not had the opportunity of meeting you nor of hearing from you before, the position you take is somewhat known. I am additionally alarmed, however, that your views are such as to prompt you to defend the racist groups to which my OBSERVER letter made reference. I hope that the other members of "Concerned Churchmen" will be more temperate in their viewpoints. I can only conclude that others should be fully informed on the extent of your support of racist groups and I am, accordingly, furnishing copies of our correspondence to clerical friends in North Carolina.

The observations I have made are, by no means, easy to make to a fellow-priest of the Church. I hope that the things which bind us together are still more numerous than the things which divide us. I must pray for myself in this matter of judging you, and I shall pray for you.

Faithfully,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

MF

file JC

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

February 7, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

NEW SOUTH may have previously had some editorial quotes from THE CHERAW (S.C.) CHRONICLE and I missed them or have forgotten it. But, assuming that this may not have been the case, let me suggest that here's a newspaper to be recognized through quotation of appropriate excerpts or editorials in the back part of NEW SOUTH or in whatever manner is suitable.

Enclosed are several things from Mac Secrest's hand in the CHRONICLE. Because he's a personal friend and to keep me abreast of things in South Carolina I've just gotten him to start sending me his paper. I've checked the editorials which bear on the race issue, and double-checked one which is especially good - although it's been said before. Also enclosed is a clipping which demonstrates an un-Southern policy of equal treatment for social notices regardless of the source of same. Just pass these along to whomever handles selection for misc. data for NEW SOUTH. I'm not pressing this matter, but just want to be sure you know what at least one South Carolina weekly is writing. (And there are others. e.g.-NORTH AUGUSTA STAR, etc.)

Looking forward to seeing you and Jane on Thursday. Appropriately enough it's Lincoln's birthday!

Sincerely,

John

PS In some viewpoints Mac follows a Moderate policy, although he personally would favor a more liberal position.

Don't bother to return these.

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

February 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good to see you all the other night. I trust it'll not be too long before we'll pick up where we left off - here in the inside of the house you've at least seen from the outside!

Enclosed is something on the Timmerman-Morris correspondence. There are three paragraphs which ~~become~~ get progressively more to the point. In other words, you could scratch the first two paragraphs and I would have made my apologia pro sua vida. The first paragraph tells of the Judge's son's contact with SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK if this bears on the old man's animosity. I don't know. The second paragraph simply recounts the process that preceeded the Judge's first letter and, then, his specific permission for anyone to publish his letters.

I haven't spent too much time (perhaps, too much space, however) on explaining the nature of my letters to the Judge. This seems to be incidental to making the Judge's letters available to others and is only my apology for some points made. However, I could go into specific detail on the various things I said, if you thought this in order, but I don't feel the necessity of it.

Assuming that you have copies of the correspondence, I'll hold on to the originals unless you want them.

Best regards,

John

P.S. — How much of my data you want depends somewhat on how much a blurb you would give this thing in a prefatory comment. — J.

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

February 16, 1959

In July of 1957 the then Governor of South Carolina, George Bell Timmerman, Jr., sought through a press attack to create public disapproval for and, presumably, the abandonment of a project which resulted in publication in October of that year of a book entitled SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK: A MODERATE APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS. Over 12,000 copies of this book were distributed in South Carolina during the first two months following publication, a fact which can be attributed in part to interest the Governor had created. There was no public reply to the Governor from the committee of clergymen sponsoring publication of the book.

Complementary copies of SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, with accompanying personal letters, were sent to leading officers and officials of South Carolina prior to publication, including the State's three Federal Judges. The following exchange of correspondence is that which ensued between Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr., father of the Governor, and myself, a member of the publishing committee. In response to a request for permission to publish his letters, Judge Timmerman said on July 17, 1958, in a letter to me: "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, comencing with your letter to me under date October 22, 1957, and ending with my letter to you of January 21, 1958, which last letter was in reply to your letter of January 17, 1958.

Accordingly, I am giving the Southern Regional Council permission to publish and distribute at its discretion this exchange of correspondence in the belief that it is salient to note the extremity to which so highly and strategically placed an official as Judge Timmerman will go in the defense of segregation. That the publishing of these letters provides some embarassment to me is evident at those places where, either under the pressure of the time or through attempting some conciliatory move aimed at establishing rapport with the Judge, I took positions more conservative than those which I fully believed then, or have come to believe since. In some instances this involved my statement of a conservative principle without the balancing of its equally true opposite or an enumeration of qualifying conditions. It was my hope that some degree of positive communication and relationship was obtainable in dialogue with a member of the Federal Judiciary. I was not so much seeking to persuade the Judge of the virtue of my views as I was pleading a case for acceptance and respect for divergent views. The twelve prominent South Carolinians who had written in SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK had expressed differing opinions on the race issue, some more conservative than my own, but all with a respect and appreciation for the other viewpoint. I kept looking for something of this quality in my letters from Judge Timmerman and failed to find it.

John B. Morris

John B. Morris

CORRESPONDENCE

CONCERNING SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

BETWEEN

THE REVEREND JOHN B. MORRIS

AND

FEDERAL JUDGE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

INTRODUCTION

With a subsequent distribution of twenty thousand copies, South Carolinians Speak was published by five clergymen at Dillon, S. C., in October of 1957. Seeking to promote "A Moderate Approach to Race Relations," this booklet included statements of personal conviction from twelve South Carolinians prominent in their respective communities. Stating in their Preface that "The time is long overdue for a strong voice of moderation to be heard," the ministers noted: "There are some who would require all South Carolinians to subscribe to their point of view or be ostracized from the community. Fear of free, unrestricted discussion of the problem, and hesitancy to disagree with either the majority or the minority quickly leads to a withering of American ideals." The writers varied in their views from a desire to maintain separate public schools, with desegregation in other areas, to a belief that integration should commence in the first grade and move progressively forward. That they consented to express their opinions in this symposium was affirmative reply to the question posed in the Preface: "Shall men have the freedom to differ and still maintain mutual respect for each other?" A different and violent answer was evident soon after publication in the dynamiting of the home of one of the writers by Klansmen as yet unconvicted and defended in court by a leading member of the South Carolina legislature.

As one of the publishers of South Carolinians Speak, and resident in Dillon at the time, it was my responsibility to write personal letters to accompany the complimentary copies we sent to various officials in the state. Such went to Federal Judge George Bell Timmerman of the United States District Court at Columbia, South Carolina. A lengthy correspondence between the two of us resulted. In response to a request for permission to publish his letters, Judge Timmerman said on July 17, 1958: "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, commencing with your letter to me under date October 22, 1957, and ending with my letter to you of January 21, 1958, which last letter was in reply to your letter of January 17, 1958."

In the belief that it is salient to note the extremity to which so highly and strategically placed an official as Judge Timmerman will go in the defense of segregation, I am publishing our exchange of correspondence herewith. The reader may decide for himself the reasonableness of the Judge's arguments. For my part, I was not so much seeking to persuade Judge Timmerman of the virtue of my views as I was pleading a case for acceptance and respect for divergent views, and for some conciliatory attitude toward a moderate position on the race issue. In South Carolinians Speak I had been associated with persons who had this respect for differing views. I kept looking for something of this quality in my letters from Judge Timmerman and failed to find it.

(Rev.) John B. Morris
3502 Piedmont Road, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

March 1, 1959

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, South Carolina

October 22, 1957

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman
Federal Court Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Enclosed is a copy of the new book, South Carolinians Speak, sent to you with the compliments of its compilers.

The general purpose of the book, as explained in the Preface, is to promote a moderate position on race relations in our State. Since you are one of the primary leaders of the people of South Carolina, we sincerely hope that you will understand and respect such moderate approaches as this book sets forth. Your influence and action in seeking equitable solutions of this difficult situation are a heavy responsibility. We pray that God will strengthen you for providing the leadership these crucial times require.

Assuring you of the deep concern of each of the compilers and writers for the welfare and progress of our State, I remain

Faithfully yours,

/s/ (REV.) JOHN B. MORRIS

(Rev.) John B. Morris

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
Eastern and Western Districts of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

October 29, 1957

Rev. John B. Morris
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I thank you for a copy of "South Carolinians Speak." It came to my office while I was away holding court in another city.

I have only read the preface. I judge that it discloses the purpose of the book and the motive of those who originated the idea of its publication.

The preface manifests the authors' opinion that the social order in South Carolina and throughout the South is ill; that the cure for the sickness is a complete change in the social order that has prevailed in the United States since colonial days. It is also quite manifest in the preface that its authors feel that immediate racial integration is the sure cure for what is termed the "sickness of society." With this view I completely disagree, although I agree that the authors of the preface are entitled to their opinions. However, all those who honestly believe that racial integration is the salvation of our social order should first try it out on their own families before attempting to force it on the families of others.

Personally I think that the most condemnatory evidence against our social order is the presence among our population of too many mulattoes. The cure for this social sickness is not more, but less of it.

To my way of thinking there is no middle ground on the issue of racial integration. It cannot be both right and wrong. To integrate is either all right or all wrong. I believe that God knew what He was doing when He created the races and separated them, just as I believe He knew what He was doing when He created the beasts of the fields and the birds and gave them the instinct to live apart.

One of my earliest recollections is of being taught by my parents that God made me. I still believe that He made me as He wanted me to be - white. All the enemies of our system of government - a government that no functionary has the power to change - can not alter that conviction or inveigle me into an attempt to play God. Too many of our churchmen and public officials have been carried to the mountain top and have been tempted, and have succumbed.

I resent the implication in your preface that men and women who oppose the mongrelization of the races are bigoted and intolerant, or that they are bent on a course of discrimination against negroes. Such is not a part of the creed of white men and women who are loyal to themselves, their families, their race, their communities and to their nation, and, above all, loyalty to the God that made them as they are. Whether you know it or not there are millions of white citizens in the United States - many of them in the North - who believe that the talent of race was given to be used for improvement, not to be hidden or profaned. Moreover, they are firmly convinced that, if God made a mistake in creating the

races and in separating them, Christ knew about it and would have corrected it while He was on earth; that so important a matter would not have been left for the infiltraters of our seminaries to discover and correct.

In a word, these millions of good white citizens, who have helped the negro race upward since Northern greed placed it in the South, and are willing to continue doing so, do not want the United States of America to become a modern Egypt, Portugal, Spain or Brazil. The lessons of history should be heeded.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

George Bell Timmerman

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, South Carolina

January 10, 1958

The Honorable George Bell Timmerman
United States District Court
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your thorough letter of last October 29th. The press of work relative to the issuance of our book is just now letting me reply to some of the many communications we received - both pro and con.

In your letter you state a very complete case for one approach to the race problem and I respect your right to hold and express these views. While we would differ on some points, we actually would not have the divergence of outlook which you suggest.

I am enclosing a clipping from this past Sunday's Charleston NEWS & COURIER* which provides some indication of my own personal

views on the race issue. In reference to the public schools I have made it even clearer elsewhere that I do not think it would be wise to integrate public schools in the "deep South" - now or in the foreseeable future.

Thanking you again for your letter, I am

Yours sincerely,

/s/ (REV.) JOHN B. MORRIS

(Rev.) John B. Morris

*Letter to the News and Courier, Charleston, S. C. Published January 5, 1958.

To The News and Courier:

I have procured a copy of "The Lasting South" which you have editorially commended several times recently. It is an excellent book and, as you have indicated, should be read by every Southerner concerned for the future of this region. It should serve to inform persons outside of the South on the nature of Southern society, and thus gain more understanding for the complexities of our race problem, and it should remind Southerners of the qualities of our region which are primary and which are to be preserved because they are good. A phrase from this book, as quoted by Anthony Harrigan in your review of it, most aptly sums up the message of "The Lasting South" for Southerners today: "...what must be preserved is not the way of life, but the tone of life...

In an editorial recently (December 21, 1957) you say that there are "cracks in the defense" of Southern "mass resistance" to integration and you indicate that "clergymen, educators and editors" have some responsibility for this.

Allow me to suggest that these professional people, in all instances known to me, have an appreciation for the "tone" of Southern life and will strive to preserve it. At the same time many of them look dubiously upon the spirit of massive resistance as offered us by political leaders.

Speaking for myself alone I can say that I do not think it would be wise to integrate public schools in the "deep South." However, we should not let our maintenance of this position deter us from the progress that was being made in race relations prior

to the Supreme Court decision. With proper planning, desegregation of public transportation and graduate school facilities would accord Negro citizens the equal rights they are due.

It is not only persons from certain professions who believe that the best qualities of "the lasting South" do not lend support to extreme segregationist ideas and "massive resistance." I have talked with hundreds of leading citizens of South Carolina, persons prominent in the business and civic life of the State, and found nearly all of them to be moderate in their views on the race issue. These persons who most often appreciate the "tone of life" in the South have readily deplored the "way of life" offered us by extremists on either side, including "mass resistance."

Rev. John B. Morris, Pastor
Dillon St. Barnabas Episcopal Church

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
Eastern and Western Districts of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

January 14, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 10 and a clipping from The Charleston News and Courier that accompanied your letter.

The clipping contains a letter written by you to The News and Courier, apparently for publication. I have noted in it a few statements that appear to me to be significant. I shall quote and comment on two or three of them since they seem to point up the main differences in our thinking.

You say, "I do not think it would be wise to integrate schools in the 'deep South'". What I would say is, that white and negro children should not be forced to mix in public schools or elsewhere.

Your statement, taken in or out of context, implies that you do not oppose mixing in public schools in places other than the "deep South." There we part company.

At one time the proponents of the mixing movement professed to be interested solely in improving educational advantages for negro children. Now it is generally conceded that the real goal is the integration of the races. To use a more understandable phrase, the purpose of the movement is to mongrelize the races.

According to my religious philosophy God made the races and set them apart, one from another. It is not within the competency of any person to question or condemn what God did, or to attempt to correct what He did.

Frankly, I am afraid to mock God, as the integrationists seem not to be.

Why He did so, I do not profess to know, but I do know that God made the races different. It is apparent to anyone who will look that there are marked ethnic and physical differences among the races, and none more marked than those between the white and negro races.

I note your agreement that, "With proper planning, desegregation of public transportation and graudate school facilities would accord Negro citizens the equal rights they are due." That assumption of the negro's rights implies superiority. It suggests that a white person has no right to object to what a negro demands, but that what a white person demands may be successfully objected to by a negro - a strange brand of equality. The ardent integrationists, certainly those who are such for pay, would condemn your proposal as being too slow an approach to ultimate mongrelization. I agree that so limited it would materially slow the movement.

The concluding paragraph of your letter to The News and Courier very clearly implies that you oppose "massive resistance" to racial integration.

If I favored racial integration, I most certainly would disapprove any opposition to it, whether it was massive, moderate or mild. In other words, racial integration is either right or wrong, and it makes no difference whether the attempt to bring it about is at the point of a bayonet or by the evil persuasion of subsidized propaganda. Consequently, every good citizen should be on one side or the other. Where the choice is between right and wrong, between condemning God and praising Him, there is no respectable middle ground.

"He that is not with me is against me;
and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

George Bell Timmerman

January 17, 195[illegible]

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman
United States District Court
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Thank you for your letter of January 14th. I am humbled by your taking the time to write one so insignificant as I so thoroughly about your views on the race controversy. In exchanging views via this correspondence we are involved in what is probably needed most by everyone - communication. Abroad in the land is a great need of people to hear and be heard with reference to this issue. I truly believe that the Negroes would not be pushing the issue as hard if they could have the opportunity to be heard in bi-racial conferences designed just for hearing and telling.

As grateful as I am for the communication afforded each of us in this exchange of correspondence, I shall not expect a reply to this letter since I know that you are a busy man. Of course, if any of my observations prompt you to note your views I shall welcome hearing from you again. Whatever our disagreement, I respect your right to your position and "would defend to the death your right" to hold it.

While it is not stated in your letter it would appear to me that your position carried logically forth would result in a "White Supremist" outlook. Forgive me if I am wrong in seeing the potentiality of this in some of your observations. While believing, as noted in the clipping I sent you with my last letter, that segregation is the best thing for public schools in the "deep South," I cannot accept the position generally indicated as White Supremist. I believe that it is the outlook and rigid unbending in any area whatsoever that will harm the South most in its fight to handle its own problems. We stand a chance of convincing the bar of public opinion across the nation of the wisdom of public school segregation. But White Supremist doctrine will only hasten a trend fostered by the NAACP - total integration - and we will lose our case before the nation and before the courts. If, on the other hand, we could prove our "good faith" in accommodating the few talented Negroes who rise above the average of their race, we would stand a better chance of preserving public school segregation honorably.

I beg, sir, if we would preserve the good qualities of Southern living, not to require that all Southerners be totally "with" you or, if not, thereby "against" you. There is a "respectable middle ground," I believe, and I have talked with hundreds of leading South Carolinians who stand there. Let us

agree to stand together where we can - and honor one another where we cannot. Only in this way will our beloved South be saved much travail.

Yours faithfully,

/s/ JOHN B. MORRIS

John B. Morris

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
Eastern and Western Districts of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

January 21, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 17th instant.

I must confess some amazement at your repetitious use of the communist cliche, "White Supremist."

What, in your estimation, is a "White Supremist"? How does one differ from a Jew or Gentile Supremist, or from a Black, Brown or Yellow one?

I note that you see in observations contained in my letter to you a " 'White Supremist' outlook." I take it, therefore, that you disagree with these observations, viz. (a) That it is now generally recognized that the purpose of the mixing movement is to integrate the races; (b) that God made the races and set them apart; (c) that it is not within the competency of any person to question or condemn what God did, or to attempt to do so; (d) that I am afraid to mock God, as integrationists seem not to be; (e) that it is apparent that there are marked ethnic and physical differences among the races, especially between the white and negro races; (f) that I agree that "massive resistance" is proper in fighting any evil, none more so than the God defying racial mongrelization movement; and (g) that where the choice is between right and wrong, between condemning God and praising Him, there is no respectable middle ground.

With which of these observations do you disagree, with a part or all of them; and which of them indicates a "'White Supremist' outlook"?

You speak of "a chance of convincing the bar of public opinion across the nation of the wisdom of public school segregation." Do you believe that consorting with the opposition, giving aid and comfort to it, is going to accomplish that end? And why should it be accomplished, if it isn't right? If segregation is right, why aren't you on the side of it all the way - not just a part of the way?

The Bible, God's Word, doesn't teach me to compromise with sin. What does it teach you?

In your letter you speak of "a trend fostered by the NAACP - total integration" - which will cause us to "lose our case before the nation and before the Courts." I gather from this that you realiza that those who control the NAACP activities are out to integrate the races. To that extent you agree with me that the mask is off and that it is no longer to be doubted that total racial integration is the object of those who are fighting to mix our children in schools, churches and elsewhere.

And, to what do you refer as "our case," which you prophesy that we will lose before the nation and the courts? Do you mean by this prophecy that you anticipate that the Supreme Court will order us to integrate the races, that it will enjoin us from preserving the purity of our race, and that the nation will approve?

Have you ever satisfied yourself why it is that Christ did not command racial integration? Was His failure to do so an effort to cover up God's mistake in creating the races and setting them apart?

Remember Christ said:

> "He that is not with me is against me;
> and he that gathereth not with me
> scattereth abroad."

In my judgment the greatest travail that could befall the South or the nation would be racial mongrelization. Upon that issue, to me, there is no respectable middle ground for any race.

I note you say you have talked to thousands. You should talk to the tens of thousands that you have missed.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

George Bell Timmerman

March 7, 1959

John —

Note the enclosed clipping which you may have seen from another source — or you very likely are more informed on the "Putnam letter" progress than even this suggests. Return this at your convenience.

We need an array of distinguished Southerners to put their names to some appeal for desegregation and have some placed in "The Northern Press" to counteract impressions, etc.

Regards

John

File

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

News and Courier 3/5/59

John Temple Graves

Capital 'L' Won By Putnam Letter

"Tell it not in Gath and publish it not in the streets of Ashelon. . ."

GATH IS being told.

Paid ads are half-filling pages in Ashelon with the now famous superscription "Dear Mr. President."

The Putnam Letter has earned its capital "L". It is now the most circulated and discussed single piece of literature to come out of the Southern resistance, prized not only for what it says but for the fact of being no product of Southern partisanship but the expression of a highly literate intelligent, educated and cosmopolitan outsider.

THE PUTNAM LETTER Committee which we organized in Birmingham after Editor Mills of the Post-Herald there had published the letter on his editorial page and then supplied some 60,000 reprints upon individual request, has gone into orbit. Its initial object was to get the letter into The New York Times as a paid advertisement when The Times and other national periodicals had refused to print it as a letter.

But as the Southern people began responding in extraordinary number and ardor to the initial appeal for funds and as demand for individual copies turned to an almost insatiable, the committee has lifted its sights higher and higher. Under Chairman James E. Simpson, associated now with Alabama's ex-Gov. Frank Dixon, Lieut. Gov. Albert Boutwell and ex-Lieut. Gov. Marvitch, some $35,000 has been received from all parts of the South and many areas beyond.

Paid advertisements have appeared not only in The Times but in such papers as The Washington Star, The Christian Science Monitor, The Wall Street Journal, with others to follow in Chicago, Detroit, etc. and such. The committee has continued to make reprints for individual distribution, too, for all who send stamped addressed envelopes. A chain reaction with no end in sight has developed. The phenomenon begins almost to compare in reverse with the influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" before the War Between the States.

Contributions are to be addressed to Chairman James E. Simpson, 317 N. 20th Street, Birmingham. Also requests for individual copies and for mats to be used in local newspapers willing to run the letter for love or money.

IN WASHINGTON, D. C. contributions after the advertisement was refused by the Post and appeared in The Star, exceeded by several times the cost of the ad. North and East are being covered with the letter not only by newspaper but by mail from individual to individuals, including some individuals who make reprints of their own for distribution.

Now it is planned to invade the West and Midwest where the South has especial hope of what this column likes to describe as a nation-winning alliance for the Constitution and common sense against metalism, centralism, one worldism, one big unionism, integrationism and rule by pressure groups: St. Louis, to which all roads run; Denver where the mountains meet the plains; Dallas, "South where the West begins"; Portland, where race hate festers in hiding, as I have learned on two visits, many are looking to the South; Salt Lake City where the South has enormous sympathy that needs implementing with facts; Minneapolis where the South is least understood; Los Angeles where lunatics of the left out-number lunatics of the right and both need such moorings as the South connotes.

WHAT INTERESTS me most is the need and prospect of circulating the Putnam Letter in parts of our own South where, even now, it is still largely unknown, especially in the great cities of New Orleans, Atlanta, Miami, Memphis, Charlotte, and — strangely to relate — Montgomery.

The sad fact is that many of our Southern young people, influenced by preachers and teachers and by the prestige of the North and East, are being turned away from the Southern viewpoint even as young people outside the South, faced for the first time with the actualities of living, are shocked into anticipated sympathies with the South.

WANTED AGAIN — Edwin E. Garrison (above) has been added to the FBI list of "10 Most Wanted Fugitives" for the second time. Garrison, 38, was first placed on the list Oct. 26, 1953, after his escape from prison. He was captured eight days later. Garrison again escaped from jail at Atmore, Ala. He has been convicted of robbery, kidnaping, murder.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1745 Sumter Street
Columbia, South Carolina
March 31, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am interested in the correspondence between John Morris and Judge Timmerman. I had just received a copy of it yesterday from John who wrote that you are giving it distribution in Washington and to the news media. I am sure that if you can spare additional copies we can use to advantage fifty to one hundred.

It has occurred to me that the Rev. Jack Stafford who is now at the Veterans Hospital in Dublin, Georgia might be willing to have his correspondence with Judge Timmerman handled in a similar fashion. At the time he left Batesburg he had undergone such stresses and strains that he was not receptive to such an idea at that time. I certainly hope he will be willing to have his correspondence published, because it is even more revealing of Judge Timmerman's attitude, if possible.

Are you planning to send copies of John Morris's correspondence to any of the news media in South Carolina? If not, I should like to do so as there are a few people with whom we have exceptionally good rapport, who may be able to handle this, even now or later with considerable finesse.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/ahj

file

Additional Copies Available
from
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

Additional Copies Available
from
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

April 3 1959

Dear John

Many thanks for the books and reprints.

Re "Action Patterns" book looks very good.

May's article in Look is excellent but could be expanded upon in leaflet form to great advantage, I think.

Will discuss these things with you again sometime soon.

Regards

John

Additional Copies Available
from
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Morris-Timmerman Correspondence

REGARDING:

Additional distribution

DATE

April 15, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

CONGRESS, U.S.
D& Correspondence with Senators, etc., etc.

ONE SEVENTY FIVE EAST SIXTY FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK

April 28, 1959

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED MAY 1 1959

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I deeply appreciate your having sent me a copy of the correspondence between Reverend Morris and Judge Timmerman.

I believe that it is increasingly important that there be an exchange of ideas and this particular correspondence forces one to face how vast the cleavage is that needs to be bridged.

With deepest appreciation and every good wish,

Cordially,

Justine Wise Polier

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:mo

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

June 6, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your part in our meeting yesterday. It's not that I think you require a formal note of appreciation, but I was so writing to the others and, also, wanted to report what Will and I concluded last night.

We decided to place three addresses on the card: the present one in Cincinnati (if they're willing), Will's home address and mine. We feel that this will divided up the labor and enable us to proceed with as little administrative detail as possible. It can be changed anytime through a revision in the card's text if the burden becomes what we hope it will be ultimately. This three-fold source for procuring the materials may also serve to emphasize the informal status of the movement and give it the appearance of strength in diverse centers of operation and the regional inclusiveness which it maintains.

On finances, we (somewhat as clergy may be prone to do) condluded that we could scrape together from here and there what would be needed to start off and will have faith that it will carry itself evenutally. At some point, if there's need and we've got more to show for the effort than we do now, we would consider looking up a minor angel for some assistance. That, however, is for the future.

Please let me have any ideas you may have on this mode of distribution and, also, any specific suggestions you think we should consider for the content of the card.

Bee seeing you.

Faithfully,

John B. Morris

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEdar 7-0414

RECEIVED JUL 14 1959

July 13, '59

Dear Harold —

In response to sending a pro-Eleanor editorial from Mac Secrest's Cherau Chronicle (S.C) to Mrs. FDR, and, in the context of my letter, pointing out what a great group SRC was (mentioning having seen her comment re: Sou. Conference), she says in note of appreciation:

"I have known about the fine work done by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta and have mentioned them in some of my writings."

So — Squaw of great white father think you are O.K! and we all feel better —

We're off to Maine —

Regards
John

Thanks again for Minnie's help —

July 28, 1959

Mr. John Morris
c/o H. I. Pratt
North Haven, Maine

Dear John:

Envious greetings to you and yours in your cool, tension-free retreat -- and I do mean retreat.

I have done your bidding, and Jack Greenberg is now in possession of the pearls you and Timmerman cast before each other. It's possible Jack has already read it, since a copy went to his boss; but it won't hurt him to see it again.

Glad to hear the response to your prospectus is good. Couldn't you have wooed and won Bishop Claibourne at first hand, before the proposal went out? Don't tell me; the answer is "no."

Remember Little Rock.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUL 27 1959

THE REVEREND JOHN B. MORRIS

(Until August 24th)
c/o H. I. Pratt
North Haven, Maine
July 24, 1959

Dear Harold:

Weather cool - wish you were here - rum flowing freely - and no minority groups around to get het up about. (Inter-group relations here consists of tensions between native folk and summer crowd.)

Actually I've hardly begun to enjoy the attributes of a Maine vacation for all the correspondence I've been doing re the proposal for which you did mimeo work for me. Very enthusastic reception thus far in feedback. One exception: Bishop Claiborne of Atlanta very negative (I expected this.), while, paradoxically enough, Bishop Stuart of Savannah is terribly interested and will attend founding conference.

Trusting you've not been visited by the Klan (although you must have enjoyed the demonstration down the street I read about) (that is, down your street - the Prado)(who was the other notable who lived on a Prado - Hitler, Stalin, ??), I'm writing to suggest that you dispatch a copy of the Timmerman correspondence to Mr. Jack Greenberg, Legal and Defense Fund, NAACP, NYC. He's representing a Michigan man in suit against Greenville, S. C., airport which is being processed by Timmerman. Have just noted this in my Charleston rag sheet and would send him document except I'm frustrated at not having addresses of NAACP, or anyone else, here or New York phone book from which to obtain it. Perhaps he would have been in a position to know of this little brochure anyway, or perhaps it is irrelevant to the fact of the suit in Timmerman's court.

Hope you, Jane and those Confederate generals of yours are relatively cool & collected & will enjoy some respite off for a while. Remember - "Illigitimus non carborundum" - or are you familiar with that?

Regards,

John

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

RECEIVED SEP 28 1959

9-25-59

Dear "Hard-headed" Harold of the "Soft-headed SRC!" *

All I can say is - "Don't send my boy to Harvard or I'd rather see him dead" etc. (I'll sing it for you sometime.) If Stanley Morse went to Harvard, all hope is lost. You can, with a clear conscience, now cancel your $1,000.00 contribution to the Harvard Development Program and I'll get Patsy's father to raising money for SRC instead of John Harvard.

Y.I.T.B.

John

* Between Editor Kilpatrick's recent comments and previous remarks about you, haven't you become sort of a paradox?

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA
CEDAR 7-0414

RECEIVED OCT 9 1959

October 8, 1959

Dear Harold:

Or should I address you as "King" or just plain "Preacher"? The latter seems to be what I'm settling for. Like all good guys you gather to yourself many varying terms of affection!

The enclosed is for your information - not that you need it or want it - and in appreciation for the mimeo services provided me yesterday. (I did the stenciling and you all ran them off.) I thought, however, that you might like to see the full line up being that we've got some of your close associates involved.

I guess you're off on a jaunt now seeing if you can't raise money to agitate us poor Southerners. Similiarly, I leave on Monday for about two weeks of speaking on "The South as I see it...." and general promotional work for the society we're cooking up. (If you don't watch out, we'll integrate without you! That is, the one true Church may be all cleaned up before you leap that broad chasm separating Baptists and Episcopalians.)

Regards,

John

3502 Piedmont Rd., N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia
October 7, 1959

To the Symposium Writers & Editors:

I am happy to report that we have a full complement of writers, as per the enclosed list, and are ready to proceed with the next step. Heretofore, we have been engaged in securing writers and have not offered any deadlines, etc., but now we are prepared to follow through on this with all deliberate speed, given the full cooperation of everyone involved.

As outlined in the Prospectus, the next step is for each writer to send me an outline or description of how he proposes to treat his topic. These should be sent to me by November 10th. They will be duplicated and sent to the editors who are to forward direct to each writer such suggestions and comment as they may have, sending me a copy of all advisories. The subsequent schedule will be for the editors to have provided comment on all outlines by December 10th. Then, we will hope to have manuscripts from the writers by the end of February. A more definite date can be determined later and I am open to any suggestions you may have on this.

In preparing your outline you will want to consider the overall length. Let me suggest that a norm of 10,000 words be considered or something between 15 and 30 printed pages. We will be flexible, recognizing that the nature of the subject matter will inevitably make for something longer or shorter as the case may be. Basically, simply remember that this is a symposium and, while a book could be written on each chapter's topic, they must be fashioned to fit in with each other in an integral and concise manner. Try not to overlap or duplicate material that would normally be subsumed under another heading.

Remember that we are preparing a volume for churchmen, both lay and clerical, who have some concern for the South's racial controversy and the Church's role in it. They may not be as committed or informed in this area as we would hope. It is the purpose of the symposium to offer its reader such a blend of historical insight, theological presuppositions and self-understanding, that his concern will be quickened and deepened so that he may profit from the resources of practical know-how and be a more effective person in his church and community. While two of the chapters will speak most directly to clergy, most are equally relevant to both clergy and laity. There is a natural movement in the inter-locking of the chapters which is to carry the reader forward from a look backwards into history to the parish situation in which he now finds himself. You may want to review the whole outline in relation to your part before preparing your outline.

I am enclosing another copy of the Prospectus should you have need of it. If you have questions on any phase of this or on your own chapter, please write me at any time.

Yours faithfully,

John B. Morris

Symposium Writers

Part I

1. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, 405 Clifton Heights, Newport, Tenn.
   - Mrs. Stokely has written numerous articles on the South and is co-author of "Neither Black Nor White".

2. Dr. Charles S. McCoy, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif.
   - Dr. McCoy, at the University of Florida until the fall of 1959, has written various articles on the ministry in the South.

3. Dr. James McBride Dabbs, Rip Raps Plantation, Mayesville, S. C.
   - Dr. Dabbs, author of "The Southern Heritage", is President of the Southern Regional Council.

4. The Rev. Will D. Campbell, Box 1083, Nashville, Tennessee.
   - Mr. Campbell is Associate Executive Director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. He has spoken and written extensively on the Southern situation and the churches.

Part II

1. Dr. A. T. Mollegen, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.
   - Dr. Mollegen has written and spoken extensively on Christian Social Ethics.

2. Dr. Roger L. Shinn, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 121st St., New York, N. Y.
   - Dr. Shinn, at Vanderbilt University until the fall of 1959, has written and spoken on the Southern situation.

3. The Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, Church of the Ascension, 315 Clanton Avenue, Montgomery, Ala.
   - Mr. Thrasher has written about the Montgomery bus boycot situation.

4. The Rev. Warren Carr, Watts Street Baptist Church, Durham, N. C.
   - Mr. Carr has written on the role of the clergyman in the Southern crisis.

5. The Rev. George A. Chauncey, 341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
   - Now with the Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church, Mr. Chauncey knew intimately the role of preaching when he served a church in Arkansas before and during the difficulties at Little Rock.

6. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, 6195 Washington Avenue, St. Louis 12, Missouri.
   - A writer and speaker of note, Dr. Dahlberg is pastor of a church and President of the National Council of Churches.

******

Notes:

Apologies, please, for omissions of significant writings by any of the above. Each one is well known in his own right! An attempt was simply made to suggest something of the writers' qualification.

Inasmuch as Part III, being biographical sketches, is different in nature from the two previous sections of the symposium, its development has not commenced and, when it is begun, will be carried on somewhat independently from the remainder of the volume.

The Committee of Editors for this project is listed in the Prospectus.

FIRST CODICIL TO LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

I, EILEEN O'DANIEL EDDY, of Alexandria, Virginia, being of sound and disposing mind and memory, do hereby make, publish and declare this First Codicil to my Last Will and Testament dated June 8, 1962.

FIRST

Articles Fifth and Sixth of my said Will are hereby amended to read as follows:

FIFTH

(1) If my husband, George A. Eddy, survives me, I direct that ten percent (10%) of the value of my adjusted gross estate be set aside and divided into three equal parts and one part given to each of the following:

One part to Smith College, Northhampton, Massachusetts;

One part to Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 5, Georgia;

One part to the Executive Council, Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, New York, N.Y.

However, if my husband, George A. Eddy, should not survive me, I direct that in computing such ten percent (10%) of my adjusted gross estate, only such property as belonged to me prior to the death of my said husband shall be counted, and that no part of any property which I may inherit under the will of my said husband shall be counted in computing the ten percent (10%) of the adjusted gross estate which I give to the aforesaid beneficiaries; it being my intention specifically to exclude from the above charitable gifts any property of any nature whatever bequeathed

E.O'D.E.

or devised to me by my said husband, or to which I may become entitled as a survivor as a result of joint ownership of property with my said husband, and further excluding any proceeds resulting from the sale, exchange or other disposition of any of such property.

(2) If my said husband, George A. Eddy, survives me, I give all the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, after the payment of all death taxes, to my children named in Article Fourth above in equal shares or, if any child should predecease me, then to his or her lawful issue, per stirpes.

SIXTH

If my husband, George A. Eddy, should not survive me, then I give, devise and bequeath all the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, of whatever nature and wherever situated, to my brother, Richard E. O'Daniel, Camp Hill, Pennsylvania, and Carrington Williams, Fairfax, Virginia, as TRUSTEES, for the benefit of my children, Jonathan Edgar Brewer Eddy, Priscilla Alden Eddy and David O'Daniel Eddy, and any other child or children hereafter born to or adopted by me, in equal shares, per stirpes, the child or children of any deceased child to take by representation. I direct that a separate trust be set up for each child, such trust to be for the maintenance, support and education of such child. In the administration of these Trusts my Trustees shall have the broad powers hereinafter enumerated, including the power to invade the principal of the Trust when, and if, in their sole and uncontrolled discretion, they should

E.O.D.

deem it necessary or advisable for the purposes of this Trust. The corpus of each Trust, and any accumulated and undistributed income, are to be distributed to each beneficiary thereof in the following proportions at the following ages: One-fourth (1/4th) at age twenty-one; one-fourth (1/4th) at age twenty-five, and one-half (1/2) at age thirty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 24th day of June, 1966. For identification, I have initialed each of the foregoing pages of this First Codicil to my Last Will and Testament, which consists of three (3) pages.

Eileen O'Daniel Eddy (Seal).
Eileen O'Daniel Eddy

The foregoing instrument, consisting of three (3) pages, was on this 24th day of June, 1966, subscribed, sealed, published and declared by the Testatrix to be her First Codicil to her Last Will and Testament dated June 8, 1962, in our presence and in the presence of each of us, and we at the same time at her request and in her presence, and in the presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names and residences as attesting witnesses, the day and year last above written.

Thomas J Middleton residing at 9605 Sonjo Court
Fairfax, Virginia

W W Moore residing at 3614 Chain Bridge Rd.
Fairfax, Va.

Carrington Williams residing at 3446 Merrifield Road
Falls Church, Va.

MAY 18 1970

LAW OFFICES
BAUKNIGHT, PRICHARD, McCANDLISH & WILLIAMS

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MINERVA WILSON ANDREWS
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JOHN J. CZYZEWSKI
R TERRENCE NEY
MICHAEL T. BRADSHAW

3976 CHAIN BRIDGE ROAD
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22030
TELEPHONE 703/273-4600

WASHINGTON, D.C. OFFICE
SOLAR BUILDING
1000 16TH STREET, N.W. 20036

SCHUYLER WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
COUNSEL

May 15, 1970

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Gentlemen:

Please be advised that this office represents the Estate of Eileen O'Daniel Eddy, formerly of 5325 Polk Avenue, Alexandria, Virginia, who passed away on May 3, 1969.

Mrs. Eddy, by her Last Will and Testament, bequeathed to the Southern Regional Council, an amount equal to three and one-third percent (3-1/3%) of her adjusted gross estate as finally determined for Federal Estate Tax purposes. While the adjusted gross estate has not been determined at this time, the Executor has directed his stock broker, by letter dated May 4, 1970, to make a distribution to you of three hundred (300) shares of American Cyanamid Company common stock. His letter directed these shares to be delivered directly to you. Any balance that may be due the Southern Regional Council will be paid in cash after the adjusted gross estate has been finally determined.

We are enclosing herewith a copy of Mrs. Eddy's Last Will and Testament dated June 8, 1962, and the First Codicil thereto dated June 24, 1966.

The Executor is contemplating an election to have the gross estate of the decedent valued as of May 3, 1970, the alternate

date. We shall forward to you appropriate sections of the Federal Estate Tax Return after it is filed.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur P. Scibelli
m.w.

Arthur P. Scibelli

APS:mw

Enclosures

cc: Mr. George A. Eddy

June 3, 1970

Mr. David Eddy
1329 Essex Road
Winter Park, Florida 32789

Dear David:

Recently we were very surprised, and deeply grateful to learn that the Southern Regional Council was to receive a generous contribution from your Mother's estate.

I can recall so many years ago the support, financial and moral, which you and your wife gave during those hard days in Alabama, and later from Florida. Please know that we shall do everything possible to justify your confidence and that of your Mother's.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

June 3, 1970

Mr. George A. Eddy
5325 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mr. Eddy:

We have recently learned from your attorneys of the generosity of the late Mrs. Eddy. Please know how deeply grateful we are, and know also of our condolences at your loss.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

June 3, 1970

Mr. Arthur P. Scibelli
Bauknight, Prichard, McCandlish &
Williams
3976 Chain Bridge Road
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

Dear Mr. Scibelli:

This will acknowledge with our grateful appreciation the generosity of Mrs. Eileen O'Daniel Eddy, and of your office in processing this.

Separately, we are writing Mr. George A. Eddy and Mr. David O. Eddy.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

June 22, 1970

Mr. Arthur P. Scibelli
Bauknight, Prichard, McCandlish & Williams
3976 Chain Bridge Road
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

Dear Mr. Scibelli:

This will acknowledge receipt of the check for $1,646.97, representing the balance of the bequest of Mrs. Eddy. The receipt form you sent is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

June 22, 1970

Mr. George A. Eddy
5325 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Dear Mr. Eddy:

This will acknowledge receipt of the 300 shares of American Cyanamid stock, and of a check received today from your law firm in the amount of $1,646.97.

We continue to be deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

22 1970

LAW OFFICES
BAUKNIGHT, PRICHARD, McCANDLISH & WILLIAMS

WILLIAM C BAUKNIGHT
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R. TERRENCE NEY
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FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22030
TELEPHONE 703/273-4600

WASHINGTON, D.C. OFFICE
SOLAR BUILDING
1000 16TH STREET, N.W. 20036

SCHUYLER WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
COUNSEL

June 19, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

rec'd
6/22/70
m
posted jh

Re: Estate of Eileen O'Daniel Eddy

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are enclosing herewith the following relative to the subject Estate:

1. Check in the amount of $1,646.97 representing the balance of the bequest due Southern Regional Council under the Will of Eileen O'Daniel Eddy.

2. Appropriate pages of the Form 706, United States Estate Tax Return, filed on behalf of the subject Estate by George A. Eddy, Executor, showing the computation of the adjusted gross estate from which the total amount of the bequest to the Southern Regional Council was determined.

3. Original and one copy of a Receipt which we must file with the Commissioner of Accounts. Would you be good enough to have the original of this Receipt executed on behalf of the Southern Regional Council and return to us.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur P. Scibelli

Arthur P. Scibelli

APS:ll
Enclosures
cc: Mr. George A. Eddy, Executor

5325 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22304
June 8, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JUN 12 1970

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Re: Bequest from Eileen O'Daniel Eddy

Thank you for your note of June 3.

I enclose the certificate registered in your organization's name for 300 shares of American Cyanamid Company common stock, as mentioned in the letter to you from the attorney for my late wife's estate, dated May 13. The certificate, numbered NYU 117055, has been in the process of transfer ever since I ordered the transfer made on May 4.

The value placed on this stock is the same as the one which will be used for federal estate tax purposes, namely, the mean of the high and low prices on the New York Stock Exchange on May 1 and May 4, 1970 (May 3, the anniversary of the date of death, having fallen on a Sunday this year.) That figure is $26.59375 per share, or $7,978.13 for the 300 shares.

I hope that the slight error in the last figure of the Zip Code in the address on the face of the certificate will not interfere with your receiving all mail from the company and its bankers promptly. On or about June 26 you should receive the pending dividend of 31¼¢ per share. If you think you should try to correct the address's Zip Code number, you should write Corporate Transfer Agent, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York City.

If you can sell the stock for a higher price than $26.59 per share, no reduction will be made in the remaining balance of cash to be paid to you.

We hope to write you further within a few weeks.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Eddy

George A. Eddy

IN THE CORPORATION COURT OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

IN RE: ESTATE OF EILEEN O'DANIEL EDDY,)
Deceased) Fiduciary No. 4684

RECEIPT

I, the undersigned agent for Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30305, hereby acknowledge to have received from George A. Eddy, Executor of the Estate of Eileen O'Daniel Eddy, the portion of the Estate due Southern Regional Council, consisting of three hundred (300) shares of American Cyanamid Company valued at $7,978.13 and cash in the amount of $1,646.97.

Dated this _____ day of _____, 1970.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By: _____

P.O. Box 321
W. Falmouth
MASS. 02574

AUG 6 1970 VIII 4 · 70

Dear Paul Anthony,

Please excuse this belated acknowledgment of your friendly letter dated June 3. I have only now confirmed that you were mistaking a bequest from my sister-in-law, Eileen Eddy, of Alexandria, Va. (died in May '69) as coming from my mother, Josephine Eddy, of Newtonville, Mass. (who died in Aug. '69).

I don't know what my (or if) mother gave to SRC during her life; but it is not included in her Will.

My late sister-in-law, however was for a number of years president of the Alexandria Council on Human Relations and attended Va. C. on H. R. annual meetings etc.

At this writing, I don't know how you have acknowledged to my brother execution of his first wife's bequest to SRC. (He married a widow with five children in Aug. '69.) Since my inquiry to him (re. your letter to me) revealed some mis comprehension by SRC on Eileen Eddy, you may want to write George to indicate the record is now clarified. Eileen labored valiantly and effectively in the cause of civil rights. SRC ranked with Smith College and the Episcopal Church as her major charitable beneficiaries.

There is no need to take your time writing me - unless I have left you still confused; but I think you probably will want to write my brother (just 10 years my senior). (His address encl.

We'll be back in Winter Park for school in Sept. With best wishes,

David Eddy

GEORGE A. EDDY
5325 POLK AVE.
ALEXANDRIA, VA. 22304

NORFOLK VIRGINIA 28
-PM
20 JUL

U.S. AIR MAIL 10c

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr David B. Eddy
Box 321
West Falmouth, Mass 02574

11- 7 - Misc -
Farmer, Dr. Hallie

27 January 1948

Dr. Hallie Farmer
Department of Government and History
Alabama State College for Women
Montevallo, Alabama

Dear Dr. Farmer:

The Southern Regional Council is planning to run a series of short articles with accompanying maps on legislative apportionment in each Southern state, beginning with A labama. The idea is to distort each state map in order to show the proportional representation from each main area -- mountain, piedmont, plantation, and piney woods.

In working out the ratios for the regions in Alabama, your 1944 study of legislative apportionment in Alabama has been a big help.

According to the most recent available Book of the States, neither the counties nor the legislators in Alabama have changed in number since you made your study. However, we thought that it would be wise to check with you to be sure that the figures we were using were still all right. Also, if you know of any recent or pending attempts at reapportionment, we would be very glad to have such information for our article.

Many thanks for your help. We will appreciate very much anything you can tell us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

F-Miscel

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

February 11, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1948
Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The efforts of The Southwestern Sociological Society to attract foundation subvention under terms which I mentioned in earlier correspondence have met with failure. This, of course, closes us out pretty much on such schemes as I outlined.

However, if you are interested in going ahead in trying to get Wayland Hayes at Vanderbilt to do you a release on community organization, I know The Southern Sociological Society has funds similar to the ones we sought and I believe Hayes is receptive. He might be able to tap society funds for writing expenses and turn you a completed manuscript for publication. I don't know the probability of it, but it might be possible with a little gearing to have those funds share part in publication costs.

Cordially,

Paul Foreman

Paul B. Foreman
Professor of Sociology

PBF/abb

11-7- misc. —
Figg, Robert McC.

February 18, 1948

Mr. Robert McC. Figg
Broad Street
Charleston, South Carolina

My dear Mr. Figg:

I had occasion to be in Charleston some days ago and Mrs. Albert Simons and I discussed the various issues raised by Mr. Truman's message on civil rights and by the earlier Report of the Committee on Civil Rights. Mrs. Simons suggested that I write you, giving in summary the views of the Southern Regional Council on this critical matter.

First, as to the Council. Its nature and purposes are set forth in the enclosed leaflet.

We have studied with care the Report of the President's Committee. In planning for a Conference on Civil Rights in Atlanta on February 27, we have prepared the enclosed digest of the Report. The whole matter, of course, lies close to the heart of our concern for the well-being of the South.

As the controversy mounted in the days just before the recent Tallahassee meeting of the Southern Governors' Conference, we tried to take a long view. The more we discussed it, the plainer became what appeared to us the right answer. The obtaining in the South of a greatly improved respect for popular civil rights must be largely an administrative problem, most critical at the local level. I do not see how a mainly Federal machinery for protection of civil rights could succeed in an atmosphere of hostility and bitterness. If a job is to be done in reality and not merely on paper, it must be done with responsible good will on the part of Southern officials and with the loyal cooperation of a very large part of the population of the Southern States.

In following that, we came to see that the controversy could be shifted from dissension into the constructive task of building fundamental civil rights if exceedingly responsible voices could be heard from the South undertaking to apply the administrative energies of the South to strengthening the basic rights of the people of the region.

After a hasty consultation of leading figures of the Council, we wired each of the Southern Governors present at the Tallahassee meeting as follows:

> "Surely the statesmanlike thing for the South to do in the civil rights controversy is to declare an honest intention to provide speedily the fundamental civil rights which the nation and the world expect from us. These include protection from physical violence, the right to citizenship (including service on juries), equality of opportunity in education, health, housing and travel, and persistent efforts to get fair play in private employment. Should also include access to state and local administrative employment in at least the degree of fairness shown in this regard by Southern offices of Federal Agencies. If the Governors speak responsibly to this effect, the nation will gladly let the South implement these rights itself. More, the nation will help with funds. That way lies sound progress, the other nothing but bitterness. We of all peoples understand the lesson of history on this sort of thing. Responsible citizenship can do no less than this."

Governor Thurmond courteously acknowledged the wire three or four days ago.

In my own observation in the States of the upper South over the last two or three decades, the tradition has become pretty well established that the office of Governor carries with it an extra-constitutional role as protector of the rights of the Negro population. The Council has hoped that this tradition could find extension generally over the South. It has, of course, appeared in every Southern state from time to time, and Governor Thurmond has on several occasions, as we know, acted and spoken courageously in that spirit.

The action of the Tallahassee Conference of Governors in postponing decision on the civil rights controversy for forty days gives opportunity for the governors to take a constructive stand and thus to begin the unfolding in the South of a positive program of this kind.

I do not have the honor of your acquaintance, but I trust in Mrs. Simons' judgment that this whole matter will be of interest to you. I know that integrity and moral purpose are deep in South Carolina. Her influence and her leadership in an undertaking of this kind would be far-reaching for the good of the whole South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

Freeman, D.S.
file

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

RICHMOND, 13, VIRGINIA

OFFICE
OF THE EDITOR

5th March, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Thank you for your understanding letter of the second. I enclose you herewith editorials we wrote on the 25th of February and the 2nd of March. These, I think, explain where we stand.

Faithfully yours

D. S. Freeman

D. S. Freeman

DSF-c
Enclosure

Freeman, Dis.

March 2, 1948

Mr. Douglas S. Freeman, Editor
The Richmond News Leader
Richmond 13, Virginia

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I appreciate your writing me about the problem of approaching Governor Darden and I respect your judgment.

Your editorials are very useful in the whole controversy.

The main thing we are after is a responsible undertaking by the South to do what it can of its duties. Responsible Southern leaders will of course have to find their own minds as to how far they can go. The hope that the controversy will yield a clear positive voice is small, but still worth working towards.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, 13, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE
OF THE EDITOR

February 25, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

After my talk with you, I was prepared to go ahead and to consult Governor Darden in the manner agreed upon, but, after reading your telegram to the Governors, I think you are asking for more than there is any prospect the South will concede. Therefore, I have been compelled to proceed on a somewhat narrower front as covered by the editorials enclosed herewith. For this program I am willing to do battle, but I think any extension of it probably would do harm to the remainder.

Time is exceedingly slow; our Negro friends are equally impatient. It is hard to strike a balance between what they want and what the South will allow.

With best regards.

Faithfully yours,

D. S. Freeman

D. S. Freeman
Editor

DSF:gm
Enclosure

F
Freeman, D.S.

February 19, 1948

Mr. Douglas Southall Freeman
The News Leader
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Freeman:

It was very kind indeed of you to give me the interview the other afternoon at your home.

The minimum program which the Council advocates is set forth in the enclosed wire which was sent to each of the Governors at the Tallahassee Conference.

This could be added to, but I think the longer it got the greater the contention that would surround it.

Several of the Governors have courteously acknowledged by mail receipt of the wire at Tallahassee, so I know it did reach them.

I had a most satisfactory interview with ex-Governor Broughton in Raleigh on February 15. I knew in advance that, because of his candidacy for the United States Senate, his activities must be circumscribed. Not withstanding this, I undertook to get his views to Governor Tuck and Governor Caldwell.

I note that the sub-Committee, which must draft a recommendation for the meeting forty days from February 8, is composed of Governor Thurmond, Chairman, assisted by Governors Tuck, Cherry, Jester and Laney.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure: Cy wire sent to Governors, 7Feb48

F — Federal Security Agency

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

10:RO:VII

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

629 Ten Forsyth Street Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
March 8, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1948
Southern Regional

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson

I am sending you a copy of the Annual Report of the Social Security Administration for the fiscal year 1947 because of the interest you and your faculty have manifested in social security.

After you have reviewed the report, I suggest that you pass it on to the members of the faculty and when they have read it, that it be placed in your reference library for future use.

I call your special attention to the recommendations for the expansion of the social security program. I hope you will find the report interesting and valuable in your study of social and welfare legislation.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard H. Lyle

Richard H. Lyle
Regional Director

Enclosure

Fla. State Teachers' Assn.

The Florida State Teachers' Association

OFFICE OF THE

President

March 22, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

OFFICERS:

W. E. COMBS, PRESIDENT
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TALLAHASSEE

R. V. MOORE, VICE. PRES.
STATE DEPT. OF EDUCATION
TALLAHASSEE

G. L. PORTER, TREASURER
LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL
TALLAHASSEE

MISS C. E. LOWE
RECORDING SECRETARY
BOX 862, DELRAY BEACH

MRS. ANNE H. BREWER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
522 18TH ST., WEST PALM BEACH
PHONE 2-2727

BEN D. GRIFFIN
SECRETARY OF RESEARCH
2016 21ST. AVE., TAMPA

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137 FLA. AVE., MIAMI

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BOX 515, WILDWOOD

DISTRICTS 7 AND 8
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2105 - 13TH ST., TAMPA

AT LARGE
DR. WM. H. GRAY, JR.
FLA. A. & M. COLLEGE
TALLAHASSEE

G. V. STEWART
2304 - 21ST AVE., TAMPA

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your letter of March 15.

The Association will be glad to comply with your wish, and will include the suggested contribution in your check .

Reservations will be made for you at a hotel. I will notify you later as to what hotel it will be.

With sincere wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Combs

W. E. Combs

WEC:ew

E-
Fla. State
Teachers' College

March 15, 1948

Mr. W. E. Combs, President
Florida State Teachers' Association
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Combs:

I will be on hand for the panel of the Florida State Teachers' Association at the St. Paul A. M. E. Church, Harrison and Marion Streets, Tampa, at seven o'clock P. M. on April 25.

My expenses should run about fifty-six dollars. If your Association would be kind enough to make a contribution of, say, fifteen dollars to the Southern Regional Council, that would be much appreciated. But if you are markedly short of funds, I shall be happy to come without anything more than expenses.

The subject assigned is, as I understand it, "Civil Rights and Education."

I should be very grateful if someone in your office would be kind enough to arrange for a hotel room for me for the night of April 25.

Could someone also send me a program for the meeting as soon as it is developed?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

STATE OF FLORIDA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
TALLAHASSEE

COLIN ENGLISH
SUPERINTENDENT

March 12, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for accepting the invitation to appear on program at our Florida State Teachers' Association. The panel will be held at The St. Paul A. M. E. Church, on the corner of Harrison and Marion Streets, Tampa, Florida, at seven o'clock P. M., on April 23.

In order for us to complete our budget for the annual meeting, we are asking that you send to us the approximate cost of expenses and honorarium. We would also like to know, if you wish for us to make reservations for you at a hotel, and the length of your stay.

With sincere thanks, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Combs

W. E. Combs, President
Florida State Teachers' Assn.

WEC:ew

Fla. State Teachers Assoc.

February 17, 1948

Mr. W. E. Combs, President
The Florida State Teachers'
Association
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Combs:

Thank you very much for the invitation to take part in the meeting on April 23 at seven o'clock P.M. of the Florida State Teachers' Association in Tampa.

I shall be happy to come and be available with such information as I have or can get on "Civil Rights and Education."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

The Florida State Teachers' Association

OFFICE OF THE

President

February 6, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

OFFICERS:

W. E. COMBS, PRESIDENT
FLA. A. & M. COLLEGE
TALLAHASSEE

R. V. MOORE, VICE PRES.
STATE DEPT. OF EDUCATION
TALLAHASSEE

G. L. PORTER, TREASURER
LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL
TALLAHASSEE

MISS C. E. LOWE,
RECORDING SECRETARY
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MRS. ANNE H. BREWER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
522 18TH ST., WEST PALM BEACH
PHONE 2-2727

BEN D. GRIFFIN
SECRETARY OF RESEARCH
2016 21ST AVE., TAMPA

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BOX 515, WILDWOOD

DISTRICTS 7 AND 8
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AT LARGE
DR. WM. H. GRAY, JR.
FLA. A. & M. COLLEGE
TALLAHASSEE

G. V. STEWART
2304 - 21ST AVE., TAMPA

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Florida State Teachers' Association will hold its annual meeting in Tampa, Florida, April 22, 23 and 24. We have scheduled for Friday night, April 23 at seven o'clock P. M., a panel the subject will be "Civil Rights and Education."

The Executive Committee of the above named Association, extends to you an invitation to appear on this panel.

I hope that you will find it possible to accept our invitation. I am sure that the teachers will benefit from your contribution.

I am

Respectfully yours,

W. E. Combs

W. E. Combs

WEC:ew

March 30, 1948

Dear Janie and John:

I am coming to Daytona Beach, in the grace of God, Thursday, April 15, to make a speech--I suppose that evening--to an interracial organization known as the Daytona Beach Good Neighbor Committee. The meeting is being arranged by the Secretary of the YMCA at Daytona Beach, Mr. R. H. Reese.

If circumstances should permit the Fraser family to be present, that would be a great pleasure to me. If circumstances should not permit, I will try to get myself up to the neighborhood of Ormond Beach and find the Frasers.

I am all right for somewhere to sleep, as the club is going to fix me up.

It will be very pleasant to tie back to the old days. We teen-agers don't contrive to stick together very well, do we?

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. John Fraser
215 Halifax Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

7 - ~~H~~ Ferriss

April 9, 1948

Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss
Box 925
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Abbott:

Do you know any two, three or five white veterans around Jackson who might help out on this?

I understand that the Jackson chapter has one white man, who is an organizer for the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers. He is off on assignment somewhere else for the time being.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: cy ltr to Rev. Mr. HBSchaeffer, sgd, GSMitchell, dtd 9Apr48
GSM:eb

Copy to Mr. James M. Crawford

7
Fraser

May 7, 1948

Dear Janie and John:

This is kind of late, but it is sincere appreciation anyway.

I enjoyed the conversation, the company, the transportation, information, food and bed.

Many thanks.

You and John, next time you drive North, should come by Atlanta and let us all keep on with this handsome process continuing in lively estate an old friendship.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. John Elkins Fraser

215 Halifax Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

Fraser, J. E.

April 12, 1948

Dear Janie and John:

New plans! I am to be at Daytona Beach Monday, April 26 and at Bethune-Cookman College that day at noon. I have to be in Tampa Friday, April 23.

I will use Saturday to get across your new State. Could I get to your house sometime Sunday, April 25, and sleep on a pallet or something that night?

I am to be entertained by somebody for the night of April 26, so I am okay then, and on April 27 I will be flying to Atlanta.

I told Mr. R. H. Reese of the YMCA at Daytona Beach, who is bossing me around, that, in case of unexpected emergency he might make a stab at getting hold of me in care of you on the Sunday. So if he calls, that is what is is all about.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. John Elkins Fraser
215 Halifax Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

April 8, 1948

Dear Janie and John:

Many thanks for Janie's note with the pleasant welcome.

Yesterday afternoon the man at Daytona Beach called up and said that, on account of a twenty-fifth anniversary observance for a priest, the meeting I was supposed to come down for is altered into a celebration. They say I am supposed to come sometime later if we can match up on dates. Meanwhile, I am postponed.

I appreciate the welcome and hope later to take advantage of it.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. John Elkins Fraser
215 Halifax Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

Dear George,

It was good news to hear that you are scheduled to speak in Daytona Beach on April 15th. You can be sure we shall try to be on hand for the occasion.

John and I want you to know we would be delighted to have you stay with us. If you are coming by car you could just stop off at 215 Halifax before going in to Daytona. If you have already made commitment on a place to stay can't

you arrange to at least have dinner with us? Anyway, you know the latch string is out and we will be looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,
Janie

P.S. Our phone number is 3370.

Mrs. John Elkins Fraser

11- Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

July 23, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending the copies of the pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights", and of your new pamphlet on voting. We shall find these very useful.

Miss Morton is out of the office for several weeks, but will perhaps want to order additional copies when she returns. She will write you if so.

Sincerely yours,

Cornelia Lively

Office Secretary

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

II-7-Misc. - Foreman, R. L.

ROBERT L. FOREMAN
44 FOLLEN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I have recently completed my work on farm-tenancy and am returning your material, under separate cover. I sincerely appreciate your kind and suggestive letter and the loan of your invaluable material.

It seems that my Father must have misled you, to a degree. Our project was not a paper, but rather a collection of pertinent information to present to a group of Southern students at the Law School; this group assembles about once a month and discusses Southern problems, and more particularly, what we as lawyers can do to help in their solution when we return to the South. Generally we have some members prepare themselves

with the facts on the issue at hand, and let them begin the meeting — thus the discussion following can be on a more concrete basis.

On this particular topic we had no great difficulty in gathering facts germane to years until 1938; however, the war and post-war years would have presented an insuperable barrier had it not been for the bulletins and reports which you sent. The discussion group joins me in these thanks!

It seems to me encouraging that this mass of data has been accumulated and written; accurate presentation of meaningful facts is a forerunner of action.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Foreman

F-
Foreman

R. L. FOREMAN
809 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 26, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 423,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I very much regret that I am going to have to be out of town on Friday, the 27th, and miss your Civil Rights meeting.

Very truly yours,

R. L. Foreman

RLF/ch

MP

11-7-Misc-Ford, Lyman S.

Community Chests and Councils of America

INCORPORATED

155 EAST 44 STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
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RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Everybody Benefits
Everybody Gives

September 24, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me the preliminary draft of your manual for small community self-surveys. I don't think I could give you any leads with which you are not already familiar.

You, of course, know about the Russell Sage Publication, "Your Community" by Joanna Colcord and Donald Howard. Each of the several hundred national health and social welfare agencies listed in the Social Work Year Book have certain standards, measurements and criteria for their fields, which is the raw material for anyone setting out to prepare such an outline as you have in mind. There, of course, are many other fields in addition to social welfare which need to be taken into consideration if you are thinking of a total community survey.

Thanks again for sharing your material with us.

Sincerely,

Lyman S. Ford

Lyman S. Ford

LSF/hb

281

Connie:

Please send Mr. Francis

✓6 copies August New South 148
✓16 SRC leaflets
✓1 Color, Class and Personality
✓1 To Stem Thid Tidd
✓1 The Negro Press
✓1 Singers in the Dawn
✓1 Background for Brotherhood
✓1 Repairers of the Breach
✓1 Let's Pull Together, Kentuckian
✓1 Facing facts in S. C.
✓list

Z. 88.
9/30/48

11-7-Misc.
Francis, E. G.

September 28, 1948

Mr. Edward Guy Francis
52 S. Orange St.
Port Orange, Fla.

Dear Mr. Francis:

Dr. Mitchell, who is out of the city this week, has passed on to me your letter of September 24. We are happy that you found the article on intercultural education of interest. It is the Council's hope that more Southern educators and informed laymen will take a greater interest in this fruitful approach to race relations. Should we hear of any workshops on the subject, we shall be glad to let you know.

The address of the Bureau for Intercultural Education is 157 West 13th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Unfortunately, we do not have the address of COMMENTARY; I believe it is published in New York City. The article from COMMENTARY cited in New South was reprinted by the Community Relations Service, 15th Floor, 386 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

The pamphlets which you requested, and for which you enclosed a check for $2.00, are being mailed to you today.

Ans'd.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

EDWARD GUY FRANCIS
PORT ORANGE, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

September 24, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

Congratulations on the article on "Intercultural Education" in the current NEW SOUTH. This is the particular phase of race relations in which I have been most interested and it is fine to see something on it appearing in the South.

I should like to take part in some study along this line, such as a conference or workshop, if any is ever held in the South. Keep me in mind if you ever hear of any project along this line.

Can you give me the address of the Bureau for Intercultural Education and of COMMENTARY?

If they are available, please send me half a dozen extra copies of this number of NEW SOUTH, together with some of the SRC membership pamphlets and a copy of each of the pamphlets listed on the back of this sheet.

Sincerely yours,

Guy Francis

2 ea
A W C/K.

6 — N.S. (Intercultural Ed.)
16 — S.R.C. pph.

Also — See other side

Color, Class and Personality

To Stem this Tide

The Negro Press

Singers in the Dawn

Background for Brotherhood

Repairers of the Breach

Let's Pull together, Kentuckians

Facing Facts in South Carolina

11-7-misc.-
Fairly, John L.

October 14, 1948

Rev. Mr. John L. Fairly, D. D.
Box 1176
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fairly:

In reply to your letter of October 11, we can see no objection to your quoting from the Negro Poetry Anthology, Singers in the Dawn, compiled by Mr. R. B. Eleazer.

I feel confident that Mr. Eleazer would concurr in this, and for his information I am forwarding to him your letter and a copy of my reply.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Original letter and reply sent to Mr. R. B. Eleazer
10/14/48

October 15, 1948

Mr. G. James Fleming, Secretary
Race Relations Committee
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I greatly enjoyed reading your article on the Marian Anderson affair.

I think it very useful indeed that the whole matter should be documented and its encouraging significance drawn out. I do hope you will get it printed.

I have only one question. On page 12, top paragraph, you raise a point about Miss Anderson being an entertainer and, therefore, a servant to her audience. That seems to me far-fetched. I think the southern editors who praised her and condemned the DAR should be credited with praising her not as a servant, but as a person of full professional stature.

I recognize your point, but I think it is one that lived in only very few minds.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

September 24, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your kind letter to Clarence Pickett in commendation of our folder, "Employing 'Minorities' Successfully." In the same mail, we received a similar letter from the Director of Publications of the National Metal Trades Association, similarly commending the folder and asking permission to direct members of his association to apply for it.

As you know so well, there is nothing that makes an agency happier than knowing that one of its efforts is proving useful.

Both Clarence Pickett and I were also pleased to know the reception received by your statement, "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy." Clippings from some of the papers have been called to our attention, and I, for one, am very pleased.

I would like to lay another matter before you. I have recently written an article, which I hope the PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY will publish, on the reactions of the Southern Press in the Marian Anderson-DAR affair of 1939. I found the editorial opinion some 85% in condemnation of the DAR. I would appreciate very much, if you would take the time to read this article and offer any comments as to whether it is worth publishing and what other magazine might be interested, if the PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY does not accept it.

I had the pleasure to have Mrs. Tilley at my round-table during the Friends' General Conference at Cape May. As always, she was strikingly provocative and a source of much information and light.

Sincerely yours,

G. James Fleming

G. James Fleming
Secretary
Race Relations Committee

GJF:ps

Written for Spring (1949) Publication
By G. James Fleming
1520 N. 17th Street
Philadelphia 21, Pa.

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL OPINION ON THE MARIAN ANDERSON-D.A.R.-AFFAIR

By G. JAMES FLEMING

Ten years ago this Spring newspaper front pages, music columns and editorials - from coast to coast and overseas - buzzed over the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair: the refusal of the Daughters of the American Revolution to permit the internationally famous contralto the use of Constitution Hall, which the D.A.R. owns, for a recital in the Nation's capital. It was authenticated that the singer was refused solely because of her race.

The affair rose into front page billing when Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, then the nation's First Lady, resigned from the D.A.R., in protest against its barring of Miss Anderson. It remained "News" until - and after - April 9, 1939, the date on which Miss Anderson gave a triumphant Easter Sunday open-air recital before 75,000 people in Washington (and millions at their radios) with the steps of the Lincoln Memorial as stage, the towering statue of Lincoln as back-drop, and the distinguished names of Washington as sponsors.

Readers of the northern metropolitan press knew, or had a feeling, that northern editorial opinion was overwhelmingly in condemnation of the D.A.R.'s refusal and unreservedly in support

of the Easter Sunday recital. But, how did the press of the South react? Did it consider Marian Anderson's desire to sing in Constitution Hall a threat of "social equality"? Did it throw its support on the side of the D.A.R. or was it critical of the D.A.R.? I think any average group of readers of any average group of pollsters would have guessed that the southern press au naturelle took the side of the Daughters. What does investigation show?

We are indebted to Mr. V. D. Johnston, treasurer of Howard University, Washington, D. C., who contracted with a clipping service for anything published on the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair. He didn't dream that 15,021 separate items would be unloaded on him from newspapers in every state, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii and Canada. The writer has studied these clippings from a number of angles, but became especially interested in the editorial treatment of the papers in the thirteen states generally considered the South. 1/

In facilitating an evaluation of the editorial clippings, they were classifed as "pro-social" if they expressed themselves as favoring Miss Anderson's use of Constitution Hall, or if they upheld or joined in condemnation of the D.A.R. refusal, and "anti-social" if they upheld or championed the D.A.R.'s position, or if they dragged in the red herring of "social equality". Not all

---

1/ This clipping collection was first studied by the writer for the "The Negro in America," the project sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and which resulted in The American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal (Harper Brothers, New York, 1945). The present writer is totally responsible, however, for the contents of this article. It should be noted that Marian Anderson was also refused use of a public high school auditorium, on racial grounds, by the District of Columbia's Board of Education. It was the refusal of the D.A.R., however, which struck nationwide journalistic fire.

papers treated the affair editorially, but all the editorials examined took a position for or against the D.A.R. behavior. None was absolutely neutral.

In a study of 403 dailies and weeklies which carried 325 editorials in the period, February 28 to April 15, a total of 279 editorials (85.8 per cent) classified themselves under "pro-social", while 46 (14.2 per cent) were found to be "anti-social" (Table 1).

The constructive "pro-social" rating of the southern papers (85.8 per cent), compared with the national average of 91.3 per cent and was no more than 9.3 per cent below the Northwest which showed the highest "pro-social" rating (Table 2). Even southerners might have expected the southern press, in 1939, to appear much higher in the "anti-social" column than it does. Instead, and in fact, according to the study, the South was definitely on the "pro-social" side. 2/

Those 14 per cent editorials classified as "anti-social" (1) contended that it was wrong for the sponsors of the Marian Anderson recital to force the issue of renting Constitution Hall; (2) maintained that what the D.A.R. did with Constitution Hall was its own business; (3) questioned the wisdom or tact of Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation from the D.A.R.; (4) saw the whole affair as another Yankee invasion, and (5) charged that it was another attempt to force social equality - including "intermarriage and acceptance as equals" - between whites and Negroes.

2/ An auxiliary study of the news and headline slant of non-editorial material also showed the South "pro-social", with a rating of 96.7. All regions showed a higher "pro-social" rating for their news treatment of the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair than for their editorial opinion.

The Cordele, Ga., Dispatch extolled the "Daughters" as the "Modern Molly Pitchers." 3/

The nearly 86 per cent of the editorials deploring the action of the D.A.R. showed a sense of awareness of the world situation (Hitler was then on his march), and several made a point of the fact that Constitution Hall, from which Marian Anderson was barred, was not in the South and that Negro artists traditionally had no trouble securing concert halls and auditoriums in the South.

The Macon, Ga., News, wrote:

> Marian Anderson is one of the greatest contraltoes of her generation... Because of that it is shameful that a so-called patriotic organization of American female snobs has undertaken to exert pressure preventing the use of Constitution Hall in Washington to Marian Anderson for a concert.
>
> There is enough race prejudice elsewhere in the world for Americans to understand its littleness and its viciousness. There is enough of bigotry, of false evaluation, of fake gentility for most Americans to know better. That they don't is not a reflection upon the object of their ignorance but upon their ignorance itself.
>
> Marian Anderson is coming to Georgia to sing in concert soon. Her appearance will be in Atlanta - where General Sherman started his cruel march to the blue Atlantic. In Georgia more than anywhere else one might expect to find ugly prejudice and misunderstanding. But more Macon persons already have made plans to attend the Marian Anderson concert in Atlanta than have any others who have attended out-of-town musical events this year.
>
> This is evidence that as far as concerns those who love music, it makes no difference whether Marian Anderson is white, black, green, purple. It may be true that some loud and ill-bred minority thinks otherwise, but now is a good time for Georgians to determine that they will repudiate any effort such as that which has kept a great singer from performing in Constitution Hall. 4/

3/ March 7, 1939

4/ News (Macon, Ga.), 2-28-39.

The Ocala, Fla., Banner tells its position straightforwardly:

> We cannot agree with the decision of the D.A.R. in Washington to bar Marian Anderson, noted Negro singer, from appearing at Constitution Hall, Washington, which is owned by the organization. While most of the barrage of protests which have followed the action come from north of the Mason and Dixon line, even around here most people seem to consider the decision unwarranted. And it is noted that local organizations keenly enjoy hearing the offerings of the Howard Academy glee club and other local colored performers. They appear before, and their work is appreciated by the Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, and other civic clubs, the Woman's Club and others. 5/

The Greenville, Miss., Delta Democrat-Times called Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation from the D.A.R. "a merited rebuke," and continued:

> The D.A.R. evidenced more than its share of such unreason in its refusal to permit Marian Anderson, gifted Negro singer, to perform in Constitution Hall in Washington. We fail to see how the D.A.R. achieved a single worthy purpose in denying the Hall to a Negro woman whose voice brings pleasure to men and women of every race. Here in Greenville, for instance, there is no uproar when Dr. Carver speaks in the theatre to a white and Negro audience; nor do Delta pleasure seekers think it unseemly for a nationally known Negro orchestra to appear on a white dance hall stage. It seems to us that the D.A.R., like lesser folk, should realize that it is possible to preserve racial taboos without erecting new barriers. And certainly the organization in Washington should realize that it is better to encourage artistry in any race than to discourage art because of the color of the man or woman who expresses it. 6/

The Democrat-Times closed with the observation that, "incidentally, it is possible that some black ancestor of Marian Anderson fought for Washington along with the forebears of those who would not let her sing in Washington's Constitution Hall."

Under the title "Shame on the Ladies," the Brunswick, Ga.,

5/ Banner (Ocala, Fla.), 3-8-39

6/ Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, Miss.), 3-10-39

News declared it "rather ironical" that "the daughters of those brave Revolutionary heroes who fought and died in order that freedom might flourish in this country should have taken this unAmerican and intolerant step." 8/ The News continued:

> At a time when the head of this nation is denouncing foreign countries for their campaigns of racial persecution and we are allowing the Nazi gorillas the right to stage such disgraceful spectacles as their recent German-American bund meeting in New York - all in the name of tolerance and free speech - it is certainly far from reflecting credit upon us to show such discrimination as has the Washington group. Simply because Marian Anderson's color is not that of the DAR membership is no reason why she should be the target for gross intolerance. It must not be forgot that genius knows no color lines, and it is our own Toscanini who has called her "the world's greatest singer". 9/

The Jackson, Miss. News, labelled the D.A.R.'s action "not only a silly exhibition of race prejudice but incredibly stupid as well." 10/ It said further:

> Locking the doors of the official home of the D.A.R. against a singer whom the foremost musical critics declare has the most glorious contralto voice in the world is an act of inanity almost impossible to believe.
>
> They accuse us of race prejudice down here in the Deep South, but it is never carried as far as that.... Lines of race, creed or nationality have no place in the world of music. A great voice is a gift of God, no matter the color of the skin or the person who possesses it. 11/

The Houston, Texas, Press accepted Mrs. Roosevelt's reasons for resigning from the D.A.R. and observes that "persuading the D.A.R. to change a policy - even one as absurd and snobbish as the one involved here - would be a tough job." It continues: "Mrs. Roosevelt's remarkable energy seems equal to almost any demand, but we don't blame her - we admire her - for refusing to waste any of it on an attempt to convert the daughters

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8/ News (Brunswick, Ga.), 3-7-39
9/ Ibid.
10/ News, Jackson, Miss., 3-5-39
11/ Ibid.

to the revolutionary idea that discrimination because of race is an ugly, un-American thing." 12/

In Tyler, Texas, the Courier Times repeated that "Music happens to be the universal language; art knows no race, nationality or creed." 13/

The Beaumont, Texas, Enterprise, said: "While there is no use of denying that race prejudice is still pretty strong in the South..., Marian Anderson has sung in the South to large and appreciative audiences, who conceded her to be one of the greatest singers. She sang last year in Houston, and there was no race riot! She will sing again in Houston this year, on another Southern tour." 14/

The Dothan, Ala., Eagle took note of the ban on Miss Anderson, paid compliments to her as "one of the greatest voices ever heard," and observed that she had sung in the concert halls "in Montgomery and many Southern cities." The editorial closed climactically: "The Eagle is only glad that it isn't a member of the D.A.R." 15/

"Why there should be any objection to the appearance of Marian Anderson in Constitution Hall at Washington passes all human understanding," declared the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser, in an editorial later reprinted in the Eufaula, Ala., Tribune. The Advertiser also contrasted the practices in the South with

---

12/ Press, Houston, Texas, 2-28-39. Five days earlier, the Press called the ban on Marian Anderson "the Season's Silliest," in a headline over a staff columnist's column-long story of the affair. Another Texas columnist, Boyd Sinclair, amusements editor of the Austin Texan, started his column of March 5, 1939, with these words: "The case of Marian Anderson, the Negro contralto, gives me the idea that the Daughters of the American Revolution have about the same ethnical perspective as the Nazi Party and Adolph Hitler."

13/ Courier-Times, Tyler, Texas, 3-2-39.

14/ Enterprise, Beaumont, Texas, 3-12-39.

15/ Eagle, Dothan, Ala. 3-5-39.

the Washington situation:

> "Blind Tom," great pianist, and "Black Patti," great vocal soloist, appeared repeatedly in their day in the white music halls of the Deep South. More recently the famous Tuskegee choir has been in demand before white audiences throughout the Deep South, and the Dawson symphony is as warmly appreciated by Southern whites as by Negroes. Roland Hayes, great tenor soloist, who like Marian Anderson, has appeared before the crowned heads of Europe, is as popular in Alabama as in Maine or Yugoslavia....They have appeared at Tuskegee and Birmingham and in Montgomery, the first capital of the Confederacy. It is but a few months since that Hayes sang at the city auditorium in Montgomery..... 16/

To the Gloucester, Va., Journal, the D.A.R. was "our Tory Daughters." The Journal's editorial unapologetically said:

> The Daughters of the American Revolution have manifested reactionary tendencies on so many occasions that it has become a standing joke that, if their revered ancestors were living today, the 'Daughters' would turn them over to the police. 17/

Few, if any, editorials, even in the Negro press, were more caustic than those that southern editors wrote of the D.A.R.

On the eve of Marian Anderson's open-air broadcast recital, the Columbia, S. C., State editorially shouted, "What a Story," and continued:

> Marian Anderson, famous Negro singer, should send flowers to those persons in Washington who declined to lease auditoriums to her because she is a Negro. If her manager had succeeded in hiring an ordinary hall, Marian Anderson's appearance would have been just another concert. But now, because the halls were denied her, she is to sing from the Lincoln Memorial in a free concert on Easter Sunday afternoon. Thousands instead of hundreds will hear her. Hundreds of thousands instead of tens of thousands will read about her performance. A Negro artist, denied the use of concert halls, but given the extraordinary right to sing from the Lincoln Memorial! What a story! Those persons who unwisely refused to give to this great artist the opportunity she should have had, have not silenced her. Far from it, Instead, they have provided her with a sounding board, actual and figurative, that will take her voice afar, and her story to all the

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16/ Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala., 2-28-39.
17/ Journal, Gloucester, Va., 3-9-39.

reading world. 18/

After the concert on the Lincoln steps, the Southern press, also, was exuberant and pleased, and still needling that the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair could not have happened in the South. The Miami, Fla., News rhapsodized:

> So Marian Anderson was "crucified" because she was born black. That was the decree of the rulers of Constitution Hall.
>
> What results? She sings instead from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, built in honor of the emancipator of her race. Instead of singing to a few thousands pent up in Constitution Hall, she sings to tens of thousands in the open air and to millions beside their radios, while members of the president's cabinet, justices of the Supreme Court, and members of congress attend in person to honor the singer and be lifted by the song. 19/

The Spartanburg, S. C., Herald recapitulated the entire affair in a summary editorial two days after the recital. Titled "The Anderson Concerts," the editorial read:

> Marian Anderson, noted Negro singer who was unable to find an auditorium in Washington in which she might appear in concert, sang Sunday from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to an audience of 75,000 persons. She was introduced to Secretary Ickes and was surrounded by a group of distinguished persons.
>
> Refusal to provide a Washington auditorium for the Anderson concert a few weeks ago caused widespread comment in the United States. She is one of the world's great singers and her treatment in the nation's capital was resented. If the incident had occurred in any southern city it would have caused vicious criticism of the South. It could hardly have occurred in the South whose people show no such intolerance. She will sing in the Atlanta auditorium in a few days and will be welcomed by a splendid audience composed of Atlantans and visitors from other Southern cities and states. 20/

The Winston-Salem, N. C., Journal introduced another twist and said that what had happened to Marian Anderson was the "old formula for popularizing something or someone one dislikes" -

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18/ State, Columbia, S. C., 4-8-39.
19/ News, Miami, Fla., 4-11-39.
20/ Herald, Spartanburg, S. C., 4-11-39.

try to hurt and you often aid. The editorial, (copied by the Hickory, N. C. Record), continued:

> But Marian Anderson sang in Washington after all...
>
> The Washington incident is difficult for Winston-Salem people to understand. In this community talented Negro singers and musicians are much in demand by white audiences, and if we had an opportunity to hear Marian Anderson sing, Winston-Salem would see that she had an auditorium. For we recognize that there are races and races, but great artists dwell in a sphere of their own. 21/

"The singer seems to have emerged victor in the contretemps," declared the Burlington, N. C. Times-News, as it placed the Easter Sunday recital in a larger world setting:

> That such a triumph should come to the singer, on the heels of x widespread accusations of racial prejudice and discrimination against her, is a triumph both for her and for what we are pleased to call "the American way" - that way which, in theory, knows no bars of race, creed, poverty, social standing or citizenship in honoring the talented and the great. And in this world of chaos today greatness can come to the Negro and the Jew just as e sily as to the "Aryan" or the Anglo-Saxon. 22/

Such was the pattern of the predominating editorial opinion in newspapers of the South in the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair ten years ago - with the editorials quoted here fully enough to speak for themselves. One might accuse the editors of writing with tongues in their cheek in the light of the existence of racial discrimination right in their own communities - even if Marian Anderson could find an auditorium. Despite all other racial practices in the South, however, despite the Bilbo-like voices - perhaps because of these practices and voices - one cannot discount the opinion-forming and leadership values of so nearly a united "pro-social" stand taken by the southern

---

21/ Record, Hickory, N. C., 4-11-39

22/ Times-News, Burlington, N. C., 4-11-39. The following day this paper reprinted in its editorial columns the editorial on the Easter concert from the Philadelphia, Pa. Record (April 10, 1939), "The City Was Filled With Music."

press. While the editorials themselves must have reflected their communities to some extent, undoubtedly they must have, in turn, also influenced some of their readers and must have made it easier for those public figures and groups, which keep their ears to the ground, to take an outright position in favor of democratic practices in connection with the rental of Constitution Hall. If for no other reason, the editors deserve credit for taking their pro-Marian Anderson stand, in the face of the prestige and influence of a powerful patriotic society in a section that takes its patriotic societies, as well as "society," very seriously.

Speculations on Reasons for Pro-Social Position of Southern Press

There has been the greatest temptation to speculate as to some of the deeper attitudes and stereotypes which ~~must~~ might help to explain the Southern editorial position in the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair. The first reaction is that the South, with its leisure background among its people of property, has always considered it the proper and right thing to patronize and participate in the arts, especially music. It maintains a climate, therefore, friendly to art - both the great and the domestic. Marian Anderson had a reputation as a great artist, so it was "right and proper" to have the welcome mat out for her, as artist.

Next, down the years, the South had become accustomed to enjoying its musical art via the nearby Negro college or high school choir, the Negro quartet, the Negro minstrels, and the Negro entertainers of the "Blind Tom" and "Black Patti" variety. Negro music and musicians had become part of the accepted

Southern pattern. So, to open its auditoriums to a Marian Anderson was not counter to Southern tradition or practice, as several of the editorials quoted reminded.

Finally, the performing artist, albeit Marian Anderson, to the South was still "entertainer" and an entertainer is a servant. The Negro as servant is as Southern as the South itself and totally acceptable. Marian Anderson, the performing artist, therefore, was acceptable and welcomed to the South.

These speculations have not been introduced to belittle the editorial stand of the Southern press. One must admit, however, that the Marian Anderson case lent itself easily to being whipped into a refighting of the Civil War, as the South was faced with a Negro woman and pro-Negro organizations in opposition to white women, the D.A.R. If no Civil War were rekindled and if the affair were not opposed as "social equality" by a substantial part of the Southern press, it may well be that the reasons therefor may be found in the speculations made in the foregoing paragraphs.

But, that is not the whole story. Besides deep-seated attitudes towards accepting Negro artists as entertainers and, therefore, servants, there was certainly also immediate feeling among the editors that racial proscription should not go too far, that great art and the artist were in a class by themselves, and that American democracy was obligated to do better than follow practices so much like Hitler's Aryan racism.

These editorial sentiments do not solve all southern racial problems. Perhaps their greatest importance is to remind those interested in improving interracial relations that there are areas in which a substantial public opinion in

the South will go the full distance towards non-discriminatory practices. These areas offer an opportunity for exploration and exploitation. Further, these sentiments indicate that the South can respond affirmatively to a situation where the issues involved have already been settled in the South or where some racial objective being pressed for has already been accepted to some degree by the South.

With or without speculation, the high "pro-social" score of southern editorial opinion in the Marian Anderson-D.A.R. Affair seems worthy of calling special attention to it.

# # #

11-7- Misc.
Fuller, Helen

November 1, 1948

AIR MAIL—SPECIAL DELIVERY

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1416 F Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Fuller:

Your wire requesting a copy of our report on the extent of qualified Negro participation in this election arrived during Dr. Mitchell's absence from the office.

Our most recent report on Negro suffrage, "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940", has a chart showing qualified Negro voters in twelve southern states for 1947 (page 3). We are sending you a copy of this report, which was prepared by Dr. Luther P. Jackson.

Harold Fleming, our director of information, suggests that you might be interested in a chapter on "The Negro Vote in 1948" in Henry Lee Moon's book, Balance of Power: The Negro Vote.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

mst
enclosure

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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A-WA273 PD=WASHINGTON DC 1 403P=

TU ATLANTA

GEORGE MITCHELL, DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR AIR MAIL SPECIALING COPY RECENT REPORT ON EXTENT QUALIFIED NEGRO PARTICIPATION THIS ELECTION REGARDS=

HELEN FULLER THE NEW REPUBLIC 1416 F ST NORTHWEST=

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

1416 F=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

11-7-Misc-
Flanner House

November 29, 1948

The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee
Flanner House
333 West Sixteenth Street
Indianapolis 2, Indiana

Gentlemen:

Your invitation to attend the Fiftieth Year celebration of Flanner House reached Dr. Mitchell just as he was leaving the office for an out-of-town trip. He asked me to express his appreciation for the invitation, and his deep regret that it is not possible for him to be present for the conference and seminars.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

RECEIVED
NOV 18 1948
ALCOLU U
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
18 1948
ALCOLU U
Southern Regional Council

The Board of Directors

of Flanner House

requests the honor of your presence

at the meetings and seminars

marking the Celebration by Flanner House

of its Fiftieth Year of Service

in Indianapolis, Indiana

December first and second

Nineteen hundred and forty-eight

The favor of a reply is requested
The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee
Flanner House
333 West Sixteenth Street
Indianapolis 2, Indiana

To: Mr. Wallace O. Lee, Chairman
Fiftieth Anniversary Committee

From: .....
Name

....
Address Phone

I plan to attend the following meetings:

		Please Check
December 1		
12:30	Luncheon	.....
2:00	Seminar on Health	.....
6:30	Dinner Meeting	.....
December 2		
9:30	Seminar on Employment	.....
10:30	Seminar on Social Service	.....
11:30	Seminar on Self-Help	.....
1:00	Luncheon	.....
4:00	Tea at Flanner House	.....

Enclosed is my check for dinner and luncheon reservations.....
or
I will pick up my reservations at the dinner and luncheons.....

FLANNER HOUSE

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE AND SEMINARS
DECEMBER 1 AND 2, 1948

Wednesday, December 1

10:00 A.M. Meeting of Boards, Agencies and Commissions Interested in Flanner House

12:30 P.M. Luncheon: Reservation, $1.65
Speaker: Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University
Subject: "Human Aspects of Community Development"

2:00 P.M. Seminar: *Human Aspects of Health*
Speaker: Dr. Martha Eliot, Associate Chief, U. S. Children's Bureau

6:30 P.M. Dinner: Reservation, $3.30
Speaker Mr. Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator
Subject: "A New Look at Community Health"

Thursday, December 2

9:30 A.M. Seminar: *Human Aspects of Employment*
Speaker: Dr. Douglas McGregor, President of Antioch College

10:30 A.M. Seminar: *New Challenges for Social Work in Community Development*
Speaker: Miss Lucy Carner, Chicago Council of Social Agencies

11:30 A.M. Seminar: *Self Help—An Approach to Community Development*
Speaker: Dr. Douglas Steere, American Friends Service Committee

1:00 P.M. Luncheon: Reservation, $1.65
Speaker: .....
Subject: "Community Initiative and Enterprise—A Bulwark to Democracy"
Radio Broadcast—N. B. C. System

4:00 P.M. Tea at Flanner House, 333 West 16th Street

All meetings are at the Indianapolis Athletic Club, 350 North Meridian Street

11-7-Misc-
Fredericks, A.A.

January 24, 1949

Mr. A. A. Fredericks
Secretary to the Governor
The State House
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Fredericks:

That was kind of you to find time in a very busy afternoon for the brief visit from Dr. Clark and me.

I send you some printed things from the Council. We send our things frequently to the Governors, and you will be seeing the new ones from time to time in the future.

We hope, at a later date, to get going in Louisiana a Division of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. M. E. Tilly
President Felton G. Clark

Sending him: Vance, Machines in the Cotton Fields, Educated South, Police New Souths, Honest Answer, Hill-Burton New South Dec.-Jan. New South, Fleming.

11-7-Misc-Fischer, John

HARPER & BROTHERS

Publishers Since 1817

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

49 EAST 33d STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

February 17, 1949

Dear George:

Many thanks for your note of February 10 about the folders for INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE. I'm glad you like the book; and we'll let you know what result the mailing produces.

Best regards,

Jack.

The Maddoxes are neighbors of ours, now — to our delight — although Jim is down in America for a few months.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

John Fischer/ p

11-7 Misc. - Fischer, John

February 10, 1949
Dict. February 7

Mr. John Fischer
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Jack:

We received the shipment of folders describing Investment in People, and will send them out in the February mailing of our little magazine.

The book looks good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11-7-Misc-Fischer, John

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers Since 1817

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

January 27, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

First copies of INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE have come in from the printer's during Mr. Fischer's absence from the office. However, I'm sending you a copy under separate cover today, because I know Mr. Fischer wanted you to have one.

Sincerely,

Rosa Wells

Secretary to Mr. Fischer

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RW/mrp

11-7-Misc. - Fischer, John

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers
NEW YORK AND LONDON

RECEIVED
NOV 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

November 3, 1948

Dear George:

Many thanks for your note about Glenn Rainey. I am part way through the manuscript, and find its scholarship most impressive. There is some doubt, however, about the size of the market we might be able to find for this kind of work. I'll let you know, of course, what we finally decide.

Best regards,

Jack

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

John Fischer/ p

Hope you were as pleased (and surprised) as I was by the election returns.

October 27, 1948

Mr. John Fischer
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Jack:

Somebody lately carried you the manuscript of a should-be book by Glenn Rainey about Georgia history in the 80's. Glenn called me up today to ask did I know you and, if I did, would I tell you something about him.

Glenn belongs about at the top of the heap of Georgians. His people have lived in this state, I suppose, since shortly after Oglethorpe thought it up. Glenn was trained as an economist and historian, if I mistake not, but early went to teaching English. He teaches it at Georgia Tech. So far as I am concerned, he is the one beacon light of things right at Georgia Tech. Because he teaches English, he is allowed to teach in that guise economics and history, and to teach them with a degree of critical truth which would long since have been challenged in any economics course at Georgia Tech.

His wife occasionally is active in state democratic party politics and is from time to time a member of the State Democratic Committee, believe it or not.

Glenn has been telling me for a couple of years that he has been working on the book, and he wants me to read it and work with him in its final revision. Which flatters me, because I know mighty little about Georgia in the 80's. However, Glenn says you can find back there the genesis of everything good and bad in Georgia today.

Thank you very much for the bound proof on the Rosenwald book. I will read and comment to you. We are ready to mail out circulars about it whenever they reach us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P
Y

October 15, 1948

Dear George:

Many thinks for your letter about the leaflet you are going to mail out for us. Since INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE will not be published until late January or early February, we won't be sending out the advertising material for a couple of months yet; we'll see that it is in your hands, though, two or three weeks before publication date. We greatly appreciate the help you are giving us in trying to find the widest possible audience for the book.

I'll see that you get an early set of proofs or an advance copy of the book as soon as available.

Sincerely,

/s/ Jack

M

John Fischer: W

11-7-Misc.-
Fischer, John

October 7, 1948

Mr. John Fischer
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Jack:

I found your letter of September 24 when I came back.

As we agreed in New York, if you will send us the leaflet describing Investment in People, I will put the leaflet in the next outgoing mailing to our 3,500 members. We will, therefore, need about 3,500 copies.

I greatly enjoyed the small visit the other day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK AND LONDON

ESTABLISHED 1817

CABLE ADDRESS: HARPSAM
TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-1900

49 EAST 33D STREET, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

September 24, 1948

Dear George:

Early next year we are planning to publish a history of the Rosenwald Fund, to be entitled INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE, by Dr. Edwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman, one of his assistants. Doctor Will helped on it too, of course, and it seems to me that they have done a first-class piece of work.

It occurred to me that this book might be of some interest to the members of the Southern Regional Council, since it really constitutes an important part of the history of race relations during the last thirty years, together with a great deal of specific information about the careers of individual Rosenwald Fellows. I'll send you an advance copy as soon as we receive one from the press, probably soon after Christmas.

Do you think it would be desirable for us to send an announcement of the book to members of the Council; and, if so, would it be possible for us to use your mailing list?

Are you planning to be in New York any time this fall? The Hudgens are now living quite close to us, and the Maddoxes expect to move into our neighborhood within the next few weeks. There is nothing the bunch of us would enjoy more than holding a reunion for you.

Best regards,

Jack

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

John Fischer: W

11-7- Misc -
Faris, Claude

February 24, 1949

Mr. Claude Faris
Greenwood, South Carolina

Dear Claude:

I am just terribly sorry I wasn't here when you were kind enough to come by and see me.

I will remember that you want to hook onto a store-bought job again. I hear rumblings that Farm Security is to be made over again in its old image. If so, they ought to be asking for you.

If you were willing to go abroad, I daresay the State Department would have some interesting things going on in Greece or Turkey.

Come again next time you are here. I would love to get you and Mrs. Faris at home and let us all sit down under the dogwood blossoms and enjoy the past and speculate on the future.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

2/9/49

Dr Mitchel Hi-
Sure sorry to miss you today and hope that you and yours are fine.
How about moving over and making room for another "helper"? I do need work again and would appreciate any suggestion at any time. Come by to see us.

Sincerely
Claude Davis

Personal
Note
from friend
Visitor

11- F- Misc —
Finney, Hilda H.

March 10, 1949

Miss Hilda Grayson Finney
Claflin University
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Miss Finney:

We are delighted that you recall "America's Tenth Man." We keep it in print and it stays popular. They cost ten cents apiece, singly or in quantity. I send you one with this, and we hope greatly that we may have back promptly your order for fifty or a hundred.

I am to be at the South Carolina meeting to make a talk, and look forward to seeing you there.

Here is a price list of all of our things. We have many that would be useful.

I send the two most recent issues of New South, and a reissue of Hardin Hughes' pamphlet, now called "The Negro in Our Economy." It costs fifteen cents.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

3/8

GSM:

Shall I still write the letter inquiring where S.C. meeting is? I stole this letter from Norma. Please return.

met

OK
no let. GSM

CLAFLIN UNIVERSITY

J. J. SEABROOK, PRESIDENT

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 7, 1949

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staff:

Kindly let me know the rates for 50 and for 100 copies of "AMERICA'S TENTH MAN". I remember reading this pamphlet several years ago and found it to be invaluable to persons who have limited funds and limited opportunities to know the Negro, as is true in so many of our schools in South Carolina.

It has been my personal concern to familarize teachers with facts about the Negro and this year I have been invited to serve as Chairman of the Negro History Group of the Palmetto State Teachers Association that will convene in Columbia, S. C. March 24, and 25, 1949. I want to be able to have there as much varied material as I can find on the Negro. So many of us do not know that there is anything published on the Negro. (This of course has been due to lack of information in our curriculums.)

Your cooperation in sending me sample copies of America's Tenth Man and any other materials I may pass out to interested teachers will be so helpful. Kindly help me , help them.

Yours sincerely,

Hilda Grayson Finney

11 - F Misc -
Fryer, Lee

April 15, 1949

Mr. Lee Fryer
National Farmers Union
3501 East 46th Avenue
Denver, Colorado

Dear Lee:

I read your good article on J. D. Mott in the April, 1949 New Statesman. Sweet piece of work all around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11 F. Misc
Friends of the Land

April 21, 1949

Friends of the Land
Columbus, Ohio

Gentlemen:

The enclosed notice about Bishop Louttit at Orlando, Florida would indicate that he would be a likely prospect of conjoining himself to the Honorable Friends of the Land. Suggest you cultivate him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11 - F, Misc
Forsey, Mr. Eugene

April 25, 1949

Mr. Eugene Forsey
Research Director
The Canadian Congress of Labor
Montreal
Quebec
Canada

Eugenius!

Here is quick reading about the Council I work for.

Hail and kind wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

11- F. Misc.
First National Bank
Atlanta

July 15, 1949

The First National Bank
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Sirs:

It has come to our attention that in some instances, our address is still carried at The First National Bank as The Standard Building.

Won't you please see that this is corrected to read: 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432, on all your records? Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
~~Secretary-Treasurer~~

Green copy

AM:we

Mrs. McKoy,

I finally located the missing bank statement. After the bank told me that they did not have the statement, I thoroughly searched my office for it, still unable to find it. So I went back to the bank determined to locate the missing statement, and discovered that it had been filed in the wrong place, and was still at the bank. So today I checked all of the bank statements up-to-date, and found that we did make a small error some while back on one of the financial statements, also failed to deduct a number of bank charges by the Citizens Trust, etc. I will give you the accurate balance in each bank and give you an itemized statement next week. Balance First National included check # 3640 is $ 2,751.17. Balance Citizens Trust Co. includes check #1231 is $3,300.31. There is about $100 undeposited in the files.

I have noticed several times that the First National still carries our address as Standard Bldg., I wonder if it wouldn't be advisable to drop them a letter and have them change our address on all of their records.

I would also like to call to your attention some old checks still outstanding to date, and would like for you to let me know whether we should advise the payees, cancel them, or what disposition you would like to make of these items, they are as follows:

Check No.	Payee	Date	Amount
1174	R.E. Cureton	12/14	20.00
3327	Libr. of Congress	1/31	.60
3386	Mrs. C.B. Smith	2/25	3.00
3489	Hortense Young	4/19	46.00

There are also some May checks outstanding, but they cannot be considered old as yet.

I left a bunch of old check carbons and banks statements on your desk. They are all ready for filing, but since the files were so jammed I left them until we can make some room.

HB

11-I, Misc
Foote & Davies

Ray
8 yr - 475.00
10 yr - 570.00

Stein
8 yr - 636.85
10 yr - 733.80

Rich
10 yr - 650

FOOTE & DAVIES, INC.

PRINTING-LITHOGRAPHING-ENGRAVING-OFFICE EQUIPMENT

PLANT & OFFICE, 1090 CAPITOL AVE. STORE, 15 EDGEWOOD AVE.
PHONE WA. 4600 - P. O. BOX 5109
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

August 18,1949

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are glad to quote you on 10,000 booklets, size 6 x 9 24 pages and cover general make up and style as per sample submitted as follows:

Printed the letterpress process inside pages on 70 lb. White Enamel and cover on 65 lb. Beckett or equal for $840.00 plus the cost of halftone cuts. The price of these cuts would of course vary according to the size, but we believe they would average approximately $10.00 each. 20 PAGES & COVER - $736.00

Lithographed process inside pages to be on 60 lb. White Offset paper, cover on 65 lb. Beckett or equal for $820.00. This offsett price includes our stripping in the pictures with the type form so that you would have no additional charge so far as cuts are concerned. The price of $820.00 anticipates approximately 6 pictures to be distributed throughout the 24 pages. 20 PAGES & COVER $730.00

It would be a pleasure for us to handle some of this work for you and we hope that you will give us the opportunity of serving you.

Yours very truly,
FOOTE & DAVIES, INC.

J. P. Swann, Secretary

JPS:mt

Gershon { 8 wk - 550. (app.)
10 wk - 621.50

11- F- Misc
Fla. Railroad
Commission

August 29, 1949

Mr. Jerry W. Carter
Florida Railroad Commission
Supreme Court Building
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Carter:

You will be interested in this analysis of the outburst of mob violence in Lake County.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

11- F Mice
Folsum, James

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

August 30, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will please acknowledge receipt of your letter dated August 26, 1949, with enclosed copy of the New South, containing the analysis of the outburst of mob violence in Lake County, Florida. The Governor directed me to tell you that he sincerely appreciated your sending this to him, and he has found it to be very interesting.

With kindest regards and best wishes, we are

Sincerely yours,

O. H. Finney, Jr.

O. H. FINNEY, JR.

OHF:D

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

August 26, 1949

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor Folsom:

I have the honor to send you a copy of New South containing an analysis of the outburst of mob violence last month in Lake County, Florida.

This account has in it some lessons which, I think, would be of interest to responsible officials in charge of law enforcement.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

F. Morrel

May 12, 1949

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Governor Folsom:

Enclosed are several copies of our monthly bulletin, New South. You will be interested, I am sure, in the article beginning on page 3 which deals with legislative apportionment in Alabama.

We in the Southern Regional Council were highly gratified by your recent message to the Legislature. Your proposals to broaden opportunities for Negro citizens merit the praise of all thoughtful persons.

Respectfully,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t
enclosures

F-Misc
Folsom

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

JAMES E. FOLSOM
GOVERNOR

W. V. (BILL) LYERLY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ANNIE LOLA PRICE
LEGAL ADVISER

MRS. MABEL AMOS
RECORDING SECRETARY

May 26, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in forwarding me a copy of the report of a Self-Survey conducted in Greenville, S. C., by a group of its citizens.

Sincerely,

James E. Folsom

JAMES E. FOLSOM,
Governor

JEF:A

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

11 Misc F - Folsom

RECEIVED
JAN 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

JAMES E. FOLSOM
GOVERNOR

O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

IRA B. THOMPSON
LEGAL ADVISER

MRS. MABEL AMOS
RECORDING SECRETARY

January 25, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Governor Folsom asked me to thank you for your letter of January 20, 1949, and to tell you that he has recently appointed a committee to study this problem in Alabama.

I am referring your letter to Mayor Herbert Meighan, Chairman, Committee on Higher Education for Negros in Alabama. I am sure he will find your magazine, New South, most helpful and interesting.

With best wishes, we are

Sincerely yours,

O. H. Finney Jr.

O. H. FINNEY, JR.

OHF:m

11-F-Ms
Federal Bureau of Investigation

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

September 6, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter dated August 29, 1949, with enclosure, has been received, and I do appreciate the interest which prompted you to bring this information to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

11-7-Misc
Federal Bureau
of Investigation

August 29, 1949

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Immediately after the outburst of mob violence in Lake County, Florida, the Southern Regional Council sent down a representative, Mr. H rold Fleming, who has produced this careful analysis of the events.

I am anxious that the attention of law enforcement officials be drawn to the conclusions, particularly on pages seven and eight where the danger in this new type of mechanized mob violence is brought out. In this instance, the Florida National Guard did pretty well. They used a lot of jeeps and a modern intercommunications system, and they had a spotting plane overhead. Still, they were not able to prevent further outbreaks of mob violence.

I thought that some one within the Department, specializing on matters of mob violence would be interested in this account.

A copy has been sent to the Attorney General and to the Civil Rights Section.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

11-7-Misc.
Friedman, Theodore

October 13, 1949

Mr. Theodore Friedman
2268 South Salisbury Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Ted:

The meeting last night of the Business and Professional Women's Club of the Atlanta YWCA was not quite what I expected it to be. This was only the second meeting of the year, and a good two-thirds of the people there were visitors or prospective new members. They consisted largely of quite young women just starting out as white-collar workers.

Since the group had so many unindoctrinated members and had not yet shaped its program for the year, I felt it unwise for me to go into the matter too specifically. When they have had a chance to get organized, I will get in touch with the president and find out what their program is and if we can help them improve it.

You should hear from Dr. Mitchell sometime next week about the proposed speaking engagement.

It was good to talk with you, however briefly, while you were here.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

P.S. Miss Melba Hendricks--recently married and presumably bearing another name now--was not at the meeting. HCF

hcf/t

11-7-Misc
Friedman, Theodore

August 25, 1949

Mr. Theodore Friedman
2268 South Salisbury Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Friedman:

Very many thanks for risking three dollars. It bought me a bed in Walhalla, South Carolina that night.

The Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches employs the Rev. Emerson C. Smith as Executive Director. He now has new offices at 109 West Grace Street in Richmond. As I believe you heard me explain, his group can not command the formal linkage of the Jewish and Catholic communities; but, in an informal way, he has friendly assistance from both. I am sure you will find him helpful. I am writing him about your new job. Do go and see him when you get to Richmond.

I am good friends with Mr. Ernest Pugh, who is director of C.I.O. in Virginia. His offices are in the Law Building, corner Eighth and Main Streets in Richmond. He is a good egg and will help you.

If you have occasion for advice from an elder statesman, I would suggest Professor Garnett Ryland, retired professor of chemistry at the University of Richmond. He has long been devoted to the interracial cause in Virginia and has acute understanding of the personalities and possibilities involved.

You will find in the Jewish community, a good many friends of my Father, Dr. S. C. Mitchell, now deceased. I am sure he is recalled affectionately by the Schwarzchilds and the Thalhimers, and by many others.

If the Council can help you at any point, please let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

— Misc

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

December 13, 1949

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

This is in reply to your letter of December 3, 1949.

We know of no data on "the proportion of graduates, by race, of Southern universities who leave the South for careers."

Dr. Caliver, Specialist in Negro Education is out of the city. Your letter is being referred to him for further reply, if he knows of any source of information.

Very truly yours,

Emery M. Foster

Emery M. Foster, Head
Reports and Analysis Branch
Research and Statistical Service

December 2, 1949

Information and Publications Service
U. S. Office of Education
Federal Security Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Do you have available figures on the proportions of graduates, by race, of Southern colleges and universities who leave the South for their careers? We would appreciate very much your sending us what information you have on this subject.

If such information is not available in your agency, we would be grateful for any suggestions you might be able to make concerning other possible sources.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Jane,

What figures could we find on proportions of graduates, by race, of Southern colleges (and Universities) who leave the South for their careers?

GSM

Dec. 2, '49

~~U.S. off. of Educ. doesn't have~~
~~Library — doesn't have~~
~~Source — check~~ Pubs Service
~~Dr. Ambrose Caliver~~ Dept
~~Specialist Negro Educ~~
~~U.S. off of Edu~~
~~7 St~~
~~Ed. of South of — no tape~~

F

January 24, 1950

A. Babbs Fafunwa
c/o Cookman Hall
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Fafunwa:

I am very grateful indeed for your kindness and that of the others associated with you in giving me the opportunity to talk with you the other day at College.

In moving about the state of Florida last week, I supplied your name and some details of your interests to Professor Gordon Lovejoy, Department of Human Relations, Miami University, Coral Gables, Florida; Mr. R. C. Beaty, Dean of Students, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., President J. Hillis Miller of the University of Florida, and Mr. Philpott and Dr. Scutter, University of Fla.; and the Episcopalian Chaplain adjoining the university campus, the Reverend Mr. Orth.

Mr. Philpott told me that a year and a half ago a small group of African students were invited to appear at Gainesville for a student occasion, and that it was all a great success with more than one hundred people turned away because they could not get into the hall.

I do hope that, in any case, I planted about some interest in getting greater circulation for you and your friends.

I send you separately some leaflets from the Council which will show you the sort of thing we do. If we can assist you in any way, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fc, mize

March 14, 1950

Mrs. Mary Pringle Fenhagen
916 St. Paul Street
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Fenhagen:

You told us not to pour postage and money into sending literature to you, and we won't.

We do have one recent item though that has done a very greatdeal of good, and I want you to see it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

F. Musical

May 2, 1950

Mr. John Fischer
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Jack:

How about this nice story from the Herald Tribune?

I send you three for possible help in your kind activities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mis. F

May 9, 1950

Mr. A. Babs Fafunwa
Bethune Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Fafunwa:

Here is a nice article from the Monday, May 1, issue of the New York Herald Tribune. I send you two copies, thinking you may want one to use elsewhere.

I wish I could help you about a job, but I don't know how to. I haven't any connections northwards. If you go to and through Washington, you ought to stop and see Mrs. Ruth C. Sloan at the State Department. In New York, it would be worth your while to call at the offices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, and get advice either from the head man, Mr. Channing Tobias, or from someone in the office. They haven't any money to help you with, but they can give you advice and connections.

I hear rumblings that someone is forming an office in this country to do services of all kinds for the African students. I do hope that goes through.

If you come to Atlanta, let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RECEIVED
MAY 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

A. Babs Fafunwa
Bethune Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Fla
4/30/50

My dear friend,

I thank you warmly for your last letter. I appreciate your interest.

I have been busy of late doing one thing or the other and all relating to the college assignment. I am trying really hard to be financially able to enter a graduate school this fall. With the devaluation of the pound sterling from $4 to $2.80 and with the possibility of its going down further to $2.35 (as hinted by Walter Winchell), I face a real situation; while at the same time my parents are allowed to send so much and not more — exchange quota. I hope to graduate here this May 29 all being well. If you know any friend or friends or organizations that can be of any assistance in anyway, please

do not fail to let me know. I will appreciate this very much.

I have set my mind on attending school up state and I have filed and taken examinations to enter Yale Chicago U. New York U and Columbia. The first school has already told me that I cannot expect any scholarship this time as preference is given to people with higher degrees first. I can't attend Yale without scholarship but I can manage others without one.

How is the Southern Regional Council faring? I hope you will continue to intimate me with its progress. The Executive of the African Students Union is contemplating on meeting in May. If we decide in Atlanta, I'll let you know.

Well, let me hear from you soon please.

Yours very truly,

A. Babs Fafunwa

P.S. We observed Africa Week here last Week. It was a huge success - very informative + entertaining

P S,

Please do you know any Hotel resort up north where I can work during this summer as Bell-hop (Bell Boy or Elevator Boy)? Thanks in anticipation.

Misc. F

May 17, 1950

Mr. A. Babs Fafunwa
Bethune Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Fafunwa:

The germ you and your friends at Bethune Cookman helped to grow has got as far as this little article in New South. I send you a dozen and would be happy to send you more if they would be useful to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encls.

Misc. F

May 26, 1950

Mr. A. Babs Fafunwa
Bethune Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Fafunwa:

Do please come and see us when you get to Atlanta. The office phone is Walnut 7963, or in the evening I will be at home, 906 Lullwater Road, Dearborn 5961.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

MAY 24 1950
Southern Regional Council

B. C. C

5/23/50

My dear Friend,

Thanks a million for the newspaper facsimile and the pamphlet "The New South" forwarded to us. These tracts have gone a long way to solidify in our students the fact that many friends - American friends are behind them in their long struggle. The entire African student body asks me to thank you for your genuine interest in their welfare and in building a better world to live in.

There is the possibility of my coming to Atlanta within the next week (June 3 & 4) ~~if I am financially able. I have been invited~~ to do so by Dr. R.O. Johnson of Atlanta U. In case I come I will certainly look you up.

May the blessings of God be with you.

Yours very cordially

ABah Fafunwa

F. misc

June 6, 1950

Mr. Ralph A. Felton
Drew Theological Seminary
Drew University
Madison, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Felton:

I will be happy to have ten copies of These My Brethren, for which I enclose $3.00.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
DREW UNIVERSITY
MADISON, NEW JERSEY

DEPARTMENT OF THE RURAL CHURCH
RALPH A. FELTON
RALPH L. WILLIAMSON

May 31, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I thought perhaps you might be able to make some use of our new research bulletin entitled "These My Brethren." You may have already received a copy. Enclosed is a notice of it along with some of our other bulletins.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph A Felton

Ralph A. Felton

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

ORDER BLANK

Ralph A. Felton
Drew Seminary
Madison, N. J.

Please send the following:

	Number desired	Cost
MEN WORKING A study of voluntary labor gifts in 341 churches located in 44 states and affiliated with 27 denominations. The major emphasis is upon men's work. Discusses 60 different kinds of work laymen are now doing in their churches. Analyzes the harmful effects of some money-raising projects. 72 pages, 58 photographs. 1 copy 30c, 4 copies for $1.00		
THE HOME OF THE RURAL PASTOR A study of 1171 parsonages in 47 states and 12 denominations. Contains suggestions for improving parsonages, also floor plans for new ones. 70 photographs. 112 pages. 1 copy 40c, 3 copies $1.00		
ONE FOOT ON THE LAND Stories of 16 successful Rural Churches. 96 pages. 1 copy 30c, 4 copies $1.00		
COOPERATIVE CHURCHES A study of 635 experiments in church cooperation. 76 pages. 1 copy 25c, 5 copies $1.00		
THE CHURCH AND THE LAND A study of 412 families showing the relation of Land Ownership, Soil Conservation, the Standard of Living and Church Activities. 44 pages. 1 copy 25c, 5 copies $1.00		
A HUNDRED GAMES FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES A guide to help leaders carry on an effective program of recreation. 66 pp. 1 copy 30c, 4 copies $1.00		
THE ART OF CHURCH COOPERATION The Enlarged Parish, Group Ministry, the Larger Parish, Yoked Churches, the Allocated Field, Mutual Exchange of Churches and the Federated Church. 64 pages. 1 copy 30c, 5 copies $1.00		
THE SIZE OF A RURAL PARISH Discusses the membership needed to pay an adequate salary; enlarged parishes; travel expenses of pastors paid by their churches. 24 pages. 1 copy 10c, 15 copies $1.00		
THE SALARY OF RURAL PASTORS A study of minimum salary plans of five denominations. 40 pages. 1 copy 10c, 15 copies $1.00		
NEW MINISTERS A study of 1978 ministerial students to determine the factors which influence men to enter the ministry. These men came from 48 states, representing 20 denominations in 57 theological seminaries and church-related colleges. The Bulletin was prepared to help pastors, parents and teachers in recruiting new ministers. 32 pages. 1 copy 15c, 10 copies $1.00		
THESE MY BRETHREN A study of 1542 Negro families and 570 Negro churches in the rural South. The thirteen chapters deal with the types of homes in which Negroes live, their farms and their churches. They also describe the Negro pastors, their education, the type of church services they conduct and the way they raise their money. Signs of progress are given for the future. 104 pages. 1 copy 40c, 3 copies $1.00		
Total amount enclosed		$

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

1163 Euclid Ave.
Berkeley 8

FACULTY CLUB
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY 4

July 19

Dear George:

Maybe this is the South's chance to extend the principle of acreage limitation to "flood control" and "drainage" when private agricultural lands benefit from federal expenditures. Why should the principle apply only to "irrigation?"

The President's Water Resources Commission comes to your city around the 23d and 24th, I believe, It is charged with shaping and reviewing federal policy.

The attached material on Central Florida Project is for your information, and is an example. You may not wish to use it publicly, for to advertise your intentions before you have built support would only warn the Everglades landowners (many of them from California, and well aware of the meaning of acreage limitation, and ready to take quick steps to secure Congressional exemption before anybody hears what's up).

You may wish, however, to talk with Morris Cooke, Chairman of the Commission privately about Florida, or to John Carmody, Executive of the Commission.

At this distance, I cannot see why southerners interested in the family farm and anti-monopoly and anti-speculation in water benefits from public expenditures should not take this opportunity to ask publicly that the reclamation law, or at least acreage limitation principle be applied to drainage and flood control when private agricultural lands are improved.

Organized labor, grange, andfarmers union have been very strong for this in the west. You will find their positions thoroughly documented in Hearings on S. 912 before subcommittee of Senate public lands committee, 80th Congress, 1st session.

The political issue raised in the West by this question has greatly benefitted all liberal candidates.

Best wishes.

Paul

P.S. You understand I'm not trying to tell you what you ought to do in the South, but am suggesting out of our experience that the coming of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission may present you with an unusual opportunity to get something done about fundamental policy.

[Reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 20, 1947, vol. 93, No. 117]

The Central Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 20, 1947

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, submitted to the Senate Committee on Public Lands May 3, 1947:

The introduction of S. 912 faces us with just one more stage in a concerted, clever, and unusually well-camouflaged drive to wreck American national land policy.

That land policy was established over the past 150 years, and it has required a lot of hard political fighting to win and to hold. Its principle, simple and clear, is this: To favor the actual farmer who works the land as means of livelihood for his family.

The actual farmers won the Preemption Action of 1841, to protect the squatter on the land against the speculator, who sought by legal cleverness to wring material gain for himself out of the squatter's toil.

The second great victory was the Homestead Act which Abraham Lincoln signed in 1862. Its principle was the same—to settle the land with families who would live on it.

The third victory for the actual settler was the National Reclamation Act of 1902, passed with unanimous support from every western delegation in Congress and bearing the signature of the great Republican President Theodore Roosevelt. It was hailed on the floor of Congress as lineal extension of the homestead principle, into the arid West.

We now face this issue: Are we to see the great edifice of national land policy torn down stone by stone? The first breach was made in the reclamation law. It was made in 1938 on the Colorado-Big Thompson project. The breach was widened a little on the Humboldt-Nevada project in 1940. Now, in S. 912, the effort is to drive wide the shoulders and create an irreparable breach, to write "finis" to a principle that Americans of past generations laboriously established and held in the confidence that it would endure. If we should allow S. 912 to pass, the death knell of the family farm on western American soil will be sounded and the day of the corporation farm will have arrived. As the agriculture relations secretary of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, the Reverend Shirley E. Greene has just warned, "This broadening of the proposed legislation confirms the fear * * * that the Central Valley bill (S. 66, H. R. 655, 656) was but an entering wedge on the part of those who would sacrifice the family-type farm to their own selfish interest and greed."

The National Farmers Union regrets to have to say that the initial breach was made on a project in Colorado, where our organization has strength, headquarters, and a long history. We regret to find in S. 912 that the repeal of 1938 on the Colorado-Big Thompson is now being made use of as a sort of "precedent" to undermine the family farm on the vast lands of the Central Valley in California, on the spreading, watered lands of the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas, and back again in our own State on the lands of the San Luis Valley. By reason of our position in Colorado we feel a special responsibility for exposing at this time the falsity of position of those who seek to use the 1938 repeal in this fashion to carry destruction elsewhere.

When, in 1938, the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the United States Senate presented the bill to repeal the 160-acre water limitation on the Colorado-Big Thompson project, someone wrote into its report this trumped-up two-point argument: (1) The intent of the original reclamation law was to develop undeveloped public lands, presumably not to develop private lands, or partially developed lands with insufficient water supply. (2) Provision of supplemental water to developed land is something different from what was contemplated as the central purpose of the original law, and therefore subject properly to exemption from it.

What this misleading Senate report said is this:

"The Federal reclamation laws, as originally adopted, were for the purpose of supplying unused water to undeveloped public lands. In order to make provision for as large a number of settlers under projects as would be economically feasible, and to prevent individuals from acquiring more than a fair share of the land to be reclaimed, the Congress limited the amount of land which could be owned by one individual and supplied with water from the reclamation project to 160 acres. This provision was entirely appropriate to conditions to which it was intended to be applied." (Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, 76th Cong., 3d sess., S. Rept. No. 1921.)

That was the first point. Its initial sentence, which has been used over and over again to mislead is, as a complete and adequate statement of the original purpose of the law, erroneous on its face. If, as implied, the intention was not to water private lands, but only public lands, then why was the 160-acre water limitation on private lands included at all in the original statute? That limitation, which now is at issue on private lands in Colorado, Texas, and California, has no other reason for being, except that the purpose of the Federal reclamation laws as originally adopted was not confined to the limited purpose declared by the Senate in its report of 1938 and used as a basis for its recommendation to the Senate for repeal. Besides, the limitation was on water, not on land, and the intention was that no one should get more than his fair share of the water to be developed by public appropriation. The evil that men do lives after them, but we don't want the evil of that distortion of historical fact to spread false justifica-

tion for repeal to California, to Texas, and then back home again to roost in the San Luis Valley of Colorado.

The second point in the argument of the 1938 Senate report is as follows:

"The situation under the Colorado-Big Thompson project, the only one involved in the present bill, is quite different from that of the earlier reclamation projects. The Colorado-Big Thompson project does not bring under cultivation new land. It is intended to furnish a supplemental supply of water to an already highly developed area of agricultural lands. These lands are now in private ownership and irrigated by numerous existing irrigation ditches. Due to various factors, such as more intensive cultivation, drought, and increased consumption of water by other systems, the water supply for this large area, amounting to 615,000 acres, is inadequate in many seasons to insure the maturing of crops. This project will supply the necessary additional water to make certain the harvests which are now uncertain."

The simple truth is that all irrigation provided under Federal reclamation is supplemental, and always has been. It supplements rainfall, underground waters, or both. The fact that water is supplemental furnishes no valid basis for exemption from the beneficent purpose of the law, which is to create many homes on the land. Supplemental water is not a test whether a good law should apply, and it was not so regarded by the framers of Federal reclamation in 1902.

These alleged views—rather than the true views—of those who originated reclamation, have been spread so assiduously, that it is time to remind ourselves what the true intentions were. It is not the lawyers, including evidently those of the great landholding corporations of the Central Valley of California and of the excess land-holding interests of the San Luis Valley and the valley gravity project in Texas, who spread false law. They have no doubts that the reclamation law applies to their private lands. It is rather the propagandists who try to make it appear to the man in the street that the bureaucrats are putting over something which the grand men of the last generation had never planned or wanted. The truth is just the opposite.

Let's look at the record of those grand men. Representative Mondell, of Wyoming, made this clean-cut declaration while the reclamation bill was under debate in the House:

"Under nearly every project undertaken by the Government there will undoubtedly be some lands in private ownership and it would be manifestly unjust and inequitable not to provide water for these lands, providing their owners are willing to comply with the conditions of the act; and in order that no such lands may be held in large quantities or by nonresident owners, it is provided that no water right for more than 160 acres shall be sold to any landowner, who must also be a resident or occupant of his land. This provision was drawn with a view to breaking up any large landholding which might exist in the vicinity of Government works and to insure occupancy by the owner of the land reclaimed."

Congressman MARTIN of South Dakota was equally explicit. Referring to the water-limitation clause of the bill under consideration he told the Congress: "The policy of the Government is to build up communities of many settlers with small holdings, and not to encourage the prosecution of agriculture by large corporations." With prophetic insight that belies those who declare that changes have been so great that the standards of the framers no longer fit the times, Congressman MARTIN added: "In this day of colossal enterprises private capital could reclaim arid lands at a great profit, provided the land and water could be owned by private capital on a large scale." That condition is exactly what this 160-acre limitation on water provided against.

Authoritative studies of this subject have been made and they have been published. There is no excuse for ignoring the results of their examination of law and history, or for permitting the continued spread of false information to compound the mistake of the Colorado repeal of 1938.

A study of "Acreage limitation and excess land provisions" included in the report of Central Valley Project Studies, Problem 19, makes careful examination of the declarations of those who framed and passed the national reclamation law of 1902. After quoting a series of clear-cut declarations, it concludes:

"These statements, and others of like character that could be cited, indicate quite clearly that the sponsors of reclamation arrived at conscious decisions (1) in favor of acreage limitation, (2) in favor of supplemental as well as primary irrigation, (3) in favor of the irrigation of private as well as public lands, and (4) in favor of steps necessary to force the breaking up of large private holdings. Provisions in the Reclamation Act of 1902, respective to these points, were not there by accident or through insufficient consideration; they represented deliberate decisions based upon thorough discussion."

This was in keeping with the statement by Congressman Mondell, of Wyoming, who told the House deliberating on the bill that, "No law ever presented to any legislative body has been so carefully drawn with a view of preventing the possibility of speculative ownership in lands * * *"

The framers of the law were familiar with the facts of western land monopoly. The deliberations of the National Irrigation Congress and of other western associations are full of explicit and repeated discussions of how to deal with it.

The statement by Senator Francis G. Newlands, coauthor of the original act, before the Sacramento Valley Development Association in 1905 is definitive:

"Now, what national machinery have you? You have the machinery of the National Reclamation Act, intended, as your Governor has remarked, to meet the demands of the home seekers of the country. Guarded in every way against monopoly and speculation, intended to secure to every man of industry an area of land sufficient, according to the soil and the climate or productiveness, for the support of a family, and sufficient for that alone [applause], it is also intended to break up existing land monopoly. How is that accomplished? We realized in the

framing of that act that it would not be fair to apply it only to the public domain, for within reach of every governmental project lie lands in private ownership, thirsting for water to be supplied by national aid, and we felt that it was as much the duty of the National Government to supply agricultural communities that were thus imperiled as to create new agricultural communities.

"And so we provided that water rights could be secured for lands in private ownership within reach of Government projects, to be guarded against monopoly by preventing any proprietor from securing water rights for more than 160 acres, the amount of land fixed in the bill. * * *

"Here let me say that in my own opinion California has no greater curse than these large landed estates. [Applause.] To the Spanish or Mexican land grants was added the concentration of large areas of land secured from the Federal Government, part of the national domain, obtained either under lax laws or by evasion or maladministration of the laws. I have no word of censure to apply to the men who own these grants, or who now own these large areas of land. I only condemn the policy which made land monopoly possible on this coast and throughout the arid region." [Applause.]

That statement of the purposes of the law made by its chief author, was received by the association to develop the Sacramento Valley with evidences of the greatest satisfaction.

A recent student of this subject, after analyzing the past, points out an extreme danger of the future. Ralph B. Wetheimer, in his Legislative and Administrative History of Acreage Limitation and Control of Speculation on Federal Reclamation Projects, published as part of Central Valley Project Studies, problem 19, states:

"There is no difference in principle between a supplemental and a primary supply insofar as the wisdom of applying acreage limitations and antispeculation provisions is concerned. Pressure to relax the restrictions in such cases may be viewed as a flank attack upon the whole policy, for in the future many million acres which the Bureau of Reclamation expects to irrigate will receive supplemental supplies."

We oppose misuse of "supplemental water" as a phony doctrine for concealing destruction of the American family farm. The National Farmers Union wants to preserve the family farm on those millions of acres which will receive publicly supplied water in the future.

The Colorado-Big Thompson repeal is to be distinguished not only by the clever distortions which enabled it to produce a phony basis for exemption from a sound law. It bears other marks which ought to raise questions in the minds of serious men. The national reclamation law was the result of long, careful, and public deliberation over a decade of time. The destruction of the protections provided by that law on the Colorado-Big Thompson project, on the contrary, was the result of rapid work. If its preparations were careful, and presumably they were, they were not preparations in public.

The same distorted statement of purpose of the reclamation law upon which the Senate committee relied was recited by the Acting Secretary of the Interior (not the Secretary) who gave formal assent for the Department of the Interior. He made it appear, also, that there was no practical need to maintain the law, since its purpose of breaking up land monopoly would be achieved on this particular project by natural processes of land subdivision. If he was correct that the Colorado-Big Thompson project was a special case, certainly he made this repeal unusable as general precedent. The general doctrine of natural subdivision is false, and has been rejected specifically by a dozen Congresses giving approval to limitation by law.

There were no public hearings on the Big Thompson repeal.

There was no debate on the floor of Congress.

The second exemption was obtained on the Humboldt project in Nevada in 1940. Since the primary ground for exemption on that particular project was that 160 acres was too little to permit successful family farms, the Humboldt exemption affords no precedent whatever for general exemption. Another Acting Secretary of the Interior, the one to give assent to repeal on the Nevada project, was very careful to declare just this. He said that he did not mean to indicate that, in all cases where a project is furnishing merely a supplemental water supply, the excess-lands provisions of existing laws ought not to be applied and enforced. The solution in similar cases, he indicated, might be found, after study, to lie not in exemption, but in flexible acreage determination by the Secretary of the Interior of the size of a farm unit appropriate to each project. Naturally that size might be either larger or smaller than 160 acres. Thus the record of the Humboldt exemption itself recognizes that repeal affords no general remedy.

A third attempt to repeal the 160-acre water limitation was made on the California Central Valley project in 1944. The Big Thompson and Nevada exemptions were used as precedents, but the effort nevertheless failed—as it should have.

Your committee will hear fully about Central Valley from well-informed interests which oppose repeal, and the National Farmers Union does not intend to cover the same ground. There are aspects of the drive for repeal there, however, which need to be set down in this chronicle of the attempt that broke out in Colorado in 1938 to destroy the family farm in the West.

On the California repealer, as on the Colorado and Nevada bills before it, there had been no public hearings when it reached the House floor, practically without warning.

The repealer was in form of a rider, introduced as a committee amendment after the committee hearings on the rivers and harbors bill to which it was attached were completed. The maneuver succeeded. It was slipped through on March 22, 1944, in a few minutes.

On the contrary, after hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, the rider was killed by the committee, and the Senate refused to allow the bill to pass. Senate opposition was so determined that the entire rivers and harbors bill was dragged down with it.

One other aspect of the tactics in the House deserves mention. The Chairman of the House Committee of the Whole overruled a point of order that the repeal amendment was out of order, a rider that "modifies the fundamental reclamation laws." The man who was in the chair to give that ruling was not the Speaker of the House, it was none other than the California Member who helped put the Colorado-Big Thompson repeal through the House in 1938.

It is too late to use surprise as a tactic in California Central Valley any more. But it is not too late to try it in the San Luis Valley of Colorado and the Valley Gravity project in Texas. S. 912 attempts exactly this.

According to a Washington dispatch dated March 18, 1947, Senator DOWNEY, of California, was quoted indirectly as saying that "discussions of the Colorado and Texas project exemptions would be 'simpler' than those on the California one * * * because there was little controversy on them." If there is "little controversy" the reason is that people have not been informed of what they face. The National Farmers Union knows that, contrary to the Senator's impressions, there is plenty of controversy on the Colorado and Texas projects, and on any others where repeal may be proposed. It is the people of the Nation, not just those of a locality, who lose by repeal, and it is the people of the Nation who are entitled to be fully and completely informed when it is proposed to tear down the land laws they have so laboriously built up over the generations.

The sad truth is that within Texas the tactic of surprise and concealment may be as successful now as it evidently was in California until 1944 when the Elliott rider went through the House. What looks like a conspiracy of silence has blanketed Texas so that even Texans who otherwise are well informed do not know that the water limitation applies as a protection to the Valley Gravity project. Witness the following omission of any reference to the law from the pen of a Texan writing in the New Republic on April 7, 1947:

"So the Federal Government is preparing to spend $70,000,000 on a huge gravity irrigation system, and a still larger amount on a series of storage dams in the Rio Grande River. All this will not only guarantee the Valley's water supply, but will make possible a 50-percent increase in the irrigated area of the valley. And already valley promoters are beginning to eye people up in Illinois and Ohio and Nebraska, getting ready for the next land boom."

At least, the author has warned the people up in Illinois and Ohio and Nebraska that it is they who are going to pay the costs of permitting repeal to pass; they are going to pay it in the speculative prices the 160-acre water limitation is intended to protect them from. But the thing significant to an understanding of the tactics of the repealers is the fact that the Texan author, writing in a national magazine engaged in fighting against repeal in California and elsewhere, could honestly not know that the protections of the reclamation law apply to a Bureau of Reclamation project in his State, and not know what those protections are.

If there is no controversy in Texas over repeal, it must be because the people there who will be damaged by it have been victims of the same tactic of silence that enveloped the people of California until they were shocked into action by the passage of the 1944 Elliott rider through the House.

The story of how the 160-acre water limitation has been put to sleep in people's minds in one part of the country after another needs to be ferreted out and told, so that the people's interests can never be so stealthily threatened again.

In the light of this studied silence, of which Texas furnished but the latest example, the National Farmers Union demands that Congress postpone any action whatever on the Colorado and Texas projects until the Bureau of Reclamation shall have made and distributed widely the results of studies of the water limitation on those projects, studies which shall be as thorough and detailed as those which the Bureau has had made in California's Central Valley.

Two more aspects of this battle to save the family farm, to defeat monopoly of land and water, and to prevent speculation in the benefits from public appropriations, require description here.

First, is the sleight-of-hand used to confuse the people and so to prevent them from seeing or acting in their own interest. We face that tactic in the Missouri Valley, but the clearest statement we have seen of its movements is one that described what was going to happen in California's Central Valley before most of it happened. Telling of the entry of the National Farmers Union into the battle against repeal, the magazine Business Week laid out in detail in its issue of May 13, 1947, the tactics which the repealers would employ. The blueprint prescribed four tactics: (1) Direct repeal; (2) use of the Army; (3) use of the State of California; (4) use of deep-well pumps at the expense of the small farmers and the public. Here is the text of the Business Week description:

"If the big landowners in the valley lose out in this particular fight [for direct repeal], they have several other proposals to accomplish their end. One of them is a House bill which would authorize the Army to add irrigation and power development to its present navigation and flood-control powers. The legislation also would call for construction of a series of irrigation and power projects throughout the country, especially in Central Valley. This would circumvent the 160-acre rule, since the Army is not bound by that restriction.

"Another proposal, said to have originated among the big landowners of Fresno County, is for the State of California to take over the Central Valley project, paying the entire bill. This, too, would sidestep the 160-acre limitation. Still other landowners are sinking wells around their holdings in order to be prepared to pump irrigation water from the raised water table, thus getting a free ride on the Central Valley project."

This blueprint has been and is being followed in detail. Although printed in a national journal in 1944, these very tactics still serve to confuse Congress and to defeat the people.

The National Farmers Union submits this statement of the tactics of the repealers in the hope that their complete and utter de-

feat will be easier when their tactics are thoroughly exposed and understood.

In this great fight to defeat land monopoly once more, the issues should always be kept clear, not confused. Every project where repeal or modification is proposed should first be studied thoroughly. There should be no conspiracies of silence, no alliances of big landholders with hidden interests, no sleight-of-hand or surprise tactics, no pitting of agency against agency to divide and destroy, no use of projects to log-roll, no threats by private beneficiaries of public reclamation that unless the heart is torn out of the law for their own special benefit, they themselves will wreck its enforcement, defy the Congress and the people of the United States, and pull down the pillars of America's historic land policy.

When we face tampering with our national land laws the issues ought to be kept perfectly simple and clear.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1947

How about extending the acreage limitation principle in support of family farming, and against monopoly and speculation in the incremental values arising from public expenditures for water control, into all projects where the federal government improves agricultural land? Why limit the principle to "irrigation"? Why not apply the same principle to private benefits from "drainage" "flood control," "land improvement," or whatever form the public expenditures for private benefit may take? For example:

> See Comprehensive report on central and southern Florida for flood control and other purposes. House Doc. No. 643, 80th Congress, 2d session.

Estimated construction cost of the project is around $208,000,000 and annual maintenance and operation cost is $3,705,000. The Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors recommends that "the principal control and protection works of the plan should be maintained and operated by the Federal Government at Federal cost." H.Doc. 643, p. 12)

The Board is of opinion that "in view of the large local benefits, local interests should be required to participate in the construction to the extent of furnishing all lands and rights of way and making a cash contribution of $29, 152,000." (Ibid.)

Since the extent of these local benefits "from land improvement" was estimated at $14,855,000 per year, (p. 10), the local contribution equals about two years' benefit to private beneficiaries.

The project proposes to benefit 1,575,000 acres of "existing pasture" and "new farm lands and pasture."

"These net increases in production, which will result in large measure from adequate flood protection and water control, range from about $1 per acre annyally due to more intensive use of existing pasture lands in the Okechobee-Everglades area to an increase of $200 per acre annually for new citrus land in the Davie area in Broward County." (House Doc. 643, page 48)

The Engineers' report does not use the word "irrigation" but lists benefits from the project as 64.5 percent "improvement of property," 34.6 percent "flood control," and 1.9 percent navigation and fish and wild life. Nevertheless it sought and obtained congressional authorization as a "flood control" project."

It is an open question whether of not the reclamation law, including areeage limitation may not actually apply to the Central Florida Project now. (See section 8, Public law 534, 78th Cong., Chapter 665, 2d session, H.R. 4485, Flood Control act of 1944)

RECEIVED
JUL 21 1950
RESOLVED

F - Musical

October 19, 1950

Mr. Guy Friddell
Apt. 1, 923 Kent Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Guy:

I have a speech which I call The Map of the South, which has echoes from S.C.M. and Howard Odum's Regionalism, plus Rupert Vance, plus what I have learned in PAC and elsewhere. It is handy as a way of introducing people who are going to work in the South to the broadest aspects of the South's problems. I have frequently given it to groups of teachers and presume that I am asked to do it for the parochial school teachers of Virginia there in Richmond the 27th, on the idea that it will be helpful to them. If you are free to come out, I think it is billed at about one in the afternoon at St. Joseph's. Show up!

Bring your pad and pencil, and I will give you all the details about the gum tree enterprise.

Bring Virginia!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

F_ Misc

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
CODY FOWLER
CITIZENS BUILDING
TAMPA 2, FLORIDA

October 9, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of October 6th to Mr. Fowler has been received during his absence from the City.

When Mr. Fowler returns to the office your letter will be brought to his attention.

Yours very truly,

Catherine Waelde

Secretary to Mr. Fowler

RECEIVED
OCT 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

6 October 1950

Apartment 1
923 Kent Road

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was happy to check with Mrs. Durham but am sorry to report that she does not have the answers at hand. She is going to try and run them down, however, and let me know as soon as possible.

I have recently been considering a return to newspaper reporting, and, in that event, the "mudhouse" would make a fine feature. My family found its story quite interesting.

My wife, Virginia, has been in the hospital this past week, but she is better now, and I'm hoping that she will be able to come home today and tomorrow.

Let me know when you arrive in Richmond October 28 and perhaps we can find time for a talk.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy

P.S. - I'm curious to know the subject of your talk at the convent!

H-F-Faulkner
Misc

November 13, 1950

Dean W. J. Faulkner
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dean Faulkner:

Please forgive this delay in answering your letter of November 6; we have all been heavily occupied with our annual meeting here last week.

Doubtless you are familiar with the case of Miss Esther McCready who was admitted to the Maryland University School of Nursing by a court order this year. That is the only such case we know of in a Southern or border state. If there are others, it seems to me altogether likely that they would be in Kentucky. The Day Law, requiring educational segregation in that state, was amended originally so that nursing and medical training facilities might be open to Negro students.

Your friends in Kentucky might find it profitable to write Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, President, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, 1790 Broadway, New York City. We have noted from press reports that that organization is planning to disband because of the high degree of integration in the nursing profession. Mrs. Staupers declared that Negro students are now admitted to 330 schools of nursing, though she did not specify their location. Perhaps she would know of some instance in the South which has escaped our attention.

We sincerely hope the effort in Kentucky will be successful.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming

Director of Information

Nat'l Assoc. of Colored Graduate Nurses - now disbanding

Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, Pres.
1790 B'way - NYC

Negro girls now admitted to 330 schools of nursing

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MEMORIAL CHAPEL
AND
UNION CHURCH
WM. J. FAULKNER
DEAN OF THE CHAPEL
RUFFIN NOISETTE
ASSISTANT

November 6, 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Will you advise me if your office has any knowledge of a colored woman student taking nurse training in a hospital or school along side of white students in any southern state. Friends in Louisville, Kentucky who contemplate such a step need this information if you know of any. Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. J. Faulkner

W. J. Faulkner
Dean of the Chapel

WJF m

11-E-Misc

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MEMORIAL CHAPEL
AND
UNION CHURCH
WM. J. FAULKNER
DEAN OF THE CHAPEL
RUFFIN NOISETTE
ASSISTANT

November 30, 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your advice concerning Negro student nurses. I have passed it on to our friends in Kentucky.

Very sincerely yours,

W. J. Faulkner

W. J. Faulkner
Dean of the Chapel

WJF m

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

11-F, Misc
Fisk University

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

X

August 23rd, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In reply to your letter of August 16th requesting 250 copies of "Some Changes in Perspectives and Patterns of Race Relations", I have mailed under another cover, 50 copies. We would like very much to send the full amount which you requested, but we only had a limited number printed, and we have very few remaining on hand. We are pleased, however, to share these with you.

Sincerely,

Rita L. D. Wilkins

Mrs. Rita L. D. Wilkins

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

Fisk Univ.

Fisk University

Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

May 14, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We wish to acknowledge the receipt of the information which we requested concerning the activities of your organization as they pertain to interracial and intercultural programs in social work.

The data you have sent will enable us to make our report for the 1949 edition of the Social Work Year Book more complete.

Thank you very much for your cooperation with our efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Louise J. Doddy

(Mrs.) Louise J. Doddy
Research Assistant

LJD/acs

7 — Fisk University

April 20, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I long ago marked on my calendar the whole period of the Race Relations Institute as open to your choice. I now have put down the time July 12-16 definitely and will expect to be there at Fisk for all or most of that week.

It is a fine gathering, which I greatly enjoy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 14, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
43 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I have probably been a good deal more presumptuous than I should have been, but the staff, the membership and I consider you now pretty much of a fixture and a "must" so far as the Race Relations Institute is concerned, and we are counting on you again this year to participate in the part of the program dealing with organizations and techniques. The discussion is held again during the third week, and as usual I should like for you to be on hand the entire week, and longer if your schedule will permit. The Institute will open June 28 and run through July 16.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj:h

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APR 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Fisk U.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

HERMAN H. LONG, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

March 3, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We cannot thank you enough for the excellent list accompanying your very kind letter of February 5. It will be most helpful. I appreciate, also, your offer to get word to all your members; at this moment I do not yet know whether we shall have too many members or too few as a result of our initial effort, but we should know definitely by the middle of April. May I write you then?

Yours sincerely,

Roger G. Gastrude
Educational Director

Fisk University

February 5, 1948

Mr. Roger G. Mastrude
Educational Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mastrude:

You wrote me on January 20 about leadership people for the Race Relations Institute this Summer.

I can list for you three groups containing people who might be interested themselves or who could reach other persons both interested and useful. These are the Fellows of the Council, the Board of Directors of the Council, and the officers of our State Divisions and affiliated State Interracial Committees.

Here are the three lists. It may help you to have knowledge of which are white and which are Negro, so I have added a notation on that.

All of the persons on any of the lists are of fine spirit on these matters.

We could, of course, reach a much wider audience by getting word to our twenty-five hundred members, but I assume that would open the gates too wide.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Enclosures
3 lists as itemized in Par 2

FCU

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 23, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of January 20th has come during Dr. Johnson's absence from the city. This correspondence will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to the office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Rita L D Wilkins

(Mrs.) Rita L. D. Wilkins
Administrative Secretary

RLDW/ila

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

HERMAN H. LONG, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

January 20, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson has suggested that I write you in connection with our effort to reach the most active possible group of key citizens as members of our Institute of Race Relations this summer. As you know, the Institute is a three-week session during which many of the country's leaders in fields touching human relations come together to discuss the latest findings of science, business, labor, education, religion, and social work. A glance at the list of lecturers and consultants of former Institutes will suggest what this Institute represents.

It is our feeling that information presented can be fully meaningful only if the members of the courses represent America's finest and most active leadership. Since we must limit the group to less than 200, it is difficult to know just how to reach the right people. If you are interested, would it be possible for you to suggest a list of top leaders in the Southern Regional Council who might both appreciate an opportunity to attend the Institute and to turn the experience of attendance into new understanding for future work.

We hope also to be able to open up the attendance lists later for the first interested persons who apply for membership. I might add that the Institute will be held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, from June 28 to July 16.

We shall be most grateful for any assistance you may be able to give us.

Yours very sincerely,

Roger G. Mastrude

Roger G. Mastrude
Educational Director

December 13, 1950

Mr. Maurice B. Fagan
Philadelphia Fellowship Commission
260 South 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Maury:

I dictated a thumbs-down letter on the first proposal on the American Jewish Congress. Fortunately, there is still time to cover in an answer your letter of December 7.

I like Danzig's proposal very much and cordially hope you and the others can work out something along those lines. I think we here could undertake to provide part, at least, of a monthly round-up of events in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION ★ 260 SO. 15th STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

Kingsley 5-8430

December 7, 1950

Dear Nairo Board Member:

Immediately after sending the air mail letter to you concerning the offer of the American Jewish Congress, I received the enclosed letter from David Danzig of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Danzig's letter raises a whole new possibility for NAIRO which makes it appear all the more important that we explore various possibilities very carefully before taking action. Would you authorize me and such persons from the NAIRO Board as might be able to come together readily here to discuss the matter of a publication further with the American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and possibly other groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Conference of Christians and Jews, etc.

It appears to me that the offer submitted by Mr. Danzig might make it possible for us to issue one monthly publication which would cover all reporting rather than just legislation and court action. Such a single publication would be both easier for us to manage and more economical. Equally important, such a single publication might go out as a NAIRO publication and simply give credit for particular items or for editorial services and thus perhaps better meet NAIRO's permanent needs.

I'm sending this letter to you air mail special delivery so that you can consider my letter of yesterday simultaneously with this one.

If you do authorize me to proceed with further discussions, please give me your views as specifically as possible so that they can be taken into consideration by all of the national agencies with which discussions will be held. I will, of course, keep you posted on developments and will contact you with the final proposal before authorizing any one organization or group of organizations to go ahead.

Please let me hear from you no later than Monday.

My best to you.

Sincerely,

Maury Fagan

MAURICE B. FAGAN
President

MBF:ml

PHILADELPHIA
FELLOWSHIP
COMMISSION ★ 260 SO. 15th STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
Kingsley 5-8430

DEC 7 1950
Regional

AIR MAIL

December 6, 1950

Dear Member:

At the business meeting in New York, Harold Lett, as Chairman of the Legislative Committee, reported the offer of the American Jewish Congress to issue reports on legislation and court findings to all NAIRO members and for NAIRO to the entire mailing list of the American Council on Race Relations. The specific proposal was as follows:

1. The American Jewish Congress will, without charge to NAIRO, prepare, print and distribute a monthly bulletin on events and trends in group relations.

2. The bulletin will be mailed without charge by us to all of NAIRO members and to such other persons as we may designate, including the mailing list of the American Council on Race Relations.

3. The bulletin would be entitled "Law and Social Action" and would continue the volume number and the pagination of L&SA. It would contain a line in the masthead however that it is prepared for NAIRO by the American Jewish Congress.

4. An editorial committee of not more than three would be appointed from NAIRO's Board to determine policy. The editorial committee would merely decide broad questions of policy and not attempt to read copy on particular issues. One of the questions to be determined is whether news about church and state would be included in the bulletin.

5. The bulletin would not be a house organ for the American Jewish Congress, would be as free from editorial comment as possible and would be an objective account of what is happening.

In subsequent conversations, Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress made clear the fact that it would not be possible for his organization to provide such legislative reports just for NAIRO and in the name of NAIRO because that would necessitate the preparation and printing of two monthly bulletins by the American Jewish Congress. Mr. Maslow did state, however, that the masthead of the bulletin to be issued would read "Law and Social Action prepared for the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials by the American Jewish Congress". In brief

conversations with various members of our Board, the general opinion was expressed that it would be preferable for NAIRO to issue its own publication if the means could be found for doing so, but if that was not possible that we should gladly accept the very generous offer of the American Jewish Congress.

I would, therefore, appreciate your reply by return mail to the following questions:

1. Do you feel that before accepting the offer of the American Jewish Congress an effort should first be made to determine whether some organization or foundation would be willing to supply the necessary resources (financial or staff) to prepare and print a monthly bulletin for NAIRO?

2. If so, do you know of any organizations or foundations that should be contacted for that purpose?

3. Do you feel that we should immediately accept the offer of the American Jewish Congress?

I should like to make very clear the fact that the bulletin which the American Jewish Congress would prepare would be limited to reports on legislation and court action and would not cover the entire field of group relations as might be inferred from Item 1 of the proposal submitted by Congress. It would, therefore, be necessary for NAIRO to prepare perhaps in mimeographed form some kind of monthly or periodic report to NAIRO members. I would appreciate your authorization to prepare such additional reports until such time as the Executive Committee as a whole can meet to evolve a more permanent form of reporting. It is quite possible, of course, that just as the American Jewish Congress has offered to put out a legislative bulletin, some other group or combination of groups might be willing to issue a supplemental bulletin.

If you can find the time, I'd welcome your comments and suggestions on this aspect of our problem. I suppose most of us would prefer a single bulletin rather than several of them.

Finally, will you indicate whether you would be available for a Board meeting in mid or late January and whether you would prefer meeting in Cleveland or Chicago.

Most of our contacts during the coming year will have to be by mail or telephone. I know how much pressure there is on each of us but I'm nevertheless confident that you will do your very best to answer promptly so that we can give maximum possible service to our members and the field at large.

I look forward to working with you and I hope that you will feel perfectly free to submit your criticisms as well as your suggestions at any time.

Sincerely,

Maurice Fagan

MAURICE B. FAGAN
President

MBF:ml

P. S. The urgency is due to the hope that the first legislative bulletin can go out early in January.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue
New York City 16

December 5, 1950

Mr. Maurice B. Fagan, President
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
260 S. 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Maury:

You may recall that some time ago prior to the termination of the American Council on Race Relations operations, it addressed a letter to the national agencies asking them to consider which of the services performed by the ACRR they might be in a position to continue. In response to this communication, I discussed with Mr. Hosch and Professor Wirth, on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, the question of our continuation of the ACRR Report or a substitute publication of this kind which would be a means of conveying information on legal and legislative matters to NAIRO members and intergroup relations agencies. We felt that a reporting service of this kind was very much needed and we indicated our interest and willingness in providing such a service or cooperating with other agencies in making it possible.

At the recent NAIRO meeting in New York I learned that NAIRO members indicated that they felt it should undertake to provide this service. We feel that this would be desirable and are willing to put aside plans which we have had under discussion and to cooperate in making such a service on the part of NAIRO effective.

If a number of the national agencies cooperated in providing this service with the added information and experience available this would no doubt make for a more effective publication than if this service were provided by a single organization. With this in mind, I have discussed the matter with the ADL. They have expressed willingness to work out an arrangement which would make this possible. I understand also that the American Jewish Congress made an offer to aid NAIRO in this connection and I would assume that they, too, would be open to discussion of such an arrangement. Unfortunately time has not allowed me to discuss this matter with them as yet. In light of the above, I suggest, therefore, that the NAIRO Board take under consideration the following proposal:

1. That a number of the national agencies work out a cooperative arrangement whereby the continuation of a service of reporting similar to the ACRR Report be continued on a stable basis;

2. That in consideration of the finances of NAIRO at present, the national agencies agree to underwrite the total cost of the publication;

3. That the bulletin be known as a NAIRO publication and that no formal reference to the agencies' contributions need be included in the title or masthead.

At the present time only AJC and ADL are committee to the foregoing proposal. However, it seems reasonable to assume that broader cooperation can be obtained. Before pursuing the matter further, however, I would like some word from NAIRO's Board as to whether this proposal would be accepted.

Sincerely,

/s/ David Danzig

AMERICA, AMERICA!

JULIAN FAHY

America, America,
Your heart was brave and full of pride
When men of old came to your shores,
In scorn or hate of tyranny,
Of kings who claimed their rights divine!

The great, the humble, rich and poor,
All willing workers for their dreams,
They left their fortunes, friends, and homes,
On journey to your distant land
That offered them its bounties great.

These pioneers the ocean crossed
Through storms which rocked their sailing ships,
Through hunger, sickness, death of kin,
To reach the promised land of hope
And freedom's blessings for mankind.

America, America,
Those sturdy souls from every land,
Of every color, class, and creed,
Went forth to dedicate their lives
To build a new world for free men.

They traveled over plain and hill
To found a nation born of zeal.
They hewed the wood of stalwart trees.
They made their tools and raised their crops,
And used the horse to plough or fight.

The land was vast, the rivers wide,
The soil was fertile, ripe for growth,
The forests seemed to have no end.
The Indians were proud and brave,
Who fought for lands they held their own.

America, America,
You leave the old to search the new.
You try the new to find the best,
Which may be even better still.
Ah, freedom feeds the souls of men!

You, people grown from struggles strong,
Have built your cities high and great,
Have worked in shops and tilled your fields,
To rear a race, a breed of men,
Who hold a loyal faith in man.

The free must ever guard their trust
To selves, their children, all the world,
To bear the torch of light and peace,
Of progress, truth, and human weal.
They have no fear. Their cause is man's.

America, America,
Ah, cherished land of all the free,
Where law is ruler; justice, sought;
Where science, art, man's dignity,
And union sealed with liberty,
Will ever hold all men one race!

America, America!

Julian Fahy

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MAR 18 1955

1837 Wyoming Avenue, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

March 16, 1955

My dear Dr. Mitchell,

I have been contemplating writing you since last year, but I have been preoccupied by my Ph.D. thesis (which will be completed this June) and my present job as Assistant Nigerian Liaison Officer for the 400 Nigerian students who are currently enrolled at 40 of the 48 states and 6 provinces in Canada. I have just returned from an extended tour of Canada and the mid-West visiting some 80 students and interviewing the various college and university authorities. It is quite a challenging job, but I like it. My wife, Doris, and our little daughter, Titilola, (Everlasting Joy) have to remain in Washington, since the child is too young to travel extensively; being 8½ months old.

For the last three years eight Nigerian students, including Messrs. Akin Akinwowo and H. A. Oluwasanmi, both formerly of Morehouse and now of Boston and Harvard, along with a few American friends, have been working on the possibility of founding an Agricultural and Mechanical College in Nigeria with a view to relating higher education to the Nigerian needs and environment. The enclosed brochure will give you, I hope, a general idea as to what we have in mind. Of course, this plan as outlined is not definitive; it is therefore subject to expansion and greater detail.

The group is presently approaching sponsors with a view to getting a good support before approach is made to the various foundations, groups, and individuals for financial aid. Some of our sponsors up to date include Dr. Alonzo F. Myers, Chairman of Higher Education Department, New York University; Dr. Bethune; and Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, the Vermont author. I have also written Dr. L. D. Reddick, Chief Librarian at Atlanta University and I wish you might discuss the project with him. I also think that Drs. Benjamin Mays and R. O. Johnson, both of the Atlanta System will be interested.

We know that you are a very busy person; but we hope you will find it possible to be one of our sponsors. Your support would be highly valued by our organization.

Will it be feasible to have an Atlanta Committee in which the abovenamed persons and your good self will form the core with power to co-opt other interested persons?

Due to the governmental nature of my work, I am not at present active on this project, since the proposed institution is to be privately supported and endowed, without government interference; I do not want my office to be confused with my person!

My wife and daughter send their love to you, your wife and your lovely children. I'll bet they could beat me in ping pong now! They will be consoled to know that I am quite rusty!

Very sincerely yours,

A. Babs Fafunwa

A. Babs Fafunwa

March 22, 1955

Mr. A. Babs Fafunwa
1837 Wyoming Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fafunwa:

Hi! Nice to hear from you. I have tried to keep up through your wife, but you jump around faster than my weak link will tell me about. Of course I will be glad to do anything you want me to do hereabouts.

I don't think my being a sponsor for the new college will do the new college any good, but I am perfectly willing to be a sponsor, and I will help with leads to new people from time to time. But you must be the one to get off the letters to Bennie Mays and R. O. Johnson, and others whom you wish to be on hand to be helpful.

I think if you made Reddick the Secretary of the Atlanta crowd, Reddick would function.

When you get the college going full blast, I hope it will give me a chance to make a lecture to it. I want to see Africa before I die and I will never be rich enough to pay my own way there and back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

APR 27 1955

1837 Wyoming Avenue, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

April 25, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your recent letter and for consenting to be a sponsor for our project. We deeply appreciate your support -- our group is the richer for it.

My thesis has been approved and I intend to take my oral late in May after returning from a trip to Indiana, Iowa, Missouri and California. I will be visiting schools and students during this period.

We will keep you informed from time to time. I will contact others in Atlanta when I return from my projected tour. I hope Dr. Reddick shall have replied by that time.

Our best wishes to you and your family. If you are in Washington sometime, please give us a ring.

Yours sincerely,

Babs

A. Babs Fafunwa

May 3, 1955

Dear Mr. Fafunwa:

Very nice to read the screed from you in the African printment. And I thought what you said was fresh and of great interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. A. Babs Fafunwa
1837 Wyoming Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

MIDWEST RESEARCH INSTITUTE

425 VOLKER BOULEVARD KANSAS CITY 10, MISSOURI

October 28, 1955

Dear Harold:

Does SRC have a Missouri affiliate? If not, what do I become, a member-at-large, like AVC? If so, please make me one, and change my address to that found below. I intend to look up Dick Bolling soon; see his name in the papers often. I've called Sigma Delta Chi to get on their rolls. The chapter's dues of $10 is twice as high as any other chapter's in the country, but I think it includes associate membership in the KC Press Club, with some club facilities.

Yesterday I was given the assignment of making arrangements for a Chamber of Commerce Business-Education day next month. We're one of 300 firms which signed up to play host to 30 students each. The instructions include the notation that all groups probably will include colored students, so arrangements should be made with that in view. I was told that the restaurant across the street would accept us. When I made arrangements, the manager said, "Yes, we're all having to accept colored now. We find them very polite and good customers."

I guess Elaine has told you how much I like the job, the city, and our new house. It's really wonderful. I hope you can visit us sometime. The Dave Ruhe's have been very nice. The American Public Health Association meets here next month, at which time I expect to see lots of my old public health buddies. Thanks to you and Jane for taking such good care of Elaine and Carol. I'll see at Christmastime!

Best wishes,

Odom

Mr. and Mrs. Odom Fanning
5640 Oak Street
Kansas City 13, Missouri

P.S. Please send me the October New South, which I missed.

P.P.S. Did you notice in the October Research Engineer the President's Page quoted Dick Bolling? Yesterday (Thursday) I sent Dick a copy. Today, bright + early, he came to see me. Visited MRI for 2 hours. Good fun!

GC - Fa

FARM RESEARCH

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

39 Cortlandt Street

Telephone: BArclay 7-4736

266

HF - any
go about this
matter?

RECEIVED JAN 12 1956

January 10, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Arburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Sir:

Please send us anything you have concerning the problems of Negroes on the Land, or a Bibliography.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles J. Coe

Charles J. Coe, Editor

CJC:ru
RWDSU/CIO:65

from
ODOM FANNING

ack 12-6-56

Dear Harold,

What a pleasure to find your name in the KC paper, and not for a lynching, either! You can imagine the kick Elaine and I got out of this. I'm also sending a clipping to Bem.

We had dinner the other night with the Ruhes, who reported Stoney working on films for Adlai. We're getting a new Manager of Economics, former Chief Economist for TVA, now heading a mission to Brazil for UN, and long an active AVCer—this makes about a dozen AVCers in Midwest Research Institute.

All's well—but quite busy. Let us hear from you.

Best wishes to all — Odom

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early
ilroad
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weather.
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chickens.
y months it
attended bag-
a freight train
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months it would
ituted transporta-
truck line, with the
heated or cooled as
ather demanded.
this time, the commis-
said, "There still is a pub-
need for the passenger serv-
ce rendered by these trains.
Their discontinuance would
leave the public without an
adequate replacement of the
passenger service which the
trains now render."

K.C. STAR
OCT 29, 1956

CRACK THE RACIAL FRONT.

Survey Shows There Is No Longer a "Solid South."

New York, Oct. 29.(AP)—The Fund for the Republic said today a 2-year survey of integration in North and South shows that "there is no longer a solid south of segregation."

A detailed report of the findings of the study was made public by the fund. The studies of desegregation in the north and in the southern and border states were carried out separately by David Loth and Harold Fleming, respectively, under grants from the fund.

Both studies dealt with incidents of desegregation in education, private and public employment, housing, transportation, religion, organizations, recreation and other public facilities.

In a foreword to his report on the 12 "solid South" states and the border states of Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, Fleming said:

"The common notion that 'desegregation just can't work' in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings."

Loth, comenting on his findings, said most northern instances of integration were accomplished without ill will or protests, but added "the study should not lead to complacency."

from
ODOM FANNING

Dear Harold,

Having plenty of reactions and comments on your recent note, I plan right away to write you a letter. But I'm editing a 200-page Proceedings and doing lots of other things, so give me a couple of weeks. Meanwhile, it's good to see old HCF's name in THE KANSAS CITY STAR again! Elaine and Carol are fine. We had the Ruhes over for dinner Sunday night. Dave is getting an honorary Sc.D. from Temple this weekend—isn't that nice? And Harold, you have a been a failure in getting Atlanta AVC to change my address! Shame, shame!

Best wishes,

Odom

Oct. 30, 1956

STEWART, DOUGALL & ASSOCIATES
INCORPORATED
CONSULTANTS
SALES · MARKETS · DISTRIBUTION
THIRTY ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20
PLAZA 7-2430

October 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Hal:

Since last seeing you I've followed your news releases with interest, including the survey of Negro voting in the South as reported on the front page of last Monday's New York Times. I hope that your good work will encourage contributions toward future studies.

By this time I expect that you are on top of your broadened responsibilities and have, despite the ramifications of Little Rock, an occasional moment to plan for the future. In this respect I'd like again to suggest that during your next trip to the city here you drop around for a visit with Archibald Crossley. If you two put your heads together, I'm sure you could come up with a bold and farsighted plan for measuring in test areas, the responses of the public to the integration steps being planned and accomplished, and could gain perspective on how the path could be smoothed in other sections of the South. Such a program might very well gain enthusiastic support from some of the foundations and thus enable you to broaden the service which you are rendering.

At any rate, next time you're here please avail yourself of my pantry and refreshments.

With best personal regards.

Cordially,

STEWART, DOUGALL & ASSOCIATES, INC.

Jack

John C. Faulkner, III

JCF:mt

MEMBER OF
THE ASSOCIATION OF CONSULTING MANAGEMENT ENGINEERS INC.
AMERICAN MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION

P.S.

Expect you're also working on Harvard's $82.5 million, so that future students from Georgia will be more enlightened than some of the past grads you've described.

November 8, 1957

Mr. John C. Faulkner, III
Stewart, Dougall & Associates, Inc.
Thirty Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your recent letter, bearing evidence that you read the New York Times and that you haven't forgotten our recent conversation.

I haven't forgotten either and would like very much to talk with Archibald Crossley and see you again when I am next in New York. I will be sure to give you a call.

I haven't been able to do very much on our Alma Mater's fund-raising campaign - too busy with my own. I hope you have shown yourself a truer son than I have.

Until I see you, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

from

ODOM FANNING

Dear Harold,

Here's a heartening story, I think. Kansas City is having somewhat the same type of school problem as New York, though I don't think as bad. This is a good analysis from THE STAR. In all racial matters, THE STAR is pretty good. It has been pro-integration throughout the period of school integration, and its news stories seem to be fair and accurate. In fact, the community's attitudes are more northern than southern. However, the fact that integration has moved slower here than in, say, Chicago and New York, has led to less disturbance and violence. Yet, it shows that integration can come to a community with a southern background. It shows the importance of civic, political, and newspaper leadership, too, doesn't it?

Oh, yes, science continues to boom here—we're in the midst of space-age stuff in a big way. A READER'S DIGEST editor here last month, McGraw-Hill people in and out constantly, and always lots of local attention. I make about a speech a week—and have a whale of a time. Elaine and Carol both painting beautiful pictures. Hope SRC and HCF and company are all well——

Best wishes,

Odom

Feb 7 '58

March 3, 1958

Mr. Odom Fanning
7745 Reeds Road
Prairie Village, Kansas

Dear Odom:

My belated thanks for the good clipping on the Kansas City school situation. This kind of documented refutation of the racist myth helps us tremendously. As you might expect, our miserable crest regals us everyday with stories of atrocities in New York, Kansas City, and every other place North or West of our sainted region.

We continue to find life stimulating, if trying. I'm enclosing a copy of our Annual Report so that you can see what we are telling our board members and contributors.

Popham was just here, and with great expenditure of words and effort, we have produced a story on the expulsion of Minniejean Brown from the Little Rock high school. It came out pretty well, I think. If we succeed in getting it reproduced, I will send you a copy. Better yet, look at your Sunday, March 2, copy of the Times (I assume you would not be without).

All the best to you and Elaine and Carol.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - (Annual Report)

116 Ponce De Leon Court
Decatur, Georgia
May 2, 1958

Fairfax Citizens' Council
Route 2, Box 592
McLean, Virginia

Dear Sirs:

On a recent trip into my home state of Virginia, I saw a copy of your publication, "The Shocking Truth About Northern Virginia's Parent-Teacher Groups".

Due to my interest in Virginia and even in some of the organizations which are mentioned in your report, I would like to have about ten copies if you can supply me with them.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV

July 17, 1958

Mrs. Walter G. Farr, Jr.
419 Skiff Street
Hamden 17, Connecticut

Dear Lou:

You were very nice indeed to send us a contribution toward the work of the Southern Regional Council. I have put it into the pot with a special sense of warmth and appreciation.

Jane came back from New Haven with a delighted and delightful account of the brief reunion she had with you and Nick. We were both terribly disappointed that it could not have been a foursome. Although it was eight years between New York trips for us last time, we hope to be back very soon again. Next time, we will hope to plan it far enough ahead so that you two can join us there. It will be even better if, in the meantime, you decided to try a vacation down this way. In any case, we will hope.

The very best to you both and all success to your own good cause in Connecticut.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (Official receipt)

December 30, 1958

Mrs. Walter G. Farr
Room 5500
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Farr:

We were pleased to receive your Newsletter for December, 1958, on "The Law of the Bill of Rights...an Experiment in Community Education." We note that among the states listed where plans are completed or in prospect are Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, and Louisiana. I wonder if you would be kind enough to send me the name of a person in each of those projects whom we might contact?

I do not know whether or not you are acquainted with the Southern Regional Council. For your information I am enclosing a statement on our origin and aims.

Am I right in assuming that this experiment in community education is connected with the American Civil Liberties Union? Pat Malin is an old friend of mine.

Could we please have a copy of your New York City Report issued last May?

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (Congressional Record Reprint)

THE LAW OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

An Experiment in Community Education

New York City Project sparks 19 cities in 13 states to start plans for similar courses for teachers.

Spring Sessions for In-Service Training, held in 1957 and 1958, to be repeated at The Association of the Bar of the City of New York in 1959, furnish the model course.

Call on us. Our New York City Report, issued last May, offered help (such as a list of all in any place who were recipients of the Report) to anyone interested in duplicating our experiment.

To further encourage correspondents with programs already underway and to inspire new programs from those of you who want them but have not yet taken action, we reprint here brief progress reports (often direct quotes) from some of our correspondents. No doubt other programs have been started, not reported to us. We also have omitted ten projected plans about which we have not had recent specific action reports. Do send in the facts in your areas.

This NEWSLETTER may encourage others to go forward. A pattern is emerging of co-operative effort by citizens, Universities, Bar Associations and governmental units of education administration. As you see, these projects vary from New York City and from each other. An interesting development calls for a course for academic credit within regular teacher education curricula.

Florence M. Farr.

Chairman, COMMUNITY PROJECTS

PLANS COMPLETED, OR IN LATE STAGES

California

FULLERTON "Fullerton High School and Junior College Districts plan a Fall Forum (for teachers) with competent speakers to review several (Bill of Rights) issues."

LOS ANGELES "The Board of Education—have decided (because of strong interest in the New York project) to give first a brief presentation of the (New York) course in their institutes, which will consist of four lectures, each devoted to the Bill of Rights. Institutes are open to all teachers—are well attended. To offer a longer course (like that in New York) we need the cooperation of the University of California. It is believed if the University offers such a course—for fulfillment of M.A. or Ph.D. requirements in the Department of Education—the course might draw a large audience and be offered yearly. The Constitutional Committee of the Los Angeles Bar will discuss its role in the presentation of the (full) course."

Connecticut

NEW HAVEN "The Department of Education's Committee on Human Relations is in favor of a course. All New Haven teachers have a questionnaire to state preference for a free course, course for undergraduate or for graduate credit. Early returns (25% of total) show graduate credit leads. If free, course will be backed by co-operating local groups; if for credit, it will be under the aegis of a University (Yale or University of Connecticut)."

Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS "We have already secured lecturers and a sponsoring group."

Maryland

BALTIMORE Plans, initiated last February, have developed through the Adult Education Division of the Public Schools. A series of 16 lectures will start next February, end in May, following the New York prospectus as to subject matter. Lectures will be held at the Baltimore Junior College. From 30 to 60 are expected to attend.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA 14 weekly lectures for teachers on The Law of the Bill of Rights, using New York's prospectus, will start February 2, 1959. These will be held in the Mayor's Reception Room, which holds 100 to 200 persons. Instead of a paid director, the chairman will preside. Thirteen distinguished lawyers will lecture. Final talk will be given by Dr. Eleanor Thompson of the Board of Education on "Materials and Methods for Teaching the Bill of Rights." The committee began planning in the winter of 1957-1958, having learned then of the New York course.

Virginia

RICHMOND The University Center in Richmond, Inc., an enterprise of 13 co-operating institutions of higher learning such as The College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, etc., writes: "We plan to handle co-operatively with the various faculties a program (similar to the New York course) on our Educational FM Radio Station."

PLANS IN PROSPECT

California

BERKELEY "We recently led the Department of Sociology at the University of California in Berkeley to make a survey of student attitudes toward the Bill of Rights. We were surprised and perturbed to learn that students who were Education majors had less knowledge of the Bill of Rights and were less inclined to libertarian attitudes than majors in any other field. This finding, coupled with other expressions of concern from a few members of the University faculty, was leading us in the direction of your New York program. It is probable that we will indeed put our shoulder to your particular wheel in the near future."

Florida

GREATER MIAMI "This has been acclaimed (here) a desirable and worthwhile project. There is no problem as to a sponsor organization. It has been my objective to interest responsible "middle-of-the-road" people in this program. (I) plan to ask the University of Miami to do the administration work and the Dade County Bar Association to furnish instructors."

Indiana

BLOOMINGTON A graduate student at Indiana University and the faculty member responsible for curricula changes in the Department of Education are instituting plans to secure the University's support for an In-Service Course on the Bill of Rights in the Education curriculum.

Illinois

CHICAGO "This Spring our (ACLU) Education Committee considered the Chicago High School curriculum with a view to adding to its civil rights-civil liberties content. When the In-Service Course came to our attention, to see if it could be duplicated here became the second part of our program. We hope to develop something serious during the winter."

Kentucky

LOUISVILLE "We (ACLU) are attempting to get the League of Women Voters to assume responsibility for this project."

Louisiana

BATON ROUGE "I feel sure that something along this line will be started in this State. Plans, if matured, will be in conjunction with one of the State Colleges and with the State Department of Education."

Ohio

CLEVELAND From a Western Reserve faculty member: "I am hoping to institute a similar course here in Cleveland."

Pennsylvania

ERIE, LEVITTOWN, WAYNE and WILLIAMSPORT Leagues of Women Voters express expectations to stir up interest for a local course.

Washington

SEATTLE "Our (ACLU) plans include (either) a course for teachers on the Bill of Rights in the Seattle Public Schools Teachers In-Service program, or a city-wide Forum. This (Forum) would be a series of 6 or 8 lectures, panels or debates with nationally known speakers, with the co-operation of the Public Schools, the Library, the University and civic organizations such as the League of Women Voters. As soon as our plans crystallize and we have completed preliminary conversations with the schools, the Library and other organizations, I will write you to ascertain what help your office can give us."

MRS. WALTER G. FARR
Room 5500
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

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FBR — Do you know about this? HCF

MR. HAROLD FLEMING 1A
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

NEWSLETTER *December 1958*

The Law of the Bill of Rights...
An Experiment in Community Education

CLEF

CIVIL LIBERTIES EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC.

RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

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MINNA POST PEYSER
Executive Director

January 6, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Thank you for your letter of December 30th relative to our December Newsletter of progress reports from places planning teacher-training courses in The Law of the Bill of Rights.

I am mailing you a copy of the May Report of the New York City experiment. This is a rather full account of setting up that course here, so I will not in this letter go into details. You will see that it was a co-operative venture among a sub-committee of the now discontinued national Freedom Agenda project, (which operated under the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund sponsorship) the Bar of the City of New York and the City Department of Education.

This answers your question about American Civil Liberties Union connection. There was none.

I wish I might, as you request, send you the names of our various local correspondents who have personally instigated plans for courses like ours. There is naturally the belief that these would be sympathetic also to your cause, of which, of course, I have heard a great deal. We have, however, a rule not to give out names for other work, however kindred it may appear to be. This seems the only fair policy.

You will note that the aegis for national promotion of courses like ours in New York has passed from the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund to Civil Liberties Educational Foundation. The original grant of funds being nearly exhausted, it seemed wise to effectuate this change.

I am writing our correspondents in the places you name, telling them of your request and my reply.

Sincerely yours,

Florence M. Farr

Florence M. Farr, Assistant to the Executive Director

FMF/sl

15 WEST 44th STREET · NEW YORK 36, NEW YORK · YUKON 6-6864

January 8, 1959

Miss Florence Farr
Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, Inc.
15 West 44th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Miss Farr:

Thank you for your letter of January 6 in answer to my letter of December 30. We will be happy to read the May report of the New York City experiment.

Having dealt with key people in sensitive areas of the South for a considerable number of years I can readily understand your reluctance to send us the names of your various local correspondents in the South. However, I am well pleased that you have written them about my request and your reply.

Yours truly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

HCF
LDV
JC
return to FBR

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OHIO

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April 14, 1959

Dr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I noticed in the NAIRO Newsletter that more Putnam letters were being run in northern newspapers. Do you know if any of these have been answered by counter ads?

When we spoke about this matter at the Chicago Board meeting, you indicated that there were two or three drafts of a response which could be made. I would like very much to have copies of those draft responses, so that we could use them if the situation called for it. If you feel that you can share those drafts with us, perhaps you would also be free to share them with some of the agencies in other cities. I am sure that we should not just remain silent.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank W. Fager
Secretary

FWF:arv

April 28, 1959

Gen

Mr. Frank W. Fager
Board of Community Relations
565 N. Erie Street
Toledo 2, Ohio

Dear Frank:

Thank you for your letter of April 14, calling to our attention the fact that the Putnam letter is being run in more Northern newspapers. We have obtained a reprint of an article which uses sections from Mr. Dabbs' book Southern Heritage to answer it. I am enclosing a copy for you. More copies are available from this office in limited quantities. I agree with you, we dare not remain silent.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES COMMITTEE, INC.

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Bruce L. Felknor

December 20, 1960

Rec'd 12-22-60

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr. Stephen Currier. I understand from him that during the recent campaign you acquired a considerable collection of unfair campaign literature, particularly of the sort appealing to racial prejudice. At the present time, this Committee is preparing its post-election study of "smear tactics", and we would be most interested in seeing either copies or originals of the material you have collected. We would appreciate your cooperation in helping to make this study as complete and thorough as possible.

As the aims and projects of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee may be unfamiliar to you, I have enclosed a background release for your information.

With thanks for your kind attention, I am

Sincerely,

Bruce L. Felknor

Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director

BLF:h
enc.

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BACKGROUND ON FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES COMMITTEE

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee was established in 1954 as a non-partisan, non-profit educational corporation devoted solely to helping raise the ethical level of election campaigns. The group's basic document is a Code of Fair Campaign Practices, patterned on a model code drafted by a Senate elections subcommittee in 1951.

The Code

Candidates for House, Senate, governor and other statewide offices are invited to sign this Code, thus publicly pledging to campaign vigorously, but in the American tradition of fair play. In the 1958 campaign one or both candidates in more than 85% of contested districts signed the Code.

Enforcement

The Committee never has undertaken a judicial role, instead concentrating its attention on a program of voter education and on urging political organizations to stress the importance of tough but fair campaigning to their own candidates and workers.

When complaints are received that the Code has been violated, the Committee contacts the "accused" candidate, acquainting him with the charge and inviting his immediate comment, which then is made available to the complaining candidate.

School Program

During the 1956 campaign high school teachers requested teaching material about campaign practices, fair and unfair. No such material existed, and the Committee devoted much of 1957 to preparation of experimental teaching aids along these lines, with generous help from leading educators. School people and textbook authors and publishers received the material with unusual enthusiasm. A revised version has been published and now is being distributed to public, private and parochial schools. The content of the program has been incorporated into several new high school citizenship education texts and it has now been adapted for use by civic, church and other discussion groups.

Committee activities also have led to new emphasis on fair and unfair campaign tactics in a number of new and revised college political science texts.

Smear Study

At the close of the 1956 campaign the Committee undertook the first state-by-state study of the actual use of unfair campaign tactics, enlisting the aid of state chairmen of both national parties, and in some cases political scientists and newspaper political editors. Most state party chairmen -- Republicans and Democrats in virtually identical numbers -- cooperated, citing chapter and verse on smear or the absence of smear in campaigns against their own candidates. The study was repeated at the close of the 1958 campaign, and will be conducted on a regular biennial basis.

The 1958 study revealed charges of 64 episodes of unfair campaigning in 21 states, double the 32 cases reported from 19 states in 1956. It also showed a substantial increase in the incidence of smears based on race or religion, with Roman Catholics becoming the number one target in that category.

The 1958 study also showed an increase in the rate at which unfair campaign tactics backfired, and it reinforced a 1956 finding that most smear efforts were local in origin and effect.

Conferences and Cooperating Groups

In recent years the Committee has conducted public conferences in Washington and other cities to further voter awareness of smear techniques. Increasingly, cooperative efforts with other national organizations have been used to spread the Committee's program. Such cooperating groups include the Anti-Defamation League, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Jewish Committee, the Citizenship Clearing House and many others.

Local and state fair campaign committees have been formed in many areas. None of these groups are chapters or branches of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, but the national group cooperates fully with local groups where they exist.

In its program the Fair Campaign Practices Committee enjoys the endorsement and cooperation of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, and most of the state committees. Similar support comes from responsible religious leaders of every major faith.

Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, has been chairman of the group since 1956. Anna Lord Strauss, former president of the League of Women Voters of the United States, is secretary. Miss Strauss was the Committee's first chairman. Harry Louis Selden, New York consultant and editor, is vice chairman and treasurer. Executive director is Bruce L. Felknor, of Armonk, New York. The late Justice Owen J. Roberts was honorary chairman of the Committee from its establishment until his death.

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee is supported mostly by individual contributions, with modest support from business and organized labor. In 1957 and 1958 the Committee was the recipient of a $20,000 matching funds grant from The Ford Foundation.

# # #

January 26, 1961

Mr. Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director
Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc.
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

file

Dear Mr. Felknor:

It was a great embarrassment to me to discover my failure to reply to your letter of December 22. I can only plead the disorganizing influence of the holiday season, and the Georgia crises that ensued, for this lapse.

We are acquainted with the good work of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, having given some selected distribution to the Committee's Code.

A canvass of our files turns up very little that you will find useful. The enclosures are illustrative of the materials we have in which the race issue was raised negatively during the campaign. To you, this must be familiar and relatively "respectable" stuff. The more scurrilous matter we have not bothered to collect, since it has so little influence on the main currents of Southern life. It is what our leading political figures say and do that causes most of the trouble.

Again, my apologies and my assurance that we shall be happy to cooperate with the Committee in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Enclosures with Felknor ltr.

Where He Stands: Is Kennedy "Soft on Communism"? - published by The Independent American - 1960 - No. 21

Socialism Ahead? What It Means to You and Your Future, pub. by The Independent American - 1960 - No. 22

Know The Real Nixon Before you Vote! Will Nixon Appoint Rockefeller as "Super President"? - Independent American - No. 23

The Augusta Courier - Sept., 26, 1960

The Independent American - July, 1960

The Citizens' Council - September 1960

February 7, 1961

Mr. Odom Fanning,
13 Halsey Drive
Old Greenwich, Connecticut

Dear Odom:

It is a thoroughly miserable thing that I haven't written long before now to congratulate you on your new position and to express joy that you and Elaine, et al., are back in the Seaboard mainstream -- safe from tornadoes, but presumably not from snow.

The reason is inadequate, but simple: I've kept expecting to call you (or you-all) from New York. But on the one occasion I've made it up there since your move, I was frustrated by a runaway schedule.

Anyhow, congratulations, and here's to an early reunion!

I'm enclosing a copy of our latest opus, which you may have read about in the Times.(good old Sitton) ~~or elsewhere. It's made a good splash, not only in~~ the press, but in the Washingtoniinnards. Let's hope Kennedy does as well on civil rights as he has so far on some other things.

Do you and Elaine come into Manhattan, or do I have to trek all the way to Old Greenwich?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

February 15, 1961

Mr. Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director
Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc.
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Felknor:

We have talked a bit among ourselves about the problem of inadequate reporting from the South which you raised in your recent letter.

I take it you have made some effort to establish the same kind of procedures in the South as you envision for the rest of the country. It seems to us,that, in a good many of the Southern states at least, this wouldn't be impossible. Southern political scientists and their students, political reporters, and clergymen in the South should be no less amenable to the plan than those elsewhere. Of course, I readily recognize the difficulty of making any such voluntary network function efficiently.

One other alternative would be to enlist the cooperation of the various human relations organizations that carry on staffed programs in the South. I am enclosing a working list of such organizations, these being the groups with which the Southern Regional Council has had occasion to interact. In

addition, there are state councils on human relations, each with a full-time director, in eight of the Southern states. Although these groups are independent, the Southern Regional Council is their parent body and still provides them with some financial support. We will have the state staff persons together in this office for a meeting next week. At that time, we will explore with them the possibility of their cooperating with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee in the sort of reporting project which you describe. I will let you know their reactions.

If you have in mind other specific methods on which our advice would be helpful, don't hesitate to call on me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (List of Interagency Groups)

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

H F

1. has he tried to get in the South the same sort of cooperation he envisions elsewhere?

2. would PR want to put this before the state directors at their meeting, to see if they are in a position & would want to assist?

3. could he not request the various agencies working in the South — e.g. SRC, ADL, AJC, NFSC — to send him whatever they come across from time to time? some labor unions might help too

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

LWD —
Any thoughts on this?
H.

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1961

FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES COMMITTEE, INC.

45 East 65th Street • New York 21, N. Y. • LEhigh 5-7810

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Miss Anna Lord Strauss
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Executive Director:
Bruce L. Felknor

January 30, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for your letter of January 26 and the enclosures. I am glad to know that somebody's office in addition to my own was disorganized around the holidays.

Actually I had not previously seen any of the enclosures you sent and I read them all with keen interest. This suggests a problem on which I would like to ask your thoughts. We are plagued every year with inadequate reporting from the South. One long-range project that we may at last be able to launch this year in some form has been a library of campaign literature from statewide and national elections in every state. We obviously have yet to devise a satisfactory way of collecting this kind of material from most of the South. We envision using political science graduate students and faculty people, together with newspaper men and occasionally clergymen in the rest of the country but we really are somewhat stumped in the matter as to how to handle the Southern states. Anytime at your convenience, after you have been able to let this problem percolate for a while, please give me some suggestions.

With thanks and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director

BLF:h

P.S. I enjoyed your profile in the N.Y. Times today.
B.

April 13, 1962

Mr. John Faulkner — file
University,
Mississippi

Dear Mr. Faulkner:

Your painting "Plodding Home" has hung in my office now for several months, ever since Mr. and Mrs. Muse had you send it. Many persons have commented on it. I have learned to like it a very great deal and want to thank you for allowing us to have it.

I suppose you don't often visit this way, but if you ever do I hope you will come by.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE JOHN FAULKNER PAINTINGS

"Scenes from the Vanishing South"

OLD LINKER'S MILL-Located about three miles East of Oxford on the Old Pontotoc Road. At one time every creek in Lafayette County had its water mill. Now none do. Electricity has replaced water power and you grind your turn of corn in town or buy bolted meal from the grocery store. Old Linker's Mill was abandoned about the turn of the Century and has by now crumbled back into the east bank of Yellowleaf Creek from which it drew its power. We used to ride our bicycles out there before the First World War and swim in the mill pond. Old man Linker had his watermelon patch just to the West of the creek. We used to swipe them and cool them in the mill stream. I remember how they used to taste after swimming had whetted our appetites. Old man Linker never caught us in his patch. I now doubt if he tried very hard.

YELLOWLEAF COVERED BRIDGE-The top was torn off about four years ago. The bridge itself still stands. It is located about six miles East of Oxford near Fudgetown on the Sectionline Road. Lumber was cheaper than paint in the day of the covered bridge. The cover was put on to protect the bridge timbers. When one cover weathered out the neighbors simply gathered at the bridge site, felled the handiest timbers, split out the boards and put on a new one. Today only one covered bridge remains in Lafayette County. The others have gone the way of progress.

DAVIDSON'S SPRING-Located about three miles Northwest of Oxford on the Old College Hill Road. The road has been changed since I knew the Spring and I no longer know how to get to it. We used to go out there on Boy Scout camps and grade and Sunday School picnics. Most of us carved our and our sweetheart's name in the old beech tree from between whose roots the spring flowed. Most of the dates were in the early Nineteen Hundreds. I expect some of the initials with carved hearts around them are still in the white bark of the tree. One day I shall go back and see.

THE END OF A DAY-The scene shows two log cabins roofed over the dirt-floored dogtrot in between. The farm has been abandoned; the buggy sits in the dogtrot, its upholstery splotched with owl droppings. The road it faces is a sideroad, rarely travelled in these days. Most of the farms along its length have been abandoned. It is sundown. Spider webs filter the setting sun. The years have blown away the split-board shingles from the roof and melted the mud from between the sticks of the chimney. The old fellow who once owned it very probably brought his bride to one log cabin in the buggy that now sits in the dogtrot. As his family and his prospects increased he found he needed more room and he built another cabin and roofed over the space in between. Then as his children finished highschool they moved away to the City where better opportunity beckoned and went to work in factories and mills. The old fellow was left alone with his bride of another yaar. Then she died. And the old fellow was left alone. Then a son came down from Memphis on Sunday, his day off, and sold out the old fellows goods and possessions and took him back to factory Row to sit on the postage-stamp size front porch and dream his life away, for his sun is setting too, just as the one in the painting. It is the end of a Day for them both.

SORGHUM MILL AT NIGHT-The scene is on Bill's place. We lived out there. One fall evening about dusk one of the Negroes came to the house and told us, "Dey cookin' on de nawf en' of de place tonight." We went up after supper and as we walked down a slope this is what we saw in a small clearing. It is the nearest thing to voodoo I have ever seen. The only light they have is from the wood fire on a piece of tin set on a post in the ground and the glow from the furnace under the "kittl." The high lights are reds and deep crimsons. They come from below instead of above as is right. The mule is an old one. Even then he is blind-folded to keep him from getting sick as he goes round and round turning the mill that presses the juice from the cane. The pressed-out stalks are soft like straw and must be off-borne from the mill lest they clog it. A small boy totes they aside and dumps them in a pile. They make a comfortable seat. The juice from the mill is led through a copper pipe to the upper end of the pan and dripped in. The liquid, like water, moves from side to side around the baffles set in the pan and slowly gets to the hottest part of the furhace where the final cooking is done. Here the cooker dips the trash and scum off and pours it into a handy barrel. It is sweet tasting and dogs from the neighborhood come and lick the barrel sides where it has spilled over. By custom the cooker kicks them away when he sees them. They know that and come in with their tails already between their legs. The cooker cooks on toll. He gets every eight can of the finished product. Some of the neighbors raise no molasses themselves but pay for their winter's supply in firewood. A cord is stacked against a small post oak and a small boy carries the sticks to the fire. Another boy carries the cut and stacked cane to the feeder at the mill. The part of cooker is inherited. Charlie McJunkins is the cooker in the picture. Uncle Jim Buddy Smith, seated in the chair and the only one who rates a seat, taught Charlie how. One day long ago Charlie fed the fire. Then he graduated to mill feeder, and after years as apprentice he took over the cooking. A neighborhood will swear by a cooker and even if members move away they will bring their cane back to "their" cooker each fall. A high moment has come. Charlie is testing for "string and snap." He believes the molasses is ready to pour up. He dips a small amount in the dipper, holds it at arms length between himself and the fire on the post, tilts the dipper slightly and as soon as the juice begins spilling out, tilts it backwards and cuts the stream off. If pour-up time has come the stream will part and two tiny golden threads will twist back up. Everyone is watching Charlie to see if he nods his head or shakes it; everyone but Charlie and he is watching not the test but Uncle Jim. If Uncle Jim nods then Charlie will too.Then everyone will grin and nod their heads. The cooking is also a social gathering when it runs over into the night. Two young bucks are seen there with their girls. They work out, by the day, as sawmill hands and truck drivers and they have come to the mill to see "what's cooki g." The young gals have come to see the young men. One couple can be seen at rest on the pile of pummins. The have been to the bushes and are back. Another pair came be seen going down the path, their arms around each other, looking back over their shoulders. The moon is a new moon. Its horns are pointing to the East. It is full of water and ready to spill it out. A halo is around the moon and two stars are in it. That means it will rain in forty-eight hours. That's why they are cooking at night. They are trying to get through before it rains for you cannot cook sorghum in the rain.

POSSUM HUNT-Also seen on Bill's place. It is night again. A possum has been treed in a sweetgum laden with grapes and standing isolated

in a small clearing. ~~/////////////~~ John Henry is shining its eyes with a lantern held on his head. Uncle Jim is there holding the axe that will be used to chop the tree down i the possum cant be shaken out, and stooping beneath the glare of the lantern, trying to catch a glimpse of the possum. Kenzi, on the right, is trying to point the possum out to Chooky. Chooky's dog, Po' Boy, is there. He stands behind Chooky, peering out from behind Chhok's legs at the uproar under the tree. He doesn't know anything about possum hunting, he simply came along because Chooky did. Three hounds can be seen to the left at the grapevine. One is an old dog. He knows the possum is up there. He simply sits underneath the tree and bellows every now and then to announce his conviction. A three year old Redbone has its front feet on the vine, reared up toward the limb where the possum is. A young dog has leaped clear of the ground, trying to get to the animal in the tree. His ears flap forward, his tongue laps out. Euphus and Eleven, Charlie McJunkin's two boys, carry two possums previously caught on a ~~///~~ sapling with their tails threaded through a split in the limb and the limb pinched back on them. The treed possum, from his high perch, grins down on the tumult below.

GOING HOME IN THE RAIN-The wagon is crossing the levee on Bill's place. It is just on the town side of Puss Cuss Creek, about a quarter of a mile from Uncle Oscar's place, headed home. Uncle Oscar and Maggie and their two children have been to town and got caught there in a freezing rain. It is February. Uncle Oscar bought oil cloth for Maggie and the children to wrap themselves in against the rain on the journey home. Once home it will be used for table covers. A repaired plow is in the wagon, a sack of cottonseed meal for his cows, and a five gallon can of coaloil with a potato in the spout to keep the oil from sloshing out. A black and tan hound trots along under the shelter of the wagon. The sky is gray, the borrow pit overflows from the slow down fall. It is freezing with needles of ice lacing out from the edges. Ice stands in the corn field beyond the road, the grass has frozen in wind-swept slant. One mule plods steadily along, his eyes half-closed against the driving weather; the other has smelled home, thrown up his head and twitched forward an ear, switched up his tail and stepped out. He is headed for Uncle Oscar's barn, a dry stall and a feed of corn he knows is ahead.

CHITLIN'S-It is hog-killing time, the first hard frost in November. A four hundred and fifty pound hog is swung up by a "gantlin'" stick thrust the tendons in his hind legs and attached to a tripod by a chain and bolt. He has been scalded and scraped and split from one end to the other. Now comes the high point of the hog killing. One Negro(in blue)holds the split wide open while another Negro(in brown) rams his arm up to the elbow into the hog to pull the "chitlin's" out into the tub held by the two women. Every thing comes to a pause as all eyes are turned on the growing pile of chitterlings in the tub. The boys have stopped carrying water and toting wood, the girl(she has on overalls under her skirt against the cold gray wind) has let the baby she is supposed to be minding down on the frozen ground for the moment, One boy and a dog stare unswervingly at the growing pile in the tub. Mammy, too old for much else, sits with her feet in the fire under the washpot of boiling water, waiting to render the lard when the hog is at last placed on the cutting table to the left side and the pieces of fat are carried to her. Wood smoke from the fires drift across the November day. The doors of the two cabins are shown open for Negroes seldom close their doors in the winter time. They simply move in on the hearth as the weather grows colder. It is only in summer they close

them and then it is to keep the mosquitoes out.

HUNTING SCENE-Mississippi's red hills in the fall. A snake rail fence crosses one side of a field where a covey of birds has been feeding on beggar lice. Captain, a liver and white pointer in the middle ground, has trailed the covey from its roost and now sees them. You can tell by the way he is crouched. The lookout bird aan be seen watching Captain. Other birds are squatting, making ready to burst into flight at the lookout's signal. One bird who has been feeding away from the covey, can be seen trying to slip back into company against the danger of the dog's point. Lana, a Llewellen setter in the background, does not yet see the birds. She holds her head high, watching Captain. She is honoring his point.

LITTLE CHICAGO-The roadhouse run by Mac and George that I write about in my books. It actually stood in the northeast corner of the county until the neighbor women rose up in wrath at the goings-on there and burnt it down one night. My people are there. Orta June and Jewel Mae are dancing with two of the "men". It is night. One green-shaded drop-light hangs from the rafters overhead. The simplicity with which the building was erected can be seen in the way it is sagging and falling apart. The upright one-by-twelves of the walls are loose at the bottom and tacked loosely at the top. The purpose of this is for quick exit. In case you wished to hurriedly leave, you simply ran toward the nearest wall with your hand stretched before you like a stiffarm. Where you hit the first plank it swung out from the bottom, furnishing a gap through which you could hie to the nearer bushes.Ex-Senator and Equator are in the lower right foreground, peering over the shoulders of the white men in front. They have spent their cotton money on good winter clothes as can be seen. The men spend theirs on Orta June and Jewel Mae and whiskey. Wou can see half-filled bottles and fruit jars sitting about on the counter and juke box. The box is of the "Sweetheart" model. Their favorite songs are "Birmingham Jail" and "The Letter Edged in Black". They cry over them when drunk. However, tonight the jukebox is stilled, the"Man in the Blue Suede Shoes"is there with his guitar. And Elvis actually played in the honky tonks about in the eastern edge of the county in his earlier days. Our highschool children knew him and loved him as I know my people would have if they had been privileged to know him in person.

WEIGHIN' IN-It is cotton picking time. Whatever arrangements you might have made for your own crop, cotton picking time was a cash money time, and you were at liberty to pick for whoever would pay you the most per hundred to get their crop out of the field. You were paid each night, in cash, for the amount of cotton you had weighed in during the day. Before the day of the truck you picked into a cottonhouse. Each field had one. They were about ten feet square with the only opening a two by two foot door cut high in the front of the shack. Cotton was stored here during the week then Friday evening the cotton wagon was brought down and the cotton was loaded and stamped into it in preparation for an early morning start to town the next day. The wagon in the picture is a James and Graham. You can tell by the color. A Milburn was green and yellow, with a steel hub. It is sundown in the painting. Some of the Negroes have picked out their rows and are in line waiting to be weighed in. A mother and son can be seen still in the field. She has been helping pick her son's row and has gotten behind. The rider is weighing in the cotton and paying off for the day. His horse stands tied to a limb of a pine tree beside the cotton house. He has been tied there all afternoon. He now stands hip-shot in patience. Next to last in the line of pickers is a"high yaller'.

She has on a bright headrag, a pair of rolled-up blue jeans, a faded khaki shirt with one button left on it and nothing else. She has been picking next to the boy behind her. He is fifteen years old but right manish. Now he is about to get his hands on a little cash money. He has leaned forward and touched the yallow gal on the arm, trying to make some arrangements for tonight but he is just too young. She has thrown her nose in the air and snooted him. She is not quite interested yet. A small girl sits on a quilt in the foreground with two Negro babies she has been minding all day. She too is looking forward to sundown and weighing in.

GIT A HOSS-It was the standard cry at a car stuck in the mud in the early days of automobiling. The scene is in the spring. The man has been to town and got caught there behind quick spring showers. Mudholes have developed in the dirt roads. Two showers that have passed can be seen moving on in the distance. Every car in those days carried an ax and towrope and other such equipment for getting out of mudholes for they all got stuck in them sooner or later. The man beside the car has his coat off and his sleeves and pants legs rolled up. He has the ax in his hand for he has been out cutting brush to stuff under the wheels and saplings to pry the car with. He has almost succeeded in prying it clear off the road and into the ditch on the far side. He has now sent a Negro boy up to the farmer in the high field to get him to bring his mules and pull the car out of the hole. Everyone has been watching the car immobile in the mud. Cars were rare sights then and worth watching sitting still or moving. Women and children can be seen on the porches of the two cabins, standing watching the car. Children and men and animals have collected about the stuck vehicle. One old Negro leans forward looking under the running gear as if he knew what he was looking at. A mule hangs its head over the pasture fence beside the road. He is looking at the car too and knows about as much about what he is looking at as does the old Negro. One farmer who has been down to his bottom field in rubber boots to see if it is dry enough to plow yet hunkers down on his heels. His dog sits beside him. The man's wife sits in the car in her linen duster and cap tied on with a bright veil. Everyone now waits for the farmer to come down the road with his mules and pull the car out of the mud. The time has come to "git a hoss."

GRABBLING-Fishing by hand. Fish have nests the same as birds do. Their nests are hollow logs and caves wallowed out in the bank just below the surface of the water. They live in these, go forth to feed from them, and then return, each to his own nest when feeding is over. Neighboring men, when opportunity offers, slide off into the creeks and sloughs and find these nests and mark them in their memories, then when the time comes, they hie to the water and feel around in the hollows with their hands and perchance bring out a fish, sometimes one weighing up to a hundred pounds. They tell me if a fish is handled carefully it will do everything but pur. They stroke the fish then slip their hands into the fish's mouth, grasp it by the gill from the inside, then haul it out. That's when the fun commences. The fish begins fighting when it is taken from its nest. As the fight continues with the fish trying to get loose and the man trying to get it out of the water onto the bank, the man's arm at the wrist is often chewed to the bone. Some of the men started using cotton hooks, a short curved hook of steel with a cross handle of hickory or oak about six inches long. They would slip the hook into the fish's mouth, gig the point in and fight the fish out. The only trouble was the wooden handle,

when wet, became slick and the men could not hold on to it. Many a fish was lost this way so some man figured to tie the hook to his arm and then the fish couldn't get away. He tried it. It worked. Others tried it too and then a man was drowned because he couldn't get loose from the fish. They say a seventy-five pound catfish can drown any man if he can get him off in water over his head. Several men drowned because they could not free themselves from the fish when necessity arose then our State Legislature passed a law forbidding any man to grabble with any hook tied to his person. In the scene the time is ripe. The men have quit their work in the fields and come to the creek to grabble. One man has his arm up in a hollow log, feeling in a nest he has previously located for the fish he knows should be there. Another man is shown wading further down the creek, a boy is struggling up the slick bank with a fish he has caught. Uncle George Lester is on the bank with a gallon jug tied to his wrist. He always came to the grabblings but the only thing he was ever known to wet was his whistle. A Negro is there with a gunny sack to put the caught fish in. A neighbor squats on the bank watching as does the boy and his dog below him.

AUTUMN SCENE: Mamie's Cabin-The brown and white striped cabin to the right in the middle ground is the one Mamie took her twin sons and built for Ninety-Nine dollars. The sons were the ones who played the twins in "Intruder in the Dust". The year of the scene is 1954. That was the third year of the drought. Oaks usually turn olive green in the fall, then brown before they drop off the tree. That year, however, due to the three dry years, they turned the most brilliant crimsons and scarlets I have ever seen. The road is the section line road between our place and Mamie's. I drove out one fall evening to feed our cows. As I topped the ridge just beyond Mamie's house this is the scene I saw. I have painted it.

A MONDAY MORNING IN ~~1111~~.1910-The scene is from Grandfather's front yard. That is his Buick with Chess Caruthers driving it. The house across the street was Uncle Top Chilton's. It is still there, wedged in between two filling stations now. Its picket fence is gone. Grandfather's fence, the lacy iron one is gone too, and Grandfather's house. It has been turned sideways in what used to be Granny's flower garden and cut up into six apartments. The road shown is still there although it has long since been ~~pp~~ paved. We used to play baseball and football and shinny in between passing wagons. The wagon in the picture is a heavy dray wagon. The mules are big mules, sixteen or seventeen hands high and weighing fifteen hundred pounds. The Negro drivers were assigned teams and gave them personalities. The mules became a pride to them and the bought colored "tossels" to tie to the hames. Each Negro had his color-right too. If one chose red no other Negro would infringe. He would chose green or blue or yellow. In these days there were no traffic rules. Everybody drove in the middle of the road. Dogs chased passing cars which were few then. The reason this is Monday is bacause the Negro women are passing with bundles of clothes tied up in sheets on their heads. It was a regular part of our Monday morning scene. A little white boy (me) can be seen with his school books strapped together and swinging from his hand. He has halted his progress toward school to see what will happen whenthe automobile and mules meet. The Negroes have stopped too. The mules are scared. They have plunged about and locked the front wheels under the wagon bed. The harness, brass-studded is heavy and strong. With the wagon locked the mules can vent their fear in only one way. One has kicked as high as he can and

the other one has reared back until he is almost sitting down in the road. The driver, with the sudden slackening on the reins, has fallen back in the wagon bed and his helper has jumped for the safety of the nearer bank. It happened on a Monday morning in 1910.

CARNIVAL TIME-Baloon Ascension- Before the First World War we held our yearly county fair on the Square. A carnival always came and we turned our Square over to their sideshows and entertainment for the week's duration of the fair. No one could pass through the Square during that time but no one wanted to. They simply wanted to get there where the fun was. The highlight of the week was the baloon ascension on Saturday afternoon. The baloonist was what we called a "baloonitic". He began filling his great dirty white bag with coaloil smoke early Saturday morning. As the baloon became bouyant he would come outside the framework over which he had the bag draped and pitch the ends of "groundropes" to us and say, "Here. Hold this." We would stand there six and eight hours holding the ends of the ropes and watching the bag fill with smoke. He had a fire in a skillet inside the canvas and at intervals he would throw another dipper of oil on the flame. We would see the red glare of the freshened conflagration reflected on the inner walls of the baloon and usually himself silhouetted with a bottle raised to his lips. The nearer the time came to go the more frequently he raised the bottle. By ascension time he had consumed several bottles and was sober as a judge. Then the time came to ease the baloon high enough off the ground for him to don his parachute harness and settle himself on the trapeze roped to the bottom of the bag. He would grasp the riser ropes with both hands and say in a tragic sounding voice, "Let her go, boys." We would turn loose our ropes. The baloon would swish up. We would watch him grow smaller against the fall sky, then he would drop off the trapeze backward, his weight jerking the parachute out of the crocus sack tied beneath the cross bar on which he had been sitting, it would open and he would float earthward. The baloon would tilt over with the release of his weight and plummet faster and faster downward, leaving a great trail of black coaloil smoke across our sky. We always tried to beat the man to where he was coming down to see him land. We never made it. By the time we got there he was already staggering around, cursing, trying to get the parachute harness off, about the drunkest man I have ever seen. His Dutch courage, no longer needed for that occasion had all hit him at once. Soon after we got there the man's helper, a Negro, and some of the carnival people arrived to salvage the baloon and the baloon man both before our own law got there and jailed him for disturbing the peace. For weeks after we jumped off shed roofs with umbrellas and staggered about our own backyards just as we had seen the baloon man do. Soon after Thanksgiving always came and we forgot the baloon man and his ascension until the next fall when he would again make his trip into the sky.

BRUSH ARBOR-Brush Arbor time is in the summertime. It comes between laying-by and harvest when the Negroes are freed from the fields. That's when they hold their revival meetings and conferences where the preachers are swapped about the district. They build their own meeting houses of poles cut on the site and set in the ground and the rafters covered with handy brush against the hot sun and the weather. A pulpit is brought in a wagon from a nearby church. The pews are logs, cut nearby and rolled under the shelter. A single oil lantern is swung from overhead for their light at night. In this scene the preacher is in his pulpit making a stiff one-fingered gesture toward heaven. It is night. A moon swings overhead in the placid sky. A baby has crawled from its mother's lax attention to the foot of the pulpit.A dog sits a few feet behind the baby also paying rapt attention

to the preacher. The log seats are lined with the congregation. Two small boys are fighting between two of the logs in the right middle ground and a woman is leaning forward over an intervening pew to stop them. Several of the nearer congregation have turned to watch the fight. One woman's husband in the left middle ground has dropped off to sleep and she spikes him with a thorny finger to awaken him. One young couple, with their arms around each other, can be seen slipping toward the beckoning bushes to the right. The back rows are mostly couples with their arms around each other. Just inside the center aisle is a dog who, in passing, spied the dog listening to the preacher. He slips on him, unsuspectingly, and soon a fight will start. The young bucks are standing just outside the area covered by the brush overhead which is the church proper. Where they stand it is permissible to not remove their hats. They stand with their hands in their back pockets, their arms akimbo, waiting for what chance the night might bring.

PLODDING HOME-From the old Negro spiritual by the same name. The preacher, seen through the window of the lighted cabin can be seen in his bed. He is dying. His hands are folded on the covers, his eyes are closed. His wife stands between two women, her arms thrown upward in agony. They are trying to comfort her. A neighboring preacher, his car parked at the front porch, stands with head bowed on his forearm at the mantle, praying. A small boy and girl and dog are in the doorway. It is just dawn. The first rays of the sun are peeping over the hill to the left. To the left of the cabin, dimly seen in the lot fenced in with barbed wire, is the mule the dying preacher rode back and forth to the church where he preached each Sunday. In the road can be seen the preacher's spirit, on its mule, plodding toward a new day, and the Cross.

For Dr. Dunbar

GINNIN' TIME-At ginning time the wagons and trucks and trailers come in loaded with cotton to form in line at the gin and wait their turn at the suction pipe. It is fall, harvest time. It is cash time too for the price of the seed the farmer sells to the ginner more than pays for the ginning and bagging. There is a little cash money left over. The scene is at Jack McCormick's gin in Oxford. The town water tank can be seen with its Home of Ole Miss sign on it. That is Jack standing on the office steps giving papers and instructions to the driver of one of his trucks. The driver's assistant has left the waiting cab and cornered a woman against the side of the truck, making some arrangements for the night. She leans back against the wheel listening. Maurice Littlejohn, Jack's book-keeper in his green eyeshade, can be seen in the window of the office. He is keeping record of the cotton being ginned so as to pay off the difference owed for the seed. Some of the farmers have already collected their ~~difference. There is a crap game going on between the standards that~~ hold up the gin machinery in the right foreground. A white farmer can be seen buying a pint of white whiskey from a Negro bootlegger at the edge of the warehouse. The Negro bootlegger has on a raincoat on a bright sunny day. The coat is to stash pints and halfpints in. As soon as a Negro shows up in a raincoat on a sunny day we arrest him for we know he is bootlegging again. Two gals from a honky tonk around the corner stroll past the cash money in the dice game. The dice game has not been decided yet and no one is interested in them. Later on they will have more success. They will continue strolling past every now and then until the game is over and the winner is determined. Then they will make their pass. It is ginning time in Oxford, in the fall.

~~Mrs. Ulysses Grant~~

Mrs. ~~Mrs. William Washington~~

~~Roth~~

DM
pls let me
see clip

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1962

July 10, 1962
1905 Willis Rd. SE
Huntsville, Ala.

Mr. I. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Desegregation of 7 Huntsville restuarants took place yesterday. I did not call because I understood that "no publicity" was part of the bargain. However, Birmingham papers carried the story on page 1 and Huntsville Times carried it on page 2 today.

The plan is for selected Negroes to participate in the desegregation and if all goes well, "open doors" Friday.

It was good to talk to you in Atlanta,

Sincerely,

Evelyn Falkowski

July 17, 1962

Mrs. Evelyn Falkowski
1905 Willis Road, S. E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Falkowski:

Thank you for your letter. We have seen the news coverage. First Mobile and now Huntsville -- the heart of Dixie begins to beat.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RECEIVED
JUL 19 1962

July 18, 1962
1905 Willis Rd. SE
Huntsville, A la.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciated the opportunity to talk to you in Atlanta. The desegregation of the seven lunch counters here in Huntsville seems almost certain to stick. One drug store got five threats. It had voluntarily joined the "open door" group. There had been no demonstrations at this particular store. Now all seems to be going well, however.

Leadership of the local Human Relations Council was pretty much syphoned off and absorbed by the predominantly Negro "Community Service Committee" this year. The Community Service Committee promoted the sit-in demonstrations and kept the jails and courts busy. Our Human Relations Council white co-chairman left town by necessity because he lost his church. The Negro co-chairman was a main leader of the Community Service Committee activities.

It now seems important to revitalize the Human Relations Council. as such, I am chairman of the nominating committee which will meet this coming Monday, prior to the C.S.C. sponsored mass meeting at a Negro church. These mass meetings will probably have to be discontinued for several months at least. The plan seems to be for C.S.C. to concentrate on equal employment and drop demonstrations if possible. The Human Relations Council needs to think out how it will relate to the Community Service Committee and what its function should be. Possibly, the Council may want to concentrate on employment too.

Is there a possibility that you, or someone from the Southern Regional Council Office could come here as a speaker in August? Perhaps the Council here could be led into a discussion which would help it formulate goals and inspire it to work toward them. The executive committee of the Human Relations Council would like to bring in a speaker about every other month if possible. We might share the speaker with the Community Service Committee if this is agreeable all the way around. I hope we might get Mrs. Paschall or someone from the Atlanta Council along about October. I believe we can manage travel money and hospitality. Would this do it?

Sincerely,

Evelyn Falkowski

July 20, 1962

Mrs. Evelyn Falkowski
1905 Willis Road, S.E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Falkowski:

Thank you for your letter of July 18. What with a planned, short vacation and a full schedule of commitments at other times, there is nothing left of my August; so I know that I cannot come to Huntsville. If you will give us some dates, however, we'll see whether anyone else might be available. I cannot promise, but we'll try.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

First Methodist Church

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

CHURCH OFFICES:
117 WEST SECOND STREET
MOUNT VERNON 4-2225

MINISTER
HARRY D. ROBINSON JR.
MOUNT VERNON 8-6407

July 3, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This summer I am collecting data for my Master's thesis for the University of North Carolina. The thesis, "Shifting Patterns of the Non-Violent Protest Movement" will include studies of Jacksonville, Florida & Chapel Hill, North Carolina. I would like to use the research files of S.R.C. July 13-17. Will this be convenient for S.R.C. - particularly the research department?

I am looking forward to seeing you all again; and meanwhile I can be reached at the above address.

Yours truly,
Janet Teagans

File: "Fa" Gen Corresp.

VIA AIR MAIL July 7, 1964

Miss Janet Faegans
First Methodist Church
117 West Second Street
Mount Vernon, New York

Dear Janet:

We got your letter of July 3 yesterday, and Les has asked me to write this note and say that we'll be expecting you Monday, the 13th, and that the research files are at your disposal.

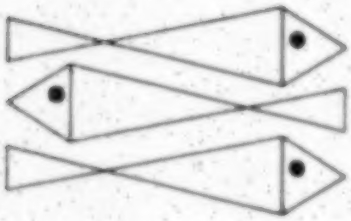
It will be good to see you again.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

This book is sent
with the
compliments of
Henry Robbins



Farrar, Straus & Giroux
Book Publishers
New York

file
- Fa - gen.

May 24, 1966

Mr. Henry Robbins
Senior Editor
Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc.
19 Union Square, West
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Robbins:

Thank you for the privilege of being able to read the advance proofs of Margaret Anderson's, The Children of the South. It is a beautiful book, adequately reflecting the compassion and sincerity and wisdom of the author. It is a valuable document, too, for all who are interested in what the region's children are experiencing.

Thank God we have Margaret Andersons' in the public school system. If only they led them!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT F. E. P. C.

Honorary Chairmen
SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER
SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER
Co-Chairmen
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Treasurer
WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

1410 H STREET N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel. Executive 6884

May 1, 1944

Dear National Committee Member

The National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee is, as you know, making every effort to

(1) Aid the President's Committee in its attempt to secure an appropriation for the coming year.

(2) Secure passage of the Dawson-Scanlon-LaFollette Bill for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

We know that you realize how difficult it is to get Congress to consider such legislation as ours at this time. You have also read of the difficulties which the President's Committee has been facing, for the Appropriations Committee has not yet reported on its appropriation. We need your help in the following tasks -

1. Letters and telegrams should pour in to each member of the Appropriations Committee (see attached list). Will you write yourself and ask other interested citizens in your community to do the same?

2. The Dawson-Scanlon-LaFollette Bill is still in the House Labor Committee. We need letters sent immediately to each member of that Committee individually, urging that the Bill be given a hearing at once. (See attached list.)

3. It is important that local groups visit congressmen and secure commitments from them. We must have the support of every possible congressman for the appropriation for the President's Committee and for the Dawson-Scanlon-LaFollette Bill.

4. If there is a local Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee in your community please assist it in any way you can, asking them to do the same things we have asked you to do. Large and impressive representative delegations can be most helpful in contacts with congressmen.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SAMUEL BARON
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GEORGE E. BROWN
H. A. DAWSON
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MONROE SWEETLAND
NOAH WALTERS
MAX ZARITSKY
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

440

5. Let us know what steps you take and please be sure to give us information as to answers received from congressmen, either verbal or written.

6. We need money immediately for the struggle is even more difficult than we had anticipated. We must reach everyone in the nation as quickly as possible. We hope that you will find it possible to make a substantial contribution to the work of the National Council and that you will be willing to contact other individuals and organizations for us.

7. If you know of individuals or organizations whom you would not like to contact yourself, but who you believe could be helpful to us, please let us have such lists.

We know you read James F. Byrnes' statement in the New York Times of April 13th, warning the nation that we may expect "considerable unavoidable unemployment during the transition from war to peace." We know that this unemployment will hit minority groups severely unless all of us make the effort to see that fair employment practice becomes a permanent part of our government structure.

We are counting on you. Please let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Cordially yours

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Allan Knight Chalmers

Allan Knight Chalmers
Co-Chairmen

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Committee on Appropriations

DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
Clarence Cannon, Mo. (Chairman)	John Taber, New York
Clifton A. Woodrum, Va.	Richard B. Wigglesworth, Mass.
Louis Ludlow, Indiana	Wm. P. Lambertson, Kans.
Malcolm C. Tarver, Georgia	D. Lane Powers, New Jersey
Jed. Johnson, Oklahoma	Albert E. Carter, Calif.
J. Buel Snyder, Pennsylvania	Chas. A. Plumley, Vermont
Emmet O'Neal, Kentucky	Everett M. Dirksen, Ill.
James M. Fitzpatrick, N. Y.	Albert J. Engel, Michigan
Louis C. Rabaut, Michigan	Karl Stefan, Nebraska
Joe Starnes, Alabama	Francis Case, South Dakota
John H. Kerr, N. C.	Frank B. Keefe, Wisconsin
George H. Mahon, Texas	Noble J. Johnson, Indiana
Harry R. Sheppard, California	Robert F. Jones, Ohio
Butler B. Hare, S. C.	Ben F. Jensen, Iowa
Albert Thomas, Texas	H. Carl Andersen, Minn.
Joe Hendricks, Fla.	Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho
Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio	Walter C. Ploeser, Missouri
John M. Coffee, Washington	
W. F. Norrell, Ark.	
Albert Gore, Tenn.	
Elmer H. Wene, N. J.	
Clinton P. Anderson, N. Mexico	
Jamie L. Whitten, Miss.	
Thomas J. O'Brien, Illinois	
James M. Curley, Mass.	

Committee on Labor

DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
Mrs. Mary T. Norton, N. J. (Chairman)	Richard J. Welch, California
Robert Ramspeck, Georgia	Fred A. Hartley, Jr., N. J.
Jennings Randolph, W. Virginia	Gerald W. Landis, Indiana
John Lesinski, Michigan	Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan
Graham A. Barden, N. C.	Stephen A. Day, Illinois
Eugene Worley, Texas	Joseph Clark Baldwin, N. Y.
Thos. E. Scanlon, Pennsylvania	Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin
Augustine B. Kelley, Pennsylvania	A. L. Miller, Nebraska
Thomas G. Abernethy, Miss.	
O. C. Fisher, Texas	

"LET'S WORK TOGETHER"

Is Your Community Interested In A Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee?

Is there a local council working for the passage of the DAWSON-SCANLON-LAFOLLETTE Bill?

(This bill—H. R. 3986—prohibits discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.)

If you have no local council, may we offer the following suggestions for developing one?

I. It is very important that such councils be called: (*Name of your city*) *Congressional Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.* (It is important that you have *representatives* from *every congressional district on your council.)*

II. Survey your community carefully and call together a group of Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Negro, and white women and men, representing national groups and civic, labor (C. I. O., A. F. of L., and Railway Brotherhoods), and foreign language organizations. In other words, the membership in the council should be inter-racial, inter-faith, and truly representative of the community.

III. It would be helpful to have a chairman who is outstanding in the community and who is respected by all of the groups. Of course, such a person must be committed to the need for full employment for all minorities. We are anxious that it be perfectly clear that we want this bill to be for the protection of *all* minorities and not just for the Negro.

IV. This council can plan educational meetings all over the city with a large and effective mass meeting at some designated period.

V. Such an organization can at once arrange for individuals to talk with congressmen about the bill and urge their support of it. This is most important, and it would be helpful for us to know of any contacts you have made with senators and representatives from your state.

VI. It is very important that the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee be kept informed of all of your work in order that we may tell other councils about your progress.

VII. Get candidates for congress to commit themselves (in writing if possible) to work for the passage of this bill.

VIII. *We need money* in order to carry on an extensive national educational program and any financial help that you can give us will be very much appreciated. We promise that the money will be used wisely, and periodic résumés of the work we attempt will be given.

Honorary Chairmen
SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER
SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER

Co-Chairmen
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee
Anna Arnold Hedgeman, *National Executive Secretary*
1410 H Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL
for a
PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE
1410 H STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 6884

Honorary Chairmen
SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER
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Co-Chairmen
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Treasurer
WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

National Executive Secretary
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

August 4, 1944

Miss Margaret L. Fisher
Public Relations Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Fisher

I had lunch with Mrs. Claire Sifton yesterday and she was full of enthusiastic reports of the conference she had attended and equally enthusiastic about the literature put out by your Council.

She has loaned me "America's Tenth Man" to read, but suggested that I write you to see if it would be possible for us to secure a set of your booklets. She particularly mentioned a story about a taxi driver and a minister. Do you know the one she means?

I think your material could be of great help to us here and hope very much that you will be able to mail it to us.

Under separate cover I am mailing you copies of our literature, and if you would like some of these in quantity for distribution please feel free to write us.

Cordially yours

Sidney Wilkinson
(Miss) Sidney Wilkinson
Assistant to Mrs. Hedgeman

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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LINNA E. BRESETTE
GEORGE E. BROWN
H. A. DAWSON
THURMAN L. DODSON
RABBI SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN
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MRS. THOMASINA W. JOHNSON
NATHANIEL MINKOFF
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WILLARD S. TOWNSEND
NOAH WALTERS
MAX ZARITSKY
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

August 14, 1944

Miss Sidney Wilkinson
National Council for a Permanent
Fair Employment Practice Committee
1410 - H Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Miss Wilkinson:

Thank you for your letter of August 4. I did not return to Atlanta until last week, hence my delay in replying. We are enclosing a number of our pamphlets which we hope you will find helpful. The story you referred to is based upon a conversation I had with a taxi driver some months ago. We are enclosing some copies of it. You may have noticed that PM used it in its July 30 issue.

After an absence of three weeks I return to find my desk piled high, and I have not had a moment to peruse your literature. I expect to get to that envelope tomorrow. Thank you so much for sending it.

It was good of Mrs. Sifton to put us in touch with each other. She and her husband made a wonderful contribution to the Junaluska conference.

Sincerely,

MLP:m

enclosures
No. 1
No. 2
Singers in the Dawn
Understanding Our Neighbors
I Never Knowed - 6
White Primary - 6
Southern Offensive - 6
Frontiers - All Council

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8/14/44

FEPC

File

NATIONAL COUNCIL
for a
PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

1410 H STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 6884

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Treasurer
WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

National Executive Secretary
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

August 17, 1944

Miss Margaret L. Fisher
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Fisher,

Thank you for your letter and for the generous number of pamphlets enclosed. I have already read several with extreme interest and I know our entire staff will find them most useful. I am so glad Mrs. Sifton suggested "I Never Knowed" because it was really a beautiful story.

Mrs. Sifton tells me that you are coming north some time in the fall and I hope very much that we can arrange to have a real get-together luncheon or dinner while you are here.

Again many thanks.

Cordially yours,

SW/EH

Sidney Wilkinson

(Miss) Sidney Wilkinson
~~Assistant to Mrs. Hedgeman~~

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SAMUEL BARON
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REV. JAMES MYERS
MRS. DOROTHY S. NORMAN
WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH
ALEX ROSE
RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.
MRS. MABEL STAUPERS
MONROE SWEETLAND
WILLARD S. TOWNSEND
NOAH WALTERS
MAX ZARITSKY
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

This letter explains itself. Pseudo it appears as a reply to your form letter of June 13. I have sent others.
Hastily,
C. H. Hamlin,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1945

Mr. C. H. Hamlin,
Atlantic Christian College,
Wilson,
North Carolina.

Dear Mr. Hamlin:

The President has asked me to tell you that he appreciates your interest in the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

As you doubtless know, the President has asked for affirmative action on this matter in a letter to Congressman Sabath of Illinois. The letter states the President's position and the public need so clearly that I am sure you will want to read it. I am enclosing a copy for your information.

Sincerely yours,

David K. Niles

DAVID K. NILES
Administrative Assistant
to the President

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of The Southern PATRIOT

506-507 Presbyterian Building . Nashville 3, Tennessee . Telephone 6-2447

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Lillian E. Smith
Harry S. Strozier
John B. Thompson
Jimmie Woodward

Davidson County Chapter
Nashville, Tennessee
June 22, 1945

URGENT!

Final showdown on the Fair Employment Practice Commission will probably come next Monday, June 25. Unless the Senate acts, the FEPC will pass out of existence on June 30th.

Enclosed is a petition to Congress. If you favor the petition will you send the suggested enclosed telegram authorizing your signature to Mrs. Patricia Murphy Frank, 1503 28th Street NW, Washington, D. C. To be most effective, telegrams should be in Washington by Sunday night; however, the Senate will not meet until Monday noon.

If you can secure five or six (or more) additional signatures, so much the better.

A similar petition after circulating in Georgia for only 4 days last week received over 800 signatures, and created a most favorable impression in Washington.

We realize many of you will not receive this notice until Sunday, but we are depending upon you. Please do not disappoint us. The response to this appeal, showing widespread Southern support, may be a decisive factor in the final decision.

Sincerely,

Alva W. Taylor

Alva W. Taylor
President

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MRS. PATRICIA MURPHY FRANK
1503 28th STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PLEASE ADD MY NAME TO THE FEPC STATEMENT

(Signed) _____

(Title and organization
for identification only) _____

(Address) _____

A PETITION

from

CITIZENS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES

To Members of the Congress of the United States:

In the conflict between Fascism and Democracy, in which over one million of the finest flower of American youth are now casualties, a central issue is the contradiction between the Nazi doctrine of racism and the democratic conception of equality of opportunity to all men regardless of race, creed or national origin.

Discrimination has no place in American life: by its very nature it is fascistic. Yet such discrimination exists in our country and mocks our words before the world. It has handicapped us in making maximum use of our man power for war production. It has been used effectively in the propaganda of our enemies. If continued it will weaken our leadership in the council of Nations: it will lessen the chances of a durable peace.

Here in the South we have experienced the unwholesome consequences of discrimination in employment. Twenty-five percent of our people held at a low wage level has depressed the income of all and has stunted the progress of the region.

Future prosperity and health of the South depends upon raising the living standards of all Southerners to the national average. If the average income of the Negro family in the south were raised to that of the white Southern family it would add a billion and one quarter dollars to the income of the South. If the income of the average Southern family were raised to the national level it would add over ten billion dollars to the national income.

The Fair Employment Practices Commission established by executive order of President Roosevelt proposing to eliminate discrimination in employment is an important step forward in translating the American ideal of democracy and brotherhood into practical working relationships and will contribute materially to the economic welfare of the South and the nation.

We join with President Truman in calling upon the Congress to fulfill the pledges of the Democratic and Republican parties by restoring the FEPC appropriation and by enacting S. 101- H.R. 2232, setting up a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent Economic discrimination based on race, creed, national origin or ancestry.

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 63 AUBURN AVENUE, NE $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	X	NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

June 25, 1945

Mr. L. E. Austin
Editor, Carolina Times
Durham, North Carolina

COUNCIL PASSED RESOLUTION SIX MONTHS AGO FAVORING PERMANENT FEPC. RESOLUTION WAS GIVEN WIDE PUBLICITY. NO FURTHER PUBLIC STATEMENT CONTEMPLATED, BUT MEMORANDUM ON FEPC BILL HAS RECENTLY GONE TO ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS.

Guy B. Johnson

FEPC

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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TU ATLANTA

DR HOWARD W ODUM=

PRESIDENT SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF FEPC BILL WILL DETRIMAN FAITH OF NEGROS ECCINOMIC SECURITY IN THIS COUNTRY WIRE COLLECT IF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL HAS MADE ANY PERFECT STATEMENT FOR OR AGAINST THE BILL OR INTENDS DOING SO=

L E AUSTIN

FEPC

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

?

Public

June 27, 1945

Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Holmes:

I have recently had an answer to my letter I wrote to Senator Bankhead asking his support of an appropriation for the Fair Employment Practices Committee. This is the reply he sent me from the U. S. Senate under the date of June 20:

COPY

Dear Mr. Marmion:

I have your letter of the thirteenth.

I regret that I cannot agree with your views with respect to the Fair Employment Practices Committee. I have voted several times against the continuance of this program and my views on this subject are still the same.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN H. BANKHEAD

This gives you the information you asked for.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion
np

WM:mi
Signed in his absence

FEPC

July 2, 1945

President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Truman:

In behalf of the Southern Regional Council, an organization devoted to the building of a better South in a better nation, we wish to commend you for your forthright statement to the Congress concerning the importance of legislation establishing a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

In view of the bitter opposition to FEPC which exists among certain powerful segments of the Congress, we are all the more appreciative of your courageous stand on FEPC. We trust that the extension of its program for another year will permit you, Congress, and the administrators concerned an opportunity to devise and establish a less tentative approach of our government to this problem of economic discrimination against our nation's minorities.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

IRA DE A. REID
Associate Executive Director

JR/m

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

297 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

JAMES MYERS
INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY

RECEIVED
JAN 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

Jan 10, 1946

Dear Friend:

Wont you write your Senators and Congressmen at once urging them to assure favorable action during January on the bill to create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee?

Unless you act now and get others to do the same, this historic effort to assure justice to Negroes and other minorities in employment may be lost. You can save the day if you act quickly.

Gratefully yours,

James Myers
Industrial Secretary

George E. Haynes
Race Relations Secretary

P.S. Please get others to write on mine also.

SOS on FEPC!!

As the matter stands now, Congress has directed the present FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE to close its work, and has given it an appropriation only for this purpose. THERE IS URGENT NEED for enacting a NEW LAW AND SETTING UP A PERMANENT FEPC.

Church people are in the fight for this. The Federal Council of Churches has endorsed it.

The bills to make the Committee permanent are:

S.101 (Dennis Chavez, N.M.) - on the Senate Calendar.

H.R.2232 (Mary T. Norton, N.J.) - approved by the House Committee on Labor.

The House Rules Committee declines to bring the latter bill to a vote. Efforts are being made to do so by signatures of representatives to a discharge petition. Thus far an insufficient number of signatures have been obtained.

PLEASE DO THESE THINGS NOW:

WIRE or WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN urging him to sign the discharge petition and vote for the bill.
WIRE or WRITE YOUR SENATOR to vote for the bill.
GET YOUR FRIENDS TO DO THE SAME.

Please let us know what you were able to do.

James Myers
George E. Haynes
(The Federal Council of Churches
297-4th Ave., New York 10, N.Y.)

Jan. 10, 1946.

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to The Files

On January 19, 1946 GBJ sent Paul Williams the following telegram:

"Senate filibuster is going to be bitter. I think the only hope of avoiding prolonged and fruitless controversy is to work out compromise on FEPC. While you are in Washington, could you sound out Senator Barkley and others on the possibility of compromise being proposed by a Southern Senator."

FEPC

February 27, 1946

Mr. George Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York, New York

Dear George:

I am enclosing a copy of the telegram we have just framed and sent to Mr. Randolph. I hope it will serve the proper purpose. We certainly hope your rally comes off in fine style and that it will be productive of permanent good. We are all for you all the way.

I will telephone Father O'Connell and ask him to send a similar message in the name of the Catholic Committee of the South. I am sure he will be glad to do so. I expect to be in New York the week of March 18 and will look forward to seeing you there.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:jm
Enclosure

FEPC

Night Letter - Feb. 27, 1946

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Chairman, FEPC Rally
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

The 1944 annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council passed the following resolution: "We recommend the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to promote the non-discriminatory use of manpower." This stand has been reaffirmed at subsequent meetings. We feel that this viewpoint is shared by thousands of progressive Southerners.

Cognizant of the democratic aims of your meeting, we extend greetings and best wishes for success.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-political, non-partisan organization working for equal opportunity for all people in the South.

PAID
Charge to: SRC

Paul D. Williams
President, SRC

Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director
Harold 1. Trigg, Assoc. Exec. Director

Inf - FEPC

March 15, 1946

Mrs. E. F. Perkins
987 Laburnam Avenue
Roanoke, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Perkins:

Your letter addressed to Mr. R. B. Eleazer has come to our attention. I am forwarding your letter together with a copy of this letter to Mr. Eleazer at his present address, Methodist Board of Education, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee. I know that he will be delighted to have your personal greetings.

I will take the liberty of making a few comments on the FEPC Bill. It may be that Mr. Eleazer will also want to write you something on that subject.

My personal opinion is that although the FEPC has a very worthy object, it would have very little chance of honest observance anywhere in the nation and particularly in the South. Two or three states have passed State FEPC laws, and several others have turned them down. I rather wish that the proponents of FEPC had waited until some experience with the New York law had been accumulated before pushing the law on a national scale.

The Southern Regional Council has endorsed the principle of a permanent FEPC, but it has not done any lobbying for the specific Bills, ~~S-101 or HR-2232.~~

I am enclosing some material on FEPC. You will note certain suggested amendments attached to the mimeographed sheet. One of these amendments would make the law applicable only to employers of 25 or more persons whose operations effect inter-state or foreign commerce. The Bill originally read "six or more persons". This change would certainly make the bill acceptable to more business people, since only the large concerns would be effected by the law. The other amendments are also desirable in my opinion.

I shall appreciate your returning the enclosed material when you have finished with it. You can get this and other FEPC literature by writing to the National Council for a permanent FEPC, 930 F Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Copy to Mr. R. B. Eleazer

HONORARY NATIONAL PRESIDENT
DR. EDWARD A. ROSS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

NATIONAL PRESIDENT EMERITUS
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COLUMBUS UNIVERSITY

Box 121 Weatherford, Texas
March 17, 1946

Director, Commission on
International Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1946
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Southern Regional Council

Dear Director Alexander

My students here are interested in the Congressional bills for (1) the Fair Employment Practice Committee, and (2) the Poll Tax. Can you send me copies of these? — and any other literature bearing on your work? How about recent filibuster in the Senate of Va.?

Sincerely yours,
Charles J. Bushnell,
Professor of Social Science

Voting Restrictions, Southern Frontier
Oct. Nov. Dec. 1945

March 22, 1946

Info - FEPC

Professor Charles J. Bushnell
Southwestern University
Box 121
Weatherford, Texas

Dear Professor Bushnell:

Your letter of March 17 addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has come to our attention. The Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council when it was organized early in 1944.

We are sorry that we do not have material which we can send you on the Fair Employment Practices Committee. However, I feel sure that you can secure some literature which will be helpful to your students from the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, 930 F. Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C.

We are sending you under separate cover three issues of The Southern Frontier which contain articles by Statson Kennedy on the poll tax, and a copy of Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, 127 B Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. can furnish you other material on the poll tax.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

HENRY C. TURNER
CHAIRMAN
ELMER A. CARTER
EDWARD W. EDWARDS
JULIAN J. REISS
CAROLINE K. SIMON

STATE OF NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

124 East 28th St., New York 16, N. Y.

May 31, 1946

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1946
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

Because of the wide public interest in the New York State Law Against Discrimination and in its functioning, the Commission will conduct a public hearing with respect to its proposed new "Rules Governing Practice and Procedure Before the State Commission Against Discrimination" at the main auditorium of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 42 West 44th Street, New York, New York, on Thursday, June 27, 1946, at 10:00 a.m.

We are enclosing herewith three copies of the proposed rules. Additional copies may be obtained by writing to the Commission's New York City office.

If you desire your representative to be heard at the hearing, we would appreciate it if you would submit his name and the name of your organization to the Commission in advance of the hearing.

The Commission will be pleased to receive briefs, memoranda or other written statements with respect to any or all of the proposed rules.

Very truly yours,

John R. Fox

John R. Fox
Executive Director

Enclosure (3)

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1946
Southern Regional Council

STATE OF NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

PROPOSED
RULES GOVERNING
PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE
BEFORE THE
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

RULES GOVERNING PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE BEFORE THE STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

By virtue of the authority vested in it by section 130, subdivision 5, and section 132 of Article 12 of the Executive Law, the State Commission Against Discrimination hereby establishes, adopts and promulgates the following Rules governing practice and procedure before the State Commission Against Discrimination.

These Rules shall become effective on the date that they are filed in the office of the Department of State of the State of New York in accordance with Article IV, Section 8 of the Constitution of the State of New York. They shall supersede the "Rules and Regulations Governing Practice and Procedure before the State Commission Against Discrimination" heretofore adopted, promulgated, and filed in the office of the Department of State on the 14th day of August 1945.

Signed at New York, N.Y., this_____day of_____, 1946.

STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

_____
Chairman

_____
Commissioner

_____
Commissioner

_____
Commissioner

_____
Commissioner

STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

RULES GOVERNING

PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE

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STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

RULES GOVERNING PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE

RULES, promulgated by the State Commission Against Discrimination pursuant to Section 130, subdivision 5, and section 132 of Article 12 of the Executive Law:

1. Definitions. a. The term "person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

b. The term "employment agency" includes any person undertaking to procure employees or opportunities to work.

c. The term "labor organization" includes any organization which exists and is constituted for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms or conditions of employment, or of other mutual aid or protection in connection with employment.

d. The term "unlawful employment practice" includes only those unlawful employment practices specified in section 131 of the Law Against Discrimination.

e. The term "employer" does not include a club exclusively social, or a fraternal, charitable, educational or religious association or corporation, if such club, association or corporation is not organized for private profit, nor does it include any employer with fewer than six persons in his employ.

f. The term "employee" does not include any individual employed by his parents, spouse or child, or in the domestic service of any person.

g. The term "national origin" shall, for the purpose of these rules, include "ancestry."

h. The term "Commission," unless a different meaning clearly appears from the context, shall mean the State Commission Against Discrimination.

i. The term "Commissioner" shall mean one of the members of the State Commission Against Discrimination.

j. The term "Chairman" shall mean the Chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination.

k. The term "hearing Commissioners" shall mean the Commissioners designated by the Chairman to conduct a hearing.

l. The term "Commission's attorney" shall mean the General Counsel to the State Commission Against Discrimination or anyone designated by him or by the Commission to act as its attorney.

m. The term "party" or "parties" shall mean the complainant and/or the respondent.

n. The term "Law" shall mean the New York State Law Against Discrimination.

o. The term "mail," unless otherwise specified, shall mean registered mail, return receipt requested.

2. Complaint. a. Who may file:

(1) Any person claiming to be aggrieved by an alleged unlawful employment practice may, by himself or his attorney-at-law, make, sign and file with the Commission a verified complaint in writing.

(2) The Industrial Commissioner or the Attorney General may, in like manner, make, sign and file such complaint.

(3) Any employer whose employees, or some of them, refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate with the provisions of this Law, may file with the Commission a verified complaint asking for assistance by conciliation or other remedial action.

(4) If a complainant, other than the Industrial Commissioner or Attorney General, is represented by an attorney-at-law, such attorney-at-law shall file a duly notarized authorization with the Commission, before undertaking to act for said complainant.

b. Form. The complaint shall be in writing; the original being signed and verified before any notary public or other person duly authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments.

c. Contents. A complaint shall contain the following:

(1) The full name and address of the person making the complaint (hereinafter referred to as the "complainant").

(2) The full name and address of the person, employer, employment agency or labor organization against whom the complaint is made (hereinafter referred to as the "respondent").

(3) A specific charge of discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin followed by a clear and concise statement of the facts which constitute the alleged unlawful employment practice.

(4) The date of the alleged unlawful employment practice.

(5) A statement as to any action or proceeding instituted in any other forum for the same unlawful employment practice alleged in the complaint, together with a statement as to the disposition of such other action or proceeding.

d. Place of Filing. A complaint shall be filed with the State Commission Against Discrimination at any of its offices.

e. Time of Filing. The complaint must be filed within 90 days from the date of the occurrence of the alleged unlawful employment practice.

f. Manner of Filing. The complaint may be filed by personal delivery, ordinary mail, or registered mail return receipt requested, addressed to any of the Commission's offices.

g. Service of Complaint. A copy of the complaint shall be served by the Commission on the respondent together with the notice of hearing as provided in Rule 5.

h. Complaint Forms. Complaint forms may be obtained at any of the offices of the Commission.

i. Amendment of Complaint.

(1) A complaint, or any part thereof, may be fairly and reasonably amended as a matter of right at any time before the first hearing and thereafter in the discretion of the hearing Commissioners.

(2) The complaint may be amended by the complainant or by the Commission.

j. Withdrawal. A complaint, or any part thereof, may be withdrawn only on consent and upon such conditions as shall be deemed proper under all the circumstances.

(1) If the request for withdrawal is made before the case has been noticed for hearing, the consent of the Commissioner to whom the case has been assigned shall be obtained.

(2) If the request for withdrawal is made after the case has been noticed for hearing, the consent of two of the Commissioners assigned to the hearing shall be obtained.

k. Dismissal of the Complaint. If the Commissioner designated by the Chairman to conduct an investigation of the allegations of the complaint shall determine, either on the face of the complaint or after investigation that said complaint should be dismissed, he shall dismiss the complaint and notify the parties by mail of his decision and of the complainant's right to apply for a reconsideration. Said decision dismissing the complaint shall not, however, preclude the Commissioner, whenever justice so requires, from reconsidering his decision at any time, and taking such further action as he may deem necessary, on notice to all parties.

l. Application for Reconsideration of Dismissal of Complaint. If the Commissioner investigating the allegations of the complaint dismisses such complaint, the complainant may apply for a reconsideration of such dismissal by three other Commissioners. The application must be in writing and state specifically the grounds upon which it is based. It shall be filed within 10 days from the date of the notice of dismissal, in the office of the Commission where the complaint was previously filed.

m. Granting Application for Reconsideration. An application for reconsideration of a dismissal of a complaint prior to hearing shall be granted or denied at the discretion of the Chairman.

n. Reconsideration. If an application for reconsideration is granted, the Chairman shall designate three Commissioners, other than the Commissioner who dismissed the complaint. Said Commissioners shall review the entire file, hear the parties, or either of them in their discretion, and affirm or reverse the original determination. If the original determination is reversed, the matter shall be remitted for further action to the Commissioner who dismissed the complaint. A record shall be made of the proceeding.

3. Investigation, Conference, Conciliation and Persuasion.

a. Investigation. After the filing of a complaint the Chairman shall designate one of the Commissioners to make, with the assistance of the Commission's staff, a prompt investigation of the allegations of the complaint.

b. Conference, Conciliation and Persuasion. If the Commissioner finds that probable cause exists for crediting the allegations of the complaint, he shall immediately endeavor to eliminate the unlawful employment practice complained of by conference, conciliation and persuasion.

c. Non-disclosure of Facts Elicited in the Course of Endeavors to Conciliate. The members of the Commission and its staff shall not disclose what has transpired in the course of its endeavors at conference, conciliation and persuasion.

d. Conciliation. If the Commissioner shall succeed in his endeavors of conference, conciliation and persuasion, he shall mark the case "satisfactorily adjusted" and notify the parties by mail of the disposition and of the complainant's right to apply for reconsideration. Said disposition of a case by conference, conciliation and persuasion shall not, however, preclude the Commissioner, whenever justice so requires, from reconsidering the terms of such conciliation at any time and taking such further action as he may deem necessary, on notice to all parties.

e. Application for Reconsideration of Terms of Conciliation. If the Commissioner investigating the allegations of the complaint effects a conciliation and marks the case "satisfactorily adjusted," the complainant may apply for a reconsideration of the terms of such conciliation by three other Commissioners. The application must be in writing and state specifically the grounds upon which it is based. It shall be filed within 10 days from the date of

the notice of disposition in the office of the Commission where the complaint was previously filed.

f. Granting Application for Reconsideration. An application for reconsideration of the terms of conciliation shall be granted or denied at the discretion of the Chairman.

g. Reconsideration. If an application for reconsideration is granted, the Chairman shall designate three Commissioners other than the Commissioner who effected the conciliation. Said Commissioners shall review the entire file, accord the parties an opportunity to be heard, and approve or disapprove the terms of conciliation. If the terms of conciliation are disapproved, the matter shall be remitted to the Commissioner who effected the conciliation for further action. A record shall be made of the proceeding.

4. Answer. a. Who May File. The party or parties against whom a complaint or amended complaint is filed may file a written answer within five days from the date of service of such complaint or amended complaint, together with proof of service.

b. Extension of Time for Filing. Upon application the Chairman may extend the time within which the answer may be filed.

c. Place and Manner of Filing. The answer must be filed in duplicate at the office of the Commission from which the complaint emanated. The filing shall be by personal delivery or by mail.

d. Form of Answer:

(1) The answer shall be in writing, the original being signed and verified by the respondent or by his attorney-at-law. The answer shall contain the post-office address of the respondent.

(2) The answer shall contain a general or specific denial of each and every allegation of the complaint controverted by the respondent, or a denial of any knowledge or information thereof sufficient to form a belief, and a statement of any matter constituting a defense.

(3) Any allegation in the complaint which is not denied or admitted in the answer, unless the respondent shall state in the answer that he is without knowledge, or information sufficient to form a belief, shall be deemed admitted.

e. Amendment. The answer, or any part thereof, may be amended as a matter of right at any time before the first hearing and thereafter in the discretion of the hearing Commissioners on application duly made therefor. Duplicate copies of the amended answer must be filed with the Commission.

5. Hearings. a. When Hearing Ordered. In case of failure to eliminate an alleged unlawful employment practice, or in advance thereof, if, in his judgment, circumstances so warrant, the Commissioner shall cause to be issued and served in the name of the Commission a copy of the verified complaint together with a written notice of hearing.

b. Notice of Hearing. The notice of hearing shall state the time and place of hearing, inform the respondent that he may file a written verified answer to the complaint and shall be sent by mail to all parties at least ten days before the date of such hearing.

c. Appearances at Hearing. The complainant shall be present and may, in the discretion of the hearing Commissioners, be allowed to intervene, present oral testimony or other evidence and examine and cross-examine witnesses in person or by counsel. The respondent may appear at the hearing in person or by counsel, examine and cross-examine witnesses and, if he has previously filed an answer, he may submit oral testimony and other evidence in support of said answer. The Industrial Commissioner and the Attorney General may be represented by one of their attorneys and such attorneys may present oral testimony or other evidence and examine and cross-examine witnesses. Any other person may, in the discretion of the hearing Commissioners, be allowed to intervene, in person or by counsel, for such purposes and to such extent as the hearing Commissioner shall determine.

d. Who Shall Conduct Hearings. Hearings shall be conducted by three members of the Commission designated by the Chairman. The Chairman shall designate one of the three Commissioners as the presiding member. The Commissioner who shall have conducted the investigation which led to the hearing shall not be designated as a hearing Commissioner.

e. Place of Hearing. Hearings shall be held at a place designated by the Chairman of the Commission having due regard to the convenience of the parties and their witnesses.

f. Procedure at Hearing:

(1) The case in support of the complaint shall be presented before the hearing Commissioners by the Commission's attorney.

(2) The Commissioners shall not be bound by the strict rules of evidence prevailing in courts of law or equity.

g. Stipulations. Stipulations may be introduced in evidence, if signed by the person sought to be bound thereby.

h. Record of Hearing:

(1) The hearing Commissioners shall have full authority to control the procedure of the hearing; to admit or exclude testimony or other evidence; and to rule upon all motions and objections.

(2) The hearing Commissioners may call and examine witnesses, direct the production of papers or other matter present in the hearing room, and introduce documentary or other evidence.

(3) All oral testimony shall be given under oath or affirmation, and a record of the proceeding shall be made and kept.

(4) All rulings and determinations of the hearing Commissioners shall be by majority vote.

i. Evidence of Endeavors to Conciliate. No testimony or evidence shall be given or received at any hearing concerning endeavors to conciliate an alleged unlawful employment practice.

j. Continuation and Adjournments of Hearing. The hearing Commissioners may continue a hearing from day to day or adjourn it to a later date or to a different place by announcement thereof at the hearing or by appropriate notice.

k. Motions and Objections. Motions made during a hearing and objections with respect to the conduct of a hearing, including objections to the introduction of evidence, shall be stated orally and shall be included in the stenographic report of the hearing.

l. Oral Argument and Briefs. The hearing Commissioners may permit the parties, the Commission's attorney, and interveners to submit oral argument before them and to file briefs within such time limits as the hearing Commissioners may determine.

m. Improper Conduct. The hearing Commissioners may exclude from the hearing room or from further participation in the proceeding any person who engages in improper conduct before them.

n. Public Hearings. Hearings shall be public unless otherwise ordered by the hearing Commissioners.

6. Record. a. The record of the proceedings before the Commission shall consist of the complaint and amended complaint, if any, the answer, and amended answer, if any, notices of hearing, written applications, orders, stenographic transcript of the record on the hearing, exhibits, depositions and the Final Order.

7. Subpoenas. a. Issuance. The Commission or any member thereof, shall issue subpoenas, either at its own instance, or, upon written application, at the instance of any party to the

proceeding, whenever necessary to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, payrolls, personnel records, correspondence, documents, papers or any other evidence which relates to any matter under investigation or in question, before the Commission or any member thereof. The issuance of such subpoenas at the instance of a party to the proceeding shall depend upon a showing of the necessity therefor.

b. Payment of Fees. Where a subpoena is issued at the instance of a party to the proceeding other than the Commission or a member thereof, the cost of service and witness and mileage fees shall be borne by the party at whose request the subpoena is issued. Where a subpoena is issued at the instance of the Commission, or a member thereof, the cost of such service and witness and mileage fees shall be borne by the Commission. Such witness and mileage fees shall be the same as are paid witnesses in the State Supreme Court.

8. Depositions. a. Any Commissioner, on his own motion or on the application of one of the parties, shall, whenever necessary, and on such terms and conditions as he may determine, take or cause to be taken depositions of witnesses residing within or without the state. Commissions to take testimony shall be issued under the seal of the Commission.

9. Orders. a. Contents of Orders. An Order of the Commission issued after hearing shall set forth the findings of fact of the hearing Commissioners, their decision and, in their discretion, an opinion containing the reason for said decision.

b. Issuance of Orders. If, upon all the evidence at the hearing, the hearing Commissioners shall find that a respondent has engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the hearing Commissioners shall state their findings of fact and shall issue an order requiring such respondent to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice and to take such affirmative action, including (but not limited to) hiring, reinstatement or upgrading of employees, with or without back pay, or restoration to membership in any respondent labor organization, as, in the judgment of the hearing Commissioners, may be proper and including a requirement for a report on the manner of compliance. If, upon all the evidence, the hearing Commissioners shall find that a respondent has not engaged in an unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue an order dismissing the complaint as to such respondent.

c. Disagreement Among Commissioners. When the decision of the hearing Commissioners is not unanimous, the decision of the majority shall control. Any Commissioner may, in his discretion, file a concurring or dissenting opinion.

d. Notice of Order. Copies of orders shall be mailed to the complainant, respondent and all interveners, accompanied by a notice of the statutory right to judicial review. A copy of the order shall also be delivered in all cases to the Industrial Commissioner, Attorney General and such other public officers as the Commission deems proper.

e. Filing of Orders. All orders rendered after a hearing shall be filed with the Executive Secretary and with all offices maintained by the Commission. These orders shall be open to public inspection during regular office hours of the Commission.

10. Reopening of Proceedings. a. Who May Reopen Proceedings:

(1) The Commission on its own motion may reopen any matter previously closed by it upon notice of such reopening being given to all parties and interveners.

(2) A complainant, respondent or intervener may apply for the reopening of a proceeding upon submission of newly discovered evidence.

(3) Upon application duly made, the Commission, in its discretion, may reopen any matter previously closed where a decision was rendered upon the default of a party affected thereby.

11. Judicial Review. a. Who May Apply for Judicial Review. Any complainant, respondent or other person aggrieved by such order of the Commission may obtain judicial review thereof, and the Commission may obtain an order of court for its enforcement.

b. Copy of Testimony to be Available to Parties. The Commission's copy of the testimony shall be available during the regular office hours of the Commission to all parties for examination without cost and for the purpose of judicial review of the order of the Commission.

c. Representation of Commission in Judicial Review. The Commission may appear in court by its attorney.

d. Forum for Judicial Review. Appeals for judicial review of decisions and orders of the Commission shall be brought in the Supreme Court of the State within any county wherein the unlawful employment practice which is the subject of the Commission's order occurs or wherein any person required in the order to cease and desist from an unlawful employment practice or to take other affirmative action resides or transacts business.

e. Time Within Which to File for Judicial Review. A proceeding for judicial review of an order of the Commission must be instituted within 30 days after the service by mail of such order.

12. Exclusiveness of Remedy. a. As to acts declared unlawful by section 131 of the Law, the procedure herein provided shall, while pending, be exclusive. The final determination of the Commission shall exclude any other action, civil or criminal, based on the same grievance of the individual concerned. If such individual institutes any action based on the same alleged unlawful employment practice without resorting to the procedure provided in this Law, he may not subsequently resort to the procedure herein.

13. Amendments of Rules. a. How Rules May Be Amended. Any rule established by the Commission governing practice and procedure before it, may be amended, modified, rescinded or superseded by the Commission at any executive session, provided that three members are present, and notice of the proposed amendment, modification or repeal was given to all members of the Commission at least 24 hours before the meeting at which action is to be taken.

b. Notice to Secretary of State. Notice of amendments, additions, modifications or repeal of these rules shall be given to the Secretary of State.

c. Availability to the Public. These rules, and any amendment, addition or modification thereof, shall be available to the public at all offices of the Commission.

14. Construction of Rules. a. These rules shall be liberally construed to effectuate the purposes and provisions of the Law and the policies of the State Commission Against Discrimination.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
212 West 50th Street, New York 19, N. Y. • Telephone Circle 5-5434

September 30, 1946

Dr. Guy Benton Johnson
Professor of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Sir:

Because of your interest in parliamentary procedure, I take the liberty of sending you a reprint of my article entitled "FEPC: A Case History in Parliamentary Maneuver." The article, I believe, is the first blow-by-blow account of the parliamentary skirmishes around an important piece of controversial legislation.

Any comments that you care to make will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Will Maslow

~~Will Maslow~~
Director

WM:hg

October 29, 1946

Dr. Will Maslow, Director
American Jewish Congress
212 West 50th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Dr. Maslow:

Sometime ago I received a reprint of your article entitled, "FEPC: A Case History in Parliamentary Maneuver."

This is one of the most interesting bits of legal history I have ever read. Once I started reading it I could not put it down until I had finished.

Congratulations on an excellent job and thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me the reprint.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Association Press

Order 1 copy

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CORPORATE NAME
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347 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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Southern Regional Council

HARRISON S. ELLIOTT, CHAIRMAN
L. K. HALL, DIRECTOR
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JAMES RIETMULDER, SALES MANAGER
O. BARTHOLOMEUSZ, SUPPLIES
LILLIAN CAMLEK, BOOK COUNSELOR

February 5, 1947

"...a succinct, factual statement that will be valuable for those who seek to terminate discrimination in employment."

Henry C. Turner, Chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, writes that description of the pamphlet, just published -

FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK STATE

Its History, Development, and Suggested Use Elsewhere

It's a 48-page, fact-packed program and publicity tool for interracial committees.

As Common Ground points out, it "gives a complete history of the fight to develop FEPC legislation in New York, contains a copy of the New York law, with annotations, and a full analysis of the arguments pro and con which were developed at the hearings. Carefully and scholarly prepared."

Here is a clean-cut, inexpensive piece that can be put to work for you - with editors, business men, program chairmen, organization and civic leaders, speakers, teachers.

You can put 100 copies to work for $30.00, single copies are 50 cents. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your reply.

With best wishes in your work,

Sincerely,

James Rietmulder

James Rietmulder

P.S. Please share this note with other leaders who might appreciate the information, or tell us who they are and we'll write to them.

ASSOCIATION PRESS DISTRIBUTES BOOKS OF ALL PUBLISHERS AND CAN SUPPLY ALL YOUR BOOK-NEEDS

FEPC

February 10, 1947

Mr. James Rietmulder
Association Press
347 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for telling me about the pamphlet, "Fair Employment Legislation in New York State".

I am enclosing fifty cents, for which please send me a copy.

Very truly yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr
Encl. Cash

FEPC

RECEIVED
MAR 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

SAINT PAUL COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Fourth Floor - 123 W. Fifth Street
Saint Paul 2, Minnesota
CEdar 0444

During the past few months repeated requests have been addressed to our Reference Library for information on Fair Employment Practices legislation. Students, teachers and other interested citizens have been included among those requesting information on legislation currently before the Minnesota Legislature; the New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts bills; reports on performance in the States where such bills are in effect; the legal aspects of such legislation; editorial opinion, etc.

As a result of this interest we are mailing to members two leaflets just off the press which have been made available to us through the F.E.P.C. Volunteer Committee, 710 Newton Building, Garfield 8066:

1. Digest of Fair Employment Practice Bill
   Minnesota Senate File No. 622 House File No. 806
   by Edward F. Waite, Retired District Judge, Hennepin County

Judge Waitehas concerned himself, perhaps more than any other person in this State,with the problems of discrimination against minority groups. His article, "The Negro in the Supreme Court", in the May issue of the Minnesota Law Review, was the first article ever published on this important subject.

The bill outlined in the enclosed pamphlet was originated at the request of Governor Youngdahl, and drawn up in the Attorney General's office in consultation with the Governor's Interracial Commission, of which the Reverend Francis J. Gilligan is Chairman.

2. "Shall We Have Fair Employment Practices in Minnesota?"
   (Footnotes to the Answers) by Helen Parker Mudgett of
   the F.E.P.C. Volunteer Committee.

Mrs. Mudgett, author, lecturer, and consultant in the field of human relations, has been on leave from the University of Minnesota, working on a regional basis with the Institute for American Democracy, on a national level with the Farmers Education Fund and locally on the Boards of the Saint Paul Council of Human Relations and the Saint Paul Urban League.

Shall We Have Fair Employment Practices in Minnesota?

Foot-notes to the Answer

The answer itself is, "Yes!" Of course, we must have fair employment practices in Minnesota: we have just fought a war to win another chance to make this a country where men shall have the equal opportunity that has been talked about (and dreamed about) so long.

It has not been that country yet.

Not even here, in Minnesota. Not when the depression years find over 60% of our Negro citizens (compared with only 25% of our white citizens) on relief. Not when the war years find Jewish citizens shut out of jobs and homes. Not when the coming of peace finds neighbor jostling neighbor: Catholic and Protestant; Jew and Gentile; black, yellow, and white - each beginning to blame the other for the fears and frustrations which are the aftermath of war.

Of course we must have fair employment practices in Minnesota: we have just seen the world shrink into focus under the bombsight of the atomic age; we have cried out: "One World - or None!"; if any nation on earth is to believe that we are willing to let other peoples live quietly in peace and plenty, we dare not fail to prove our willingness to allow all our own citizens to live and work peaceably at home.

Yet, there are some who claim we should not (even can not) allow every man - regardless of his race, or creed, or national origin-- a chance to do a man's work, and feel a man's pride in his accomplishment, and gain a man's right to promotion. They say, for example, that it would "cost the state too much" to administer a fair employment practices act; that it would involve business in endless "red tape"; that it would violate the "sacred right to hire." It is to these arguments that the foot-notes are addressed.

First, there is a bill under consideration in the Minnesota Legislature which sets the cost of administering a fair employment practices act at $25,000 per year. Every citizen knows and sympathizes with the government's financial difficulties during an inflationary period such as the present: he has his own troubles trying to make an inflated dollar cover his needs.

But, Mr. Citizen expects his government to do what he himself does, namely, decide on the essentials and budget his income accordingly. Opening at random the biennial budget prepared for the 55th Legislature, Mr. Citizen notes with a certain ironic amusement that it costs the state over $13,000 - more than half of what he wants for democracy - to support the State Board of Barber Examiners. Not for the world would Mr. Citizen have his fellow Minnesotans go unshaven and unshorn, but in a budget of over one hundred and twenty-nine million, there should be room, he thinks, for an item of twenty-five thousand, ear-marked for democracy.

Second, Mr. Citizen also has great sympathy for a fellow who has to answer questions; he hates them himself: during the past few years he has had to answer so many questions that he snarls at his wife if she asks him to pass the salt.

But, Mr. Citizen's first name is, "Good." So, Mr. Good Citizen begins asking fact questions: How many Negroes are there in Minnesota? How many Japanese Americans? Mexicans? Indians? Jews? Catholics? Baptists? Seventh Day Adventists? ? ? ? ? Mr. Citizen becomes aware that the problem is bigger than he thought: there are a lot of people in Minnesota who differ from him in religion and race. In fact, the more he investigates, the more convinced he becomes that almost everybody - almost the whole two and three-quarters million (he is using the 1940 figures) belongs to some minority group - Everybody except himself, of course.

"In other words," says Mr. Good Citizen thoughtfully, "almost everybody in the state is vitally concerned with the business of eliminating discrimination on the basis of

race, or religion, or national origin because all of us are in the minority somewhere."

"Next," says Mr. Citizen to himself, "I better find out how many employers there are in the state who hire more than twenty people."

The Census tells him that, in the manufacturing industries, there are 652 concerns which employ twenty or more men. He shuts the Census volume with a slam - so much figuring has been hard on him - and thinks: "Well, even if there were some red tape connected with a fair employment practices act, better a little red tape on the hands of a few hundred than black crepe on the hopes of two million!"

Mr. Good Citizen is not content, however, to remain in this fractious mood - it is hard sometimes not to feel fractious when he remembers how much time is spent trying to find reasons why citizens of a democracy should be democratic - and so he decides to investigate further. He wants to discover whether "red tape" has landed employers of other states in the courts. He intends to be fair about this business; besides, his middle name is "Thorough." In an, as yet, unpublished manuscript he reads:

"Most of the operating experience with governmental efforts to bring about fair employment practices has come under the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee set up by Executive Order of the President and under the New York State Law against Discrimination which has been in effect since July 1, 1945. Among the many tangible benefits to employers which result from such governmental efforts are to be found the following:

First, the legislation gives the employer a wider labor market; that is, it gives him a wider choice in the selection of employees than he would otherwise have. Any intelligent employer wants to hire the best qualified man he can get for each job. It is obvious that that is the only sound personnel policy to follow. However, ignorance, habit or prejudice frequently narrow the labor market by excluding from consideration the members of certain recial, religious, or nationality groups. The seriousness of this problem became apparent to employers during the struggle to get workers for war production. The War and Navy Departments made strenous efforts to utilize all qualified workers in their own establishments, and to have the same policy followed in the plants of their contractors. Many times during the war, the Fair Employment Practice Committee was called in by employers to issue a specific order against discrimination in their plants. Thus the government assumed the burden of combating prejudice on the part of supervisors or other employees, so that a sound personnel policy could be followed and all available workers could be utilized in accordance with their skills. The New York State Commission Against Discrimination has done a similar service for employers.

Second, the legislation helps to build good industrial relations in the plant and good human relations in the community. In the past, foreign born workers and the members of minority racial groups have sometimes been used by unscrupulous employers as strikebreakers and as instruments to lower the labor standards of all employees. This historical fact has created distrust and antagonism toward minority workers in the minds and memories of many other workers, and it has frequently been the basis for serious industrial unrest. The requirement that all workers be treated alike, in accordance with their skills, and that there shall be no discrimination in compensation or in terms or conditions of employment, removes this cause of insecurity and antagonism on the part of other employees. Furthermore, the experience of working together, with the members of different racial, religious and nationality groups, is the best practical education for building sound industrial relations in the plant and good human relations in the community. The experience gained in industry, in government offices and establishments, in the merchant marine, and in other areas affected by the Federal and State government policies of Fair Employment Practice showed the simple fact that becoming acquainted with people on the basis of equal status and mutual respect is the surest cure for hatred and prejudice. It is worth noting, that during the Detroit race riots, no violence or conflict of any kind occurred in war plants where people of different racial, religious and nationality groups were working together, but all of the blood-shed took place along the borders of segregated housing areas where the participants were strangers to each other.

Third, the existence of a governmental agency to investigate complaints of discrimination in employment *protects the employer*

against unjustified claims of discriminatory practices. The record of both the Federal FEPC and the New York State Commission shows that more complaints are dismissed than are accepted as valid. During the first year's operation of the New York law, 58% of all complaints were dismissed or withdrawn and the remaining 42% were successfully adjusted. In all cases to date, a satisfactory settlement has been achieved by conference and conciliation. *Not only have the penal provisions of the law never been invoked, but it has not even been necessary to hold a single formal hearing to bring about a solution of the problem raised by the complainant.* The Federal agency had a similar record. The 18 months covered by its First Report showed that 64% of all complaints were dismissed or withdrawn and about 36% accepted and adjusted. The law does not require an employer to hire a given proportion, or even a single member, of the various racial, religious and nationality groups present in the community. In fact, both the Federal FEPC and the New York State Commission have held that any system of quota hiring of minority workers is discriminatory because it bases the decision to hire on some irrevelant factor rather than on the qualification of the worker for the job. All that the law requires is that employers follow a sound personnel policy; that is, that they hire and upgrade on the basis of merit, or of agreed upon senority policy, and without distinction between employees on the basis of race, religion, national origin or ancestry."*

Third, Mr. Good Thorough Citizen believes that the right-to-hire stems from property rights, and he believes in property rights.

But, he also believes in carrying an argument to its final conclusion so he sits down at his desk and reaches for pencil and paper. Much as he hates questions, he knows it is time to ask himself a few. He writes:

1. Can the right to hire properly be extended to the place where it automatically cancels another man's right to seek employment? (That's what happens when the ads say: "Only Gentiles need apply.")

2. Can the right to hire properly be extended to the place where it automatically denies another man the chance to improve his position? (That's what happens when employers restrict Negroes to janitorial positions.)

3. Can the right to hire properly be extended to the place where it automatically excludes from employment *an unborn child?* (That's what happens when the personnel manager says: "We don't employ Colored.")

Mr. Citizen squirms in his chair; he doesn't like the questions, now that they are set down in black and white; they conflict with his deepest conviction regarding justice: the common law right of every man to be thought innocent until he is proved guilty - he doesn't kid himself. He knows that every time an employer excludes a whole group from employment, he is declaring every individual in the group guilty of being unemployable, without ever giving the individual a chance to prove himself worthy of employment.

Mr. Citizen begins to pace the floor. He has a 64-dollar question to answer: what to do when a belief in the right-to-hire-whom-one-pleases conflicts with a conviction that every man has the right to a chance? Shall he follow his belief on six days a week, and on Sundays and the Fourth of July affirm his conviction that every man should have a chance? There is ample precedent for such a procedure - so much, in fact, that one European scholar has described us as a nation of schizophrenics, a people divided within ourselves.

"What it amounts to," Mr. Citizen says to himself, "is a restriction of the exercise of a property right in the interests of the community." And suddenly he sees that there is nothing basically new about the issue of fair employment practices: we have been here before; at other times the unrestricted exercise of property rights has been shown to conflict with the interests of the people. And what did we do?

We invoked the police power of the state.

Mr. Citizen begins remembering. He recalls that we have said that employers shall not hire children *because* a democracy needs an educated, enlightened electorate. We have said that employers must provide adequate

*Wilfred C. Leland, Jr., formerly consultant on Program Planning for Fair Employment Practices Commission, Washington, D.C.; Instructor in Economics, School of Business Administration, University of Minnesota; Executive Director of the Minneapolis Mayor's Council on Human Relations.

toilet facilities *because* community health demands decent sanitary arrangements. We have said that employers must furnish safety protection *because* a country is better served by men having two arms and ten fingers than by cripples.

We can now say that employers must open employment to any qualified worker - whatever his race, religion, or national origin - *because* the community is happier and more prosperous by having all its members eligible for for jobs and promotions than by having some of its citizens condemned before birth to semi-indigence and the relief rolls.

It is all clear to Mr. Good Thorough Citizen: on one side there is the risk that a few men may be irked over a further extension of the police power of the state; that a few may find it annoying to show why they are refusing employment to a whole group; that some may resent having one-ten thousandth added to the expenses of the state.

On the other side is the risk that we we have fought for democracy abroad, only to lose it at home.

Shall we have fair employment practices in Minnesota?

Many citizens have made up their minds. Have you?

Volunteer Committee for F.E.P.C.
316 Newton Building
St. Paul, Minnesota
Garfield 8066

*This was prepared by Helen Parker Mudgett, formerly with the University of Minnesota; author, lecturer, consultant in the field of Human Relations; member of the Education Committees of the St. Paul Council of Human Relations and of the St. Paul Urban League.

Digest of Fair Employment Practice Bill

Minnesota Senate File No. 622 House File No. 806

By Edward F. Waite
Retired District Judge, Hennepin County

DISTRIBUTED BY
F.E.P.C. VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE
316 Newton Building, GA-rfield 8066
ST. PAUL 1, MINN.

Purpose

The purpose of the proposed ACT is to eliminate practices of discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color or national origin. Such discrimination is declared to be "an unfair employment practice," and a concern of the state in that it "threatens not only the rights and privileges of its inhabitants, but menaces the institutions and foundations of the free democratic state."

The bill is broadly modeled upon legislation which has been in effect in New York and New Jersey for two years, and in Massachusetts since April, 1946. The Minnesota bill was prepared at the request of Governor Youngdahl in the office of the Attorney General and in collaboration with the Governor's Interracial Commission, appointed by Governor Thye in 1943.

Scope

It applies to employers, labor unions and employment agencies, but does not cover employers of less than twenty persons; social or fraternal groups; charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations not organized for private profits; or persons employed in domestic service, or by their parent, spouse or child.

It is declared an unfair practice:

1. For an employer, because of race, religion, color or national origin of any person, to refuse to employ him, or to discharge him from employment, or discriminate against him in any of the conditions of employment.
2. For a labor organization, for like reasons, to exclude or expel a person from membership, or discriminate against him in any way.
3. For an employment agency to make a like discrimination in listing or referring for employment.

Administration

There is created a Fair Employment Practice Commission of fifteen persons appointed by the Governor to serve without compensation. The Governor also appoints, with the consent of the Senate, a Director for a term of five years at an annual salary of $5,000. The Commission and Director are charged with the administration of the ACT, the duties of the former being chiefly advisory and educational; those of the latter being executive, to investigate and correct alleged unfair employment practices. A Board of Review is also provided for with functions as hereinafter indicated.

Procedure

A person claiming to be the subject of an unfair employment practice may file a petition with the Director stating his grievance. Whereupon the Director investigates the case and if there appears to have been an unfair practice he undertakes to correct it "by conference, conciliation and persuasion." If this fails, the matter is referred to the Commission, which in its discretion may make a recommendation for further proceedings.

Subsequently the Director issues a complaint which is served on the person charged, styled the respondent, and on the person claiming to be wronged, who may thereupon appear as an intervenor. The complaint and the answer of the respondent are filed with the Governor, together with a report of the Director showing fully all efforts for conciliation. The Governor may then appoint three persons as a Board of Review, who informally try the disputed issue in the county where the unlawful practice is alleged to have occurred. Each member of the Board receives $15.00 per day while actually employed on the case with necessary expenses.

If the charge is found unproven the complaint is dismissed. If proven, the Board may make an order that the respondent cease the unfair practice, and directing the hiring, reinstatement or upgrading of the employee, or restoration to membership in a labor organization. In case of non-compliance the Director applies to the District Court for an order of enforcement, filing with his petition a transcript of the record before the Board of Review. The District Court then has complete jurisdiction, subject only to review by the Supreme Court on writ of certiorari. It may receive additional testimony or return the case to the Board of Review for that purpose. Failure to obey its final order is punishable as contempt of court.

For the administration of the ACT the sum of $3,000 is made immediately available, $22,000 being provided for the year ending June 30, 1948, and $25,000 for the following year.

Among These Rights...

NEWSLETTER OF THE COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

RECEIVED APR 4 1947 Southern Regional Council

Mark your Calendar! CCU presents CAREY McWILLIAMS Monday 14 April 8 p.m. Marines' Memorial Theatre

Dear Member:

A PROFIT & LOSS STATEMENT for the past three months of events & trends in human relations, San Francisco area, would show both significant gains & very serious losses. As for the net result, the figures are not clear. Here are some of the main items. We suggest that you count them, weigh one against the other, & calculate the answer yourself.

ONE HEAVY BLOW was defeat of FEPC as set forth in Proposition 11 last November. Obviously no panacea, this measure nevertheless had offered the only hope for equal job opportunity for California's minorities this year & next. Now there is no adequate bulwark against the steadily rising tide of job discrimination. . . Those, incidentally, who opposed Proposition 11 but favored the New York FEP law, again (as in February '46) have the opportunity to support such a measure: AB 2211 (Hawkins).

ENCOURAGING OFFSET to FEPC's failure was the voters' rejection of Proposition 15, which would have bolstered the discriminatory Alien Land Law. From this it may be inferred that the loss of FEPC was due not to a dangerously growing racism in California, but to well-financed scare propaganda against the measure & to honest doubts & confusions among many decent citizens in re certain provisions of the act.

THE BAY AREA'S RECORD hardly gained lustre with the burning of Negro veteran John Walker's home in Redwood City. The KKK may or may not have returned to Northern California, but it became shockingly clear that a few unhappy little bigots knew the uses to which the Klan's symbols & tactics could be put. What they did not know until much later was that the overwhelming majority of the people of the Peninsula, as everywhere, would rise up in furious & determined protest against the outrage, kindling a fire under law enforcement which was bound to bring results — or that the people of Redwood City & other Peninsula communities would form permanent councils for civic unity, not only to secure justice for John Walker but to prevent such future occurrences by removing the causes of tension. . .(For authoritative accounts of the Redwood City incident, see CCU member Ann Livingston's story in the January Monthly Summary; This World of 16 Feb '47; & the SF News of 16 Dec '46.)

DEFINITELY AMONG GAINS NOTED was an action of the Commonwealth Club's Section on Immigration & Americanization, which voted 18 to 11 to recommend granting of immigration quotas to Japanese & other Oriental & Pacific peoples now barred, & two to one to remove immigration law provisions discriminatory against Chinese & East Indians.

FOR POSITIVE EVIDENCE of determination to carry the fight forward with full vigor, for carefully outlined program, see the pages following.

— Edward Howden

VOL II
No 1
24 Mar
1947

FEPC

May 12, 1947

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We should like to have ten copies of the Final Report, Fair Employment Practice Committee. Please bill us for these copies. Thank you.

Respectfully yours,

Margaret Price

FEPC

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES PAMPHLET November, 1948 GSM

Epstein said at the NAIRO meeting in Chicago that all the railroad brotherhoods except one have in the last year altered their constitution opening membership to Negroes. He said 13 or 14, if I mistake not, have done so.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES PAMPHLET November, 1948 GSM

FEPC

I learned at the NAIRO meeting in November, 1948, that New York State and New Jersey and others use very little publicity on their victories in getting firms to take on minority employees. Many present at the meeting said FEPC used so much publicity that it aroused objection unnecessarily. Some hopped to their feet and said: "We believe in that publicity. Do more." But the guys who were running the works in New York and New Jersey said, "Get the man to take them on and then hush."

LEGISLATION AND MORALS GSM November, 1948 FEPC

A guy named Maurice Fagin, who does something in one of these state interracial outfits in the North (I think American Jewish Committee) said at the NAIRO meeting that after you get legislation you find that you still have to go back to the long range and the educational. He wondered if we were not all present putting "abnormal emphasis on legislation." His view wasn't particular popular but it sounded awfully good to me.

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

HOME ADDRESS:
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Hays

CLAUD D. CURLIN
SECRETARY

BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

FEPC

Washington, D. C.
December 27, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
2825 Lexington Road
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Dear Hugh:

I wish you might have been with me in the Atlanta meetings. They were very significant. This has no reference to the content of my messages.

I had a busy two days, making in all about ten or twelve speeches including one full fifteen minute radio interview with the Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Ralph McGill, and two other shorter radio discussions of my point of view on the Civil Rights issue. Our friend, Jim Westberry, of the Morningside Baptist Church, was my constant guide and advisor and did a swell job.

The two really significant meetings were those in Negro churches, the Big Bethel A.M.E. Church and the Wheat Street Baptist Church. The other meetings duplicated thousands of similar meetings in every city of the United States, but to me these meetings with the Negroes were different and they were important because of the things I learned rather than the presentation of a point of view that was somewhat different from the conventional politician's approach to the race problem.

The thing that stands out in my mind is that we have preserved the one community in which the two races can meet, and the church is responsible for the preservation of this Christian community which is now becoming so important. There is a great chasm between the political thought of the Southern white person and the Negro (the politics of the northern and southern Negro is not as different as many white persons imagine.)

I will not try to digest my talk because I think you know pretty well my basic philosophy, but in order to appraise the results I must review one or two things that were said. The meeting at the A.M.E. Church was presided over by the Pastor, a young well-trained minister from a northern state, who is "all out" on the segregation issue and I assume that practically all of the Negro leaders have this same point of view. The difference is that it is not cautiously stated by an outsider and repercussions are as you would imagine somewhat damaging to the less militant approach which the overwhelming majority of the South white leadership insist upon. I realized after the young pastor spoke (if I had not fully appreciated it before) that there are irreconcilable points of view on this question. In the political field, they cannot be resolved. Each side must stand pat. But in the Christian community at least there can be an atmosphere of nonviolent discussion and personal good will while it is fought out.

As a politically responsible person, I am concerned about the stability of our institution and the maintenance of a nonviolent community but my Christian convictions remind me that stability must not be at the expense of justice. I laid the basis, I believe, for suggesting to these Negro audiences that progress is being made toward the ideal of justice within the framework of Southern life with all of the irritations and cruelities that exist in isolated spots. I tried to make full use of the old Baptist preachment that we should "speak the truth in love." I did not labor the point, I simply proceeded from the proposition that neither side has an open mind on the question of segregation, but still progressmust be made toward the goal of equality in industry, before the law, and in allpublic services. This received my emphasis. I believe it is possible for a white man to say these things to Negro audiences without being offensive. At least it gets over our point of view just as Mr. Mays got over his point of view to the group at Ridgecrest.

There were perhaps one hundred and fifty ministers at the Wheat Street Baptist Church, and I spoke more as a Baptist layman than as a political person at that meeting. Still I said enough about the political angle to stir up a lot of interest, and except for the able performance of a stern chairman there might have been a good deal of ill-will and verbal violence before we got out of there. Dr. Jernigan, the National President was there and he had a good influence.

As a politician I took a calculated risk, but the meetings were not damaging either to my political situation (incidental though this is) nor my prestige, I hope, as a Member of the Southern Baptist Social Service Commission. The Commission is taking a calculated risk in letting me be identified with them, but I regard it as entirely consistent with the Baptist tradition.

Several details about the meeting might shed light on the problem in the deep South. When the Chairman would not let the Methodist pastor I just referred to make a long statement, he left the meeting in a huff and I believe two or three went with him. Another pastor tried to draw me out on the question of Georgia politics, but the Chairman protected me. I realized as never before that some of the pending bills in Congress have become symbols and that the mind of the Minority has congealed on these points. There is not much we can do about this, but it is imperative, of course, that one who has to take a position against the "official" Negro point of view do so with full sympathy for their historic struggle.

I tried to highlight the fact that the Negro leadership of the South has been very patient. The time has come for positive and constructive action in their behalf. We do need to put foundations under these leaders for amicable relations between the races. At the same time, we must emphasize the fact that our determination to do justice is not a matter of strategy. There is too much talk of buying off the race in this competition with the communists. There is too much talk of the effect on colored people abroad of the incidents which the communists publicize. Legislation will not stop the communists. Their lies will continue and they will certainly give us no credit for the measures being attempted in our country. We must attempt to do justice because it is our duty and because of the pressures inside all of us, not to defeat the communists. On that I know we are in agreement.

I am enclosing two documents, one a clipping from the Atlanta World, a daily newspaper published by the Negroes, I think perhaps the only Negro daily in the South. Also a news release to state my position regarding Mr. Truman. I could use stronger language regarding some of the cheap tactics of this Administration, perhaps I should do so. At any rate, Hugh, the judgment of history will be that on the political front we are at a low moral level in 1949 and I fear that it will be written of 1950 as well. I know that we live under a political Government, and I am not attempting to replace the political reign with the millenium, BUT What wouldn't I give to see a little more honesty and forthrightness, and a little less juggling for positions in the political arena.

~~My apologies for imposing all this on you.~~ Write me when you have time, and please let me know when you will be in Washington. With high regards.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

Copy

52 Campus Drive
Pocatello, Idaho
February 14, 1950

Committee on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs:

A study of fair employment practices legislation is being made under the auspices of the sociology and political science departments of Idaho State College. Extensive information is needed for this study, and your organization has been suggested as one which might be able to supply us with authoritative data.

Studies of proposed and existing laws are desired, with both critical and supporting positions being represented. Of particular value would be any evaluations of the results of laws now being enforced. The names and addresses of other organizations or individuals able to assist in such a study would also be welcomed.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene V. Price

Eugene V. Price

ACRR
NAIRO

FEPC

February 28, 1950

Mr. Eugene V. Price
52 Campus Drive
Pocatello, Idaho

Dear Mr. Price:

This will acknowledge your letter of February 14, addressed to the Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The CIC was merged with the Southern Regional Council in 1944.

I am sorry to say that we have nothing currently in print on FEPC legislation. However, as you undoubtedly know, material on that subject is abundantly available. I would particularly recommend to you Public Affairs Bulletin No. 65 of the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, entitled "Anti-Discrimination Legislation in the American States," by W. Brooke Graves, published in November, 1948.

You are probably already in touch with the following organizations, but I list them as among the best sources on fair employment:

American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Committee on Law and Social Action
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

I regret that we cannot be of more help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Fepc

March 6, 1950

Mr. Harry L. Wright
2171 Madison Avenue, Apt. 5-E
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

We want to do a pamphlet that will help get more Southern understanding of and support for the FEPC idea.

I thought you might do us a turn. How about going down to SCAD HQ in NY City and digging out a case or two, after discussion with the folks, that looks useful? I think there's a good chance that your knack would yield a couple of paragraphs that would do a lot of good in a pamphlet. I think you could write up a case in such a way as would convince "our folks" of the need for and practicability of justice. I've read the formal things, and the informal that SCAD and other State and municipal FEPCs get out. Some of it good, but you know we need a special touch. I think you could do it. Will you give it a try?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Harry Wright, in NY

Dear Harry,

We want ~~xx~~ to do a pamphlet that will help get more Southern understanding of and support for the FEPC idea.

I thought you might do us a turn. How about going down to SCAD HQ in NY City and digging out a case or two, after discussion with the folks, that looks useful? I think there's a good chance thay your knack would yield a couple of paragraphs that would do a lot of good in a pamphlet. I think you could write up a case in such a way as would convince "our folks" of the need for and practicability of justice. I've read the formal things, and the informal, thta SCAD and other State and muncipal EEPCs get out. Some of it good, but you know we need a special touch. I think you could do it. Will you give it a try?

Sincerely,

George

FEPC

March 22, 1950

Mr. Edward H. Weyler, Secretary
Kentucky Federation of Labor
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Weyler:

I was much impressed with one in particular among many passages in your talk before the Catholic Industrial Conference at Charlotte. As I wrote it down afterward, it ran something like this:

"We need an FEPC. Don't get the idea that we only need it to protect Negro rights. I know places in this country where if you are a Swede, you don't work, and I know places where if you are not a Swede, you don't work. I know places in this country where if you are a Greek, you don't work, and other places where if you are not a Greek, you don't work. I know places where if you are a Jew, you don't work, and I know places where if you are not a Jew, you don't work. I know places where if you are a Catholic, you don't work, and I know places where if you are not a Catholic, you don't work. An FEPC will help to do away with these things."

The Southern Regional Council plans to get together a small pamphlet, probably called "Work and Color", which will try to be persuasive of the South of the importance of individual and legal activity to protect the right to work.

You will see something of our temper in these matters from the enclosed leaflet called, "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy."

What I ask is permission to use, roughly, this quote from your talk of yesterday. If the permission may be had, I will be most grateful not only for that but for your review and touching up my would-be quote.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

EMC

April 23, 1951

Mr. Maurice Fagan
President, NAIRO
260 South 16th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

My dear Maury:

George Mitchell passed on to me the suggestion from the last board meeting that a "small team" from Civil Service, the White House and the Office of Defense Mobilization go out to various cities where defense industries are going on and negotiate with management of these industries for the purpose of insuring non-discriminatory hiring.

I am well aware of the fact that once a pattern of discriminatory hiring has crystalized it is indeed difficult to change it. However, whether this would be the method by which this should be done is the question.

You are probably aware of Executive Order 10210, section 7, "There shall be no discrimination in any act performed hereunder against any person on the ground of race, creed, color, or national origin, and all contracts hereunder shall contain a provision that the contractor and any subcontractors thereunder shall not so discriminate." which is implemented by Procurement Regulation, Part 8 (attached). In light of this it would appear that the best method of attack would be to insure the enforcement of this contract provision. I am enclosing herewith a suggested draft of a letter to Secretary of Defense Marshall, making an inquiry about this. (I am sure you also know that there are no provisions for enforcement of this section of each contract.) I believe, however, that a letter of this kind will open up the subject. Inasmuch as it is going out over your signature, as president, I am sure I need not say that you may feel free to edit it in any fashion that you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant

Enclosures

TWNorford:hbt

The Honorable
The Secretary of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is a national organization comprised of individuals primarily engaged in intergroup relations in a professional staff capacity, or substantially engaged as members of the governing body of an agency or commission in this field. The aim of the association is to improve intergroup relations and to aid in the attainment of equality of opportunity for all persons regardless of race, religion, national origin or ancestry. As such, we are interested in being informed of any and all developments in the field of intergroup relations.

At this time we are interested in knowing specifically what administrative machinery you have for enforcing the contractual provisions outlined in Executive Order 10210 which implements the present Executive Order 9346 (attached).

Will you kindly provide us with this information at your earliest convenience.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9346

Further Amending Executive Order No. 8802 by Establishing a New Committee on Fair Employment Practice and Defining its Powers and Duties

---

In order to establish a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices, Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, as amended by Executive Order No. 8823 of July 18, 1941, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"WHEREAS the successful prosecution of the war demands the maximum employment of all available workers regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin; and

"WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the war effort by all persons in the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

"WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in war production solely by reason of their race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of the prosecution of the war, the workers' morale, and national unity:

"NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in Government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of all employers, including the several federal departments and agencies and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and this Order to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"It is hereby ordered as follows:

"1. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

"2. All departments and agencies of the government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"3. There is hereby established in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, hereinafter referred to as the Committee, which shall consist of a Chairman and not more than six other members to be appointed by the President. The Chairman shall receive such salary as shall be fixed by the President not exceeding $10,000 per year. The other members of the Committee shall receive necessary travelling expenses and unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed by the President, a per diem allowance not exceeding twenty-five dollars per day and subsistence expenses on such days as they are actually engaged in the performance of duties pursuant to this Order.

"4. The Committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this Order and shall make recommendations to the various Federal Departments and agencies and to the President which it deems necessary and proper to make effective the provisions of this Order. The Committee shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"5. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination forbidden by this Order. It may conduct, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

"6. Upon the appointment of the Committee and the designation of its Chairman, the Fair Employment Practice Committee established by Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, hereinafter referred to as the old Committee, shall cease to exist. All records and property of the old Committee and such unexpended balances of allocations or other funds available for its use as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Committee. The Committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matters pending before the old Committee and shall conduct such investigations and hearings as may be necessary in the performance of its duties under this Order.

"7. Within the limits of the funds which may be made available for that purpose, the Chairman shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel and make provision for such supplies, facilities, and services as may be necessary to carry out this Order. The Committee may utilize the services and facilities of other Federal departments and agencies and such voluntary and uncompensated services as may from time to time be needed. The Committee may accept the services of State and local authorities and officials, and may perform the functions and duties and exercise the powers conferred upon it by this Order through such officials and agencies and in such manner as it may determine.

"8. The Committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this Order.

"9. The provisions of any other pertinent Executive Order inconsistent with this Order are hereby superseded."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE
May 27, 1943

IMMEDIATE RELEASE FEBRUARY 2, 1951

EXECUTIVE ORDER
10210

- - - -

AUTHORIZING THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE TO EXERCISE THE FUNCTIONS AND POWERS SET FORTH IN TITLE II OF THE FIRST WAR POWERS ACT, 1941, AS AMENDED BY THE ACT OF JANUARY 12, 1951, AND PRESCRIBING REGULATIONS FOR THE EXERCISE OF SUCH FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the First War Powers Act, 1941, as amended by the act of January 12, 1951, entitled "An Act To amend and extend title II of the First War Powers Act, 1941" (Public Law 921, 81st Congress), hereinafter called the Act, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States, and deeming that such action will facilitate the national defense, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Part I

Under such regulations, which shall be uniform to the extent practicable, as may be prescribed or approved by the Secretary of Defense:

1. The Department of Defense is authorized, within the limits of the amounts appropriated and the contract authorization provided therefor, to enter into contracts and into amendments or modifications of contracts heretofore or hereafter made, and to make advance, progress, and other payments thereon, without regard to the provisions of law relating to the making, performance, amendment, or modification of contracts.

2. The Secretaries of Defense, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force may exercise the authority herein conferred and, in their discretion and by their direction may delegate such authority to any other military or civilian officers or officials of their respective departments, and may confer upon any such military or civilian officers or officials the power to make further delegations of such authority within their respective departments.

3. The contracts hereby authorized to be made include agreements of all kinds (whether in the form of letters of intent, purchase orders, or otherwise) for all types and kinds of things and services necessary, appropriate or convenient for the national defense, or for the invention, development, or production of, or research concerning any such things, including, but not limited to, aircraft, buildings, vessels, arms, armament, equipment, or supplies of any kind, or any portion thereof, including plans, spare parts and equipment therefor, materials, supplies, facilities, utilities, machinery, machine tools, and any other equipment without any restriction of any kind, either as to type, character, location, or form.

4. The Department of Defense may by agreement modify or amend or settle claims under contracts heretofore or hereafter made, may make advance, progress, and other payments upon such contracts of any percentum of the contract price, and may enter into agreements with contractors or obligors, modifying or releasing accrued obligations of any sort, including accrued liquidated damages or liability under surety or other bonds, whenever, in the judgment of the Secretaries of Defense, the Army, the Navy, or

(OVER)

the Air Force, respectively, or their duly authorized representatives, the national defense will be thereby facilitated. Amendments and modifications of contracts may be with or without consideration and may be utilized to accomplish the same things as any original contract could have accomplished hereunder, irrespective of the time or circumstances of the making, or the form, of the contract amended or modified, or of the amending or modifying contract, and irrespective of rights which may have accrued under the contract or the amendments or modifications thereof.

5. Advertising, competitive bidding, and bid, payment, performance or other bonds or other forms of security need not be required.

6. Complete data shall be maintained by the Department of Defense as to all contracts and purchases made pursuant to the Act and this order. The Secretaries of Defense, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force shall make available for public inspection so much of such data as they may respectively deem compatible with the public interest and as does not cover classified contracts or purchases.

7. There shall be no discrimination in any act performed hereunder against any person on the ground of race, creed, color, or national origin, and all contracts hereunder shall contain a provision that the contractor and any subcontractors thereunder shall not so discriminate.

8. No claim against the United States arising under any purchase or contract made under the authority of the Act and this order shall be assigned except in accordance with the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1029).

9. Advance payments shall be made hereunder only after careful scrutiny to determine that such payments will promote the national defense.

10. Every contract entered into, amended, or modified pursuant to this order shall contain a warranty by the contractor in substantially the following terms:

> "The Contractor warrants that no person or selling agency has been employed or retained to solicit or secure this contract upon an agreement or understanding for a commission, percentage, brokerage, or contingent fee, excepting bona fide employees or bona fide established commercial or selling agencies maintained by the Contractor for the purpose of securing business. For breach or violation of this warranty the Government shall have the right to annul this contract without liability or in its discretion to deduct from the contract price or consideration the full amount of such commission, percentage, brokerage, or contingent fee."

11. All contracts entered into, amended, or modified pursuant to authority of this order shall include a clause to the effect that the Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives shall have access to and the right to examine any pertinent books, documents, papers, and records of the contractor or any of his subcontractors engaged in the performance of and involving transactions related to such contracts or subcontracts.

12. Nothing herein shall be construed to authorize the cost-plus-a-percentage-of-cost system of contracting.

13. Nothing herein shall be construed to authorize any contracts in violation of existing law relating to limitation of profits, or the payment of a fee in excess of such limitation as may be specifically set forth in the act appropriating the funds or granting the contract authorization obligated by a contract. In the absence of such limitation, the fixed fee to be paid the contractor as a result of any cost-plus-a-fixed-fee contract entered into under the authority of this order shall not exceed 10 percentum of the estimated cost of the contract, exclusive of the fee, as determined by the Secretary of Defense, the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force at the time of entering into such contract (except that a fee not in excess of 15 percentum of such estimated cost is authorized in any such contract for experimental, developmental, or research work, and that a fee inclusive of the contractor's costs and not in excess of 6 percentum of the estimated cost, exclusive of fees, as determined by the Secretary of Defense, the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force at the time of entering into the contract, of the project to which such fee is applicable, is authorized in contracts for architectural or engineering services relating to any public works or utility project).

14. No contract or modification or amendment thereof shall be exempt from the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act (49 Stat. 2036), as amended, because of being entered into without advertising or competitive bidding, and the provisions of such act, the Davis-Bacon Act (49 Stat. 1011), as amended, the Copeland Act (48 Stat. 948), as amended, and the Eight Hour Law (37 Stat. 137), as amended, if otherwise applicable shall apply to contracts made and performed under the authority of this order.

15. Nothing herein contained shall prejudice anything heretofore done under Executive Order No. 9001 of December 27, 1941, or any amendments or extensions thereof, or the continuance in force of an action heretofore taken under the said order or any amendments or extensions thereof.

16. Nothing herein contained shall prejudice any authority to utilize the provisions of the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 (62 Stat. 26) and regulations thereunder.

Part II

The provisions of Part I of this order are hereby extended to the Department of Commerce; and, subject to the limitations and regulations contained in such part, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to perform and exercise, as to the Department of Commerce, all the functions and authority vested in and granted by Part I of this order to the Secretaries named therein: Provided, that the regulations of the Secretary of Commerce need not be approved by the Secretary of Defense but shall, to the extent practicable, be uniform with the regulations prescribed or approved by the Secretary of Defense pursuant to Part I hereof: And provided further, that nothing contained herein shall prejudice any other authority which the Department of Commerce or the Secretary of Commerce may have with respect to procurement.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,

February 2, 1951.

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IN REPLY REFER
TO EMC

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

April 24, 1951

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of February 14 in which you provided me with a message from the NAIRO board meeting. I am sorry for the delay in replying but constant field trips etc. keep me behind in my work, particularly where there are so many "must" items.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter to Maury Fagan. Knowing the temper of Washington at this time, I doubt seriously that the proposal made by the board would be accepted.

Will you be coming to Washington any time soon? If so, let me know and stop by for a chat. My very best personal wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Thomasina

(Mrs.) Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant

Enclosures

Employment, Fair practices

April 27, 1951

Mrs. Thomasina W. Norford
U. S. Department of Labor
U. S. Employment Service
Washington, D. C.

EMC

Dear Mrs. Norford:

Many thanks for your letter of April 24.

I am glad you are pushing on enforcing EO 10210, but the idea I was carrying for NAACP was a different one: that teams of civil service people should go out to cities in which the government agencies are mushrooming to meet the defense effort, and there in those cities put it into the heads of the local regional administrators that non-discrimination in the Federal service is honestly meant.

These Southern regional offices got by with the old pattern in World War II. They should not get by with it in this expansion of the Government.

I expect to be in Washington some time in May and will come to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

CSM:er

Tarrh Bell
AFSC
225 E. Lee St.
C'boro

3100 Orlando Street
Knoxville, Tennessee
February 6, 1952

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing in behalf of Fellowship House of Knoxville, an inter-faith, inter-racial organization, autonomously affiliated with fifteen other such groups in as many cities, including Philadelphia, the parent group. Enclosed is a copy of our newsletter, THE WINDOW, which presents a general picture of the Knoxville program.

Your attention is invited particularly to our proposed employment-on-merit project, mentioned on page 1, designed to encourage the employment of persons strictly on the basis of ability to do the work and therefore without regard to their race, creed or national origin. We want to solicit your help in developing sources of information useful to this purpose.

Our general approach to this problem is to seek out a select group of employers and prospective employees who are willing to take part in this effort and, if enough interest is shown, to help develop the training and other machinery needed to achieve employment in, adjustment to, and effective work on jobs which ordinarily are not open to members of some minority groups. At this point we are strictly in the planning stage.

We should appreciate very much whatever help you could give us in the way of information or further sources of information, general or specific, pertinent to this problem. Especially, we need to know specific instances, anywhere in the country but particularly in the South, where a policy of employment-on-merit actually is in effect in a business or other organization, also specific instances of organized effort at the community level, such as ours, to encourage the adoption and implementation of that policy.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. Moulder

W. J. Moulder
Employment-on-Merit
Planning Committee
Fellowship House of Knoxville

Sarah Freeman book
AFSC
Urban League
Dallas survey

all
races

THE WINDOW

all
creeds

February, 1952
Second year of publication
Fellowship House of Knoxville, Inc.
Editor: Mrs. W. J. Moulder

****

EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROJECT

The steering committee developing a job opportunities program to recommend to Fellowship House of Knoxville for their action in the community, has met three times since the New Year. This planning group was authorized by the membership at the December meeting and is an outgrowth of the Units for Unity fall programs. Dr. Joseph T. Drake, Mississippi born member of the U. T. Department of Sociology is official consultant. Committee members are: Miss Mildred Teasley, and Mesdames S. M. Clark, Jr., Jack LeFlore, Richard Henry, and Robert Weeks, and Messers. Harold Hodges, Robert Weeks, W. J. Moulder, Homer Hogan, and Bruce Allen. One member of the committee is quoted as saying "We think we have our wheels on the right track and rolling." It is too soon for a definite date for a report to the membership, as the planning and thinking of this committee will be very thorough.

****

TRIO CALENDAR

Jan. 8th.	B'Nai B'Rith Women
Jan. 31st.	Presbyterian Women Maryville, Tenn.
Feb. 17th.	Jewish Comm. Center

Church and civic organizations that would like to schedule these trios for programs may call Mrs. LeRoy Graf, 4-4319, Chairman. The trios-one Jew, one Negro, one white Christian, speak and lead group discussions on "How Prejudice Affects Me." Both men and women speakers are prepared. The "Brotherhood Week" sponsored by the National Council of Christians and Jews is set for the week of February 17th-24th and Fellowship House would especially welcome engagements for this occasion.

****

YOUTH IS HERE TO STAY

Eighty people came to the February 8th meeting of Fellowship House of Knoxville at the Church Street Methodist Church Parish. Six young people on a panel -- two each from Knoxville College, Maryville College, and University of Tennessee, spoke their minds on discrimination as it affects them, and their ideas on "what to do about it." Dr. Ohmer H. Milton led the panel and discussion from the floor. The "man in the brown suit" who participated from the audience was George Fried, fellow in Zoology, U. T. The consensus seemed to be that to make our democracy effective just about everything needs changing in racial attitudes, minds, hearts, customs, and laws. After the formal part of the program, some thirty students said they would like to continue the discussions another time. Fellowship House would like to see a student fellowship group grow under its sponsorship from this fine meeting. One of the panel speakers was Miss Martha Bele Cox, senior at Knoxville College, and the Fellowship House scholarship student at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk the past summer.

****

WANTED: Office space by Fellowship House of Knoxville. Specifications: free rent. Correspondence files, literature, and clerical activities, are overflowing home desks. No reasonable offer rejected!

****

FUN AND FUNDS FOR FELLOWSHIP
FEBRUARY MEETING
Auspices Ways and Means Committee
Miss Doris Scott, Chairman

BOX SUPPER AND INFORMAL PROGRAM
6:30 p.m.
~~Tuesday evening~~
February 19th
Mt. Zion Baptist Church

EACH LADY BRING A BOX SUPPER TO SERVE TWO (at least). COFFEE TO BE PROVIDED. SPORT DRESS ADVISED!

Registration charge:
.40 for two .25 single

BRING A FRIEND! SAVE MONEY!

"THE ROPE"
The Knoxville chapter of the NAACP will present the Thalian Dramatic Society in a three act mystery drama on February 1, 8:15 p.m., Austin High School. Tickets are $1.00 each and may be had from NAACP members or at the box office. The play is directed by Mr. L. C. Flack, Treasurer of Fellowship House.

****

IN THE CRAFT HOUSE
Thanks to the folks at the Labor Temple, Fellowship House of Knoxville is able to have a craft program for children of elementary school age every Thursday at 4:00 P.M. The latest project is to construct a complete city on a large piece of plywood. Mrs. Kenneth Kennedy is Chairman of this activity. They welcome new participants, guests, and gifts of materials suitable for the children's work.

****

SPREADING THE WORD
The "National Jewish Post", published for national and local distribution in Louisville, Ky., recently devoted two columns by its Editor, Frank Free, to the Knoxville Fellowship House, and to the story of all the Houses. He called on Louisville citizens to extend "Brotherhood Week" set for the month of February, into a year-round program similar to the Knoxville Fellowship activities.

****

SURVEY FOR BLUE PRINTS
Fellowship House of Knoxville has been asked to file an extensive report on its beginnings, its successes, its failures, with the Adult Education Department of Columbia University, Teacher's College. This particular project of the College is searching to find ways in which communities have come into action to try and solve their own problems -- locally and together. The Board of Directors of Fellowship House will welcome any written reports from any member to send in with the data already being collected. Such activity as Fellowship House has been engaging in for the past two years is really pioneering. Fellow shippers of Knoxville have had no blue print to go by, but are being asked to help make one for groups which may come after this. Deadline is February 10th.

ANNIVERSARY EDITION
The first formal edition of "The Window" was sent out in February of last year. Mrs. Larry Reich, now of New York City, named the newsletter and prepared the first edition. "The Window" is officially the responsibility of the Corresponding Secretary, an elected officer of Fellowship House of Knoxville. The Editor welcomes comments, suggestions, and offers of assistance. The address is 3100 Orlando St., Knoxville. The mailing list of "The Window" has grown to over two hundred names. People from other towns are interested in the Knoxville activities. Besides being sent to the members of Fellowship House, "The Window" is also sent to local teachers, ministers, and leaders of civic groups in the area, who should be kept informed about Fellowship House progress. Names to add to this growing list should be sent to the Editor, also. Incidently, postage, preparation, and paper costs now come to about $8.00 per issue.

****

SISTER ACT
The president of the Cincinnati Fellowship House is the sister of Mrs. J. H. Wilcox, president of the Knoxville group. Their newsletter, the "Fellowshipment" reports that they have just moved into their newly purchased home. The calendar for their Doll Library is enviously full. Singer Marion Anderson gave a concert in Cincinnati recently and was pictured at Fellowship House with "her" doll. This could be such a wonderful way to take the message of human dignity to children's groups.

****

MEETINGS AHEAD

Feb. 19th	Box Supper. See P. One.
March 11th.	Purim Party, maybe?
April 8th.	Business meeting and election of officers and Board.
May	Birthday dinner and installation of officers and new Board members.

****

WHEN IS THE TIME TO PLAN FOR THE DAY CAMP FOR CHILDREN FOR 1952?

RIGHT THIS INSTANT!

Info Reg

FEPC

February 19, 1952

Mr. W. J. Moulder
3100 Orlando Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Moulder:

We were most happy to learn that the Fellowship House of Knoxville is planning an employment-on-merit program.

We have almost nothing in print that will be helpful, but Iam sending separately two or three publications of related interest. One of them is our "Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey". You might want to consider what features of the self-survey method could be applied effectively in your employment effort. We have found that much of the necessary persuasion can be accomplished by bringing together the right people in a preliminary fact-finding survey.

I am also sending a copy of the American Friends Service Committee's pamphlet entitled "Employment on Merit". You have probably seen it already and been in touch with the Friends. If not, I suggest you write their Southern man: Tartt Bell, 225 E. Lee St., Greensboro, N. C. They have employment programs underway or planned in several Southern cities and could perhaps supply you with a "success story" or two.

You are probably familiar with Sara E. Southall's book Industry's Unfinished Business, published by Harper. That is the nearest thing to a text in this field that I know of.

The Urban League, of course, has a good deal of experience in seeking employment equality. You might find that a useful source.

I wish I could be of more immediate help. If it looks as though we can be of service as your program progresses, call on us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

fepe

IN REPLY REFER TO EMC

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

March 3, 1952

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

May I apologize for the delay in my reply to your letter of November 28, in which you requested information on progress in the employment of minority group workers in the Federal government in the south.

I am enclosing herewith some materials that you may or may not have. They are self-explanatory, though not specifically pertaining to your request.

As you may or may not know, the Civil Service Commission keeps no records by race. The policy of the Fair Employment Practice Board has been, so far, to refuse to keep any records by race. I have made several telephone calls but can get no information that would be meaningful. The Department of Labor has regional offices in Dallas (including the States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Texas); Atlanta (including the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee); and Richmond (including the States of Maryland, District of Columbia, North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia). The Bureau of Employment Security, which is the one I'm in, has a staff in each of these regional offices. However, to my knowledge, there are no nonwhites employed in other than menial capacities, if at all.

I called Dr. Houchins of the Census Bureau who informed me that census data regarding this would be available in June. A Washington Attorney, Henry Crawford recently compiled facts and figures on the employment of Negroes in Washington, D. C. which included government. However, in order to get material he had to visit each agency and practically "count heads." It occurs to me that some of the foundations might be interested in having a study of this situation made.

We are in the process of making arrangements to have the Annual NAIRO (National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials) Conference in Washington. I might add that I don't envy myself! My very best to you.

Sincerely yours,

Thomasina

(Mrs.) Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant

Enclosures

FEPC

Employment, gent.

November 28, 1951

Mrs. Thomasina W. Norford
Chief Minority Groups Section
U. S. Employment Service
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Norford:

We have undertaken to do for the 1952 edition of the Negro Year Book a round-up on progress and problems in race relations in the Southern States. One of the topics I want to discuss is "Negro Employment in the Federal Government in the Southern States." Another is "Progress (?) in Implementing the Requirement of Fairness in Employment Practices on Work Done under Contract with the Federal Government."

I haven't got the money for a special trip to Washington to go around and see you and the other people who could give me in conversation a pretty good, though only slightly statistical, account of how employment in the federal government in the South is proceeding. Is it too much to ask you to do some telephoning for me, with a view to getting the picture fairly straight? Which agencies and which regional or local offices have done best, and how well?

On the other question of contract employment, you must know of things in print or otherwise circulating that would be helpful to me.

Will you be so very kind as to send me what you can? Unofficial. Nobody would be quoted.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

bepe

October 6, 1952

Mr. Jack Fisher
Harper & Bros.
49 E. 33rd St.
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Jack:

Here's an idea to flip at some appropriate person in your text department.

The effectiveness of Federal and State legislation in the field of fair employment practices is going to depend, in great measure, upon the competence of the field personnel deployed by the new enforcement agencies. Non-discriminatory employment is really a new specialized branch of personnel administration. So far as I know, nobody has ever written a text in that field. Neither have I ever heard of a university course in that field. But the first university that opened such a course would be almost certain to get a stream of students, and through them, to do a lot of good. What we are experiencing through the various State agencies (and through the history of the wartime Federal Commission) is the growth of a system of case law on discriminatory employment. A case comes up in Connecticut which blocks off escape B-2. Then another in Philadelphia blocks off B-2-B, and so on.

The State commissions are grinding out these decisions, but nobody has collected them in the walls of a single book and exhibited them in their consecutive and broadening order.

Somebody will do it, sooner or later. I only suggest that Harper's might want to have a man explore the possible sale of a text of that kind.

What I foresee is a situation in which the country suddenly blossoms with new agencies in this field, with next to nobody trained to do the job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Ideal guy to do such a book would be a man who was both a lawyer and a personnel guy.

Fi

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers Since 1817

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

October 9, 1952

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of October 6 to Mr. Fischer has arrived while he is away from the office in Springfield, where he will remain until after the election.

I just wanted to let you know that I am passing your suggestion along to Mr. Tyler, who is head of our Textbook Department, and you will be hearing either from him direct, or from Mr. Fischer on his return.

Sincerely,

Rona Wells

Assistant to John Fischer

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RW: m

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers Since 1817

49 EAST 33rd STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 5, 1952

Dear George:

Your suggestion of October 6 seems to us to have real possibilities, but so far we haven't been able to hit upon a potential author. If you hear of anyone who might do such a book satisfactorily I'd appreciate your dropping me a note.

Is there any chance of our seeing you up here soon?

Best regards,

Jack.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

John Fischer: m

fepc

November 25, 1952

Mr. John Fischer
Harper & Brothers
49 E. 33rd St.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Jack:

I took advantage of a meeting in Washington of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (!) to inquire as to who could write the FEPC business.

I turned up one guy who wants to write it and a couple of other people who could be very helpful.

The man who wants to write it is Wilfred C. Leland, executive director of the Minneapolis FEPC, 407-A City Hall, Minneapolis 15. Office phone, Main 1116, extension 425. He's a white guy, aged about 32, and by reason of some conferences which he bossed, has built up already an extensive file on the cases which are leading precedents in fair employment practices. Says he could use the stuff he has to be the basis of a book. Wrote a recent peice much praised on this subject in FORTUNE magazine.

The eminent authority is John A. Davis, now a professor at Lincoln University, Oxford, Pennsylvania, and also consultant to the U. S. State Department on utilization of non-Caucasians. He is (likely) non-Caucasian himself, and had an important job with the final Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. Admirably trained, balanced of mind, scholarly, respected. (Be not misled by the similarity of his name to another man's.) Davis is probably too busy to write the book, but he would give you or an author help and advice and material.

The attorney for the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, Henry Spitz, if I have his name rightly, is also a person who might be induced to write the book and who, in any case, like Davis, would be willing to advise.

I had lunch in Washington with Leland and Spitz and Davis, and we talked about the notion.

Mr. Jack Fischer, Nov. 25, 1952

Someone told me that Ted Leskes, of the American Jewish Congress in New York City, has done a recent summary on the work of State FEPC's.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

fepe

November 26, 1952

Mr. John Fischer
Harper & Brothers
49 E. 33rd St.
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Jack:

Error in my letter of November 25. The guy who wrote the piece in FORTUNE was John A. Davis. Second error: In re John A. Davis. He is "lightly," not "likely," as given.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

GS file

HARPER & BROTHERS

Publishers Since 1817

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 28, 1952

Dear George:

Many thanks for your suggestions of November twenty-fifth. I shall try to follow them up, beginning with Leland -- and I shall, of course, let you know what happens.

Best regards,

John Fischer

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JF: ab

RECEIVED
DEC 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

17579 Roselawn
Detroit 21, Michigan
November 29, 1952

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Thankyou very much for the material you sent me; it has been very useful.

Could you send me something that describes how conditions of the southern Negro have improved in the past few years. My debate partner and I are on the negative of the F.E.P.C. question and part of our case is to prove how conditions in the south are improving. The affirmative found some of the information included in the New South pamphlets very useful just as we found a great deal of help in them.

I am including a check that would cover the mailing costs, if not let me know.

Thank you again for your information has been so helpful in clarifying many of the points we could not find information to depict.

Yours very truely,

Ruth Roth

IR

FEPC

December 11, 1952

MissRuth Roth
17579 Roselawn
Detroit 21, Mich.

Dear Miss Roth:

Thank you for your recent letter and your check for materials sent.

You might consult the following sources for negative information on FEPC:

(1) Congressional Record. Debates on various FEPC bills introduced in the Senate and House.

(2) "FEPC is Unconstitutional," by Donald A. Richberg. A series of six articles written for the News Bulletin of the New Orleans Association of Commerce. Widely reprinted in Southern newspapers; appeared in the summer of 1948.

(3) Parkinson, Royal, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation," Harvard Business Review, v. 26(Jan., 1948), 115-128. Examines FEP laws from the standpoint of the employer; expresses the idea that it is industry's responsibility to integrate minorities, and that FEPC laws are difficult to administer and interfere with sound personnel practices.

You will, I believe, find little evidence to indicate that the employment situation in the south is progressing nicely for the Negro. It is true that the proportion of Negroes employed in agriculture has decreased from 40% in 1940 to 29% in 1950 and that Negro income has risen a great deal since 1930. But there is still a wide gap between the level of job opportunities and salaries for Negroes and those for whites.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, has recently completed a study of the economic status of the Negro in the U. S. for a Senate subcommittee chaired by Senator Humphrey of Minn. It will soon be available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and should be of help to you.

One of the preliminary 1950 Census reports, "Employment and Income in the United States, by Regions, 1950," gives data by race for the South on employment and income. Release date: April 11, 1951. Series PC-7, Number 2.

The Congressional Digest devoted an entire issue to the question, "Should Congress pass a Law Prohibiting Employment Discrimination?" in June, 1945. Arguments against FEPC appearing in this issue included those of Senator Taft, Senator Russell of Georgia, Representative Clark Fisher of Texas, Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan, Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas, Representative Carter Manasco of Alabama, Mark Sullivan of the Washington Post and Judge Herbert A. O'Brien of Jamaica, New York. (In considering 1945 arguments it is well to remember that we have experienced the successful operation of 11 state and 22 municipal FEPC's since 1948).

In view of the actual employment situation for the Negro in the South, your anti-FEPC arguments might better be built around:

(1) States'rights sentiments in the South.

(2) The inevitable difficulties agencies will have until sufficient staff to maintain FEPC's are trained. Negotiation with employers and workers for up-grading of minorities is a new and specialized branch of personnel administration and as yet very few persons possess that skill.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

JAMES W. BORTON
POST OFFICE BOX 87
NEW CONCORD, OHIO

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

December 16, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am in Muskingum's intercollegiate debate theam and the topic for debate this year is Resolved that the Congress of the United State should enact a compulsory Fair Employment Practice Law.

If you have any information concerning FEPC either State, Federal, Municipal or otherwise it would be greatly appreciated. Also if you will your person opinion.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Borton

James W. Borton

IR
FEPC

December 22, 1952

Mr. James W. Borton
P. O. Box 87
New Concord, Ohio

Dear Mr. Borton:

In reply to your recent request for information on FEPC we are sending the following material under separate cover:

"A Look at FEPC"
"Sources on Fair Employment Practice Legislation"
"Negro Municipal Workers in the South"

Two helpful articles on Negro employment, not on the bibliography sent you, are:

Davis, John A., "Negro Employment: A Progress Report," FORTUNE, July, 1952. Reprints from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Dewey, Donald, "Negro Employment in Southern Industry," JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, August, 1952.

The Southern Regional Council has approved the principle of fair employment practice legislation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
~~Research Assistant~~

Charge for materials sent:

.15 (stamps or coin acceptable)

Lopez

City of Minneapolis

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION
407-A MINNEAPOLIS CITY HALL
MINNEAPOLIS 15, MINNESOTA
TELEPHONES: LINCOLN 1803—LINCOLN 9594

COMMISSION MEMBERS:
AMOS S. DEINARD, CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND W. CANNON
ANDREW T. JONES
STUART W. LECK
C. WILLIAM SYKORA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
WILFRED C. LELAND, JR.

RECEIVED
JAN 12
Southern Regional Council

January 9, 1953

[redacted]53

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

You must have written to Harper and Brothers very promptly after returning to Atlanta from our Washington Conference. I received a letter from Mr. John Fischer, dated November 28th, asking me to submit an outline or synopsis of my ideas for a book along the lines which you and he had discussed.

I wrote to Mr. Fischer, telling him that I was in the process of preparing an article for the Minnesota Law Review on the same general subject. I suggested that I might send him a copy of this article, together with the outline of my ideas for the book.

He approved this suggestion and I am now in the process of completing my Law Review article. As soon as I do, I'll send a copy of it and my outline to you, as well as to Mr. Fischer.

Thank you most sincerely for getting me started on this project. Best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director

WCL/v

Copy for George Mitchell

February 11, 1953

Mr. John Fischer
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Fischer:

I've finally completed my article for the Minnesota Law Review and my chapter outline and synopsis of the proposed book, in accordance with our recent exchange of correspondence. I am enclosing these two documents herewith.

In terms of timing, I should explain that we are now engaged in a campaign for a state law for employment on merit here in Minnesota. Special and rather extensive demands will be made on my time to provide information and counsel in connection with this campaign until the end of March. After that, I would be in position to plan to devote a considerable amount of time to the book, if you find it to be a desirable project.

I have in mind the possibility of getting some help, perhaps to the extent of co-authorship, on the sections relating to legal theory and to the development of administrative law by the commissions. Incidentally, I think that the material on this latter subject, which I have now included under Chapter VII, might logically be broken down into subdivisions. Two or three chapters might profitably be devoted to it.

I talked with Henry Spitz, General Counsel for the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, in Washington last November and he expressed some interest in the project at that time. I am sending him a copy of this letter and the enclosed materials and am inquiring about his present interest in possible collaboration on certain sections of the book.

Please accept the enclosed outline and synopsis as simply establishing a basis for concrete discussion. It may be desirable to contract or delete certain points and to expand or add others. It may also prove desirable to reorganize material and to make an altogether different approach to the subject.

I believe that the thing we actually have to sell is the product of some practical operating experience with a relatively new instrument for bringing about constructive changes in certain patterns of behavior in the field of employment. My basic feeling is that the approach should include a proper balance of analysis and interpretation on the one hand with concrete illustrations drawn from actual experience on the other.

I shall be glad to give you an expansion of my ideas on any of the foregoing sections and to respond to any other suggestions you may have concerning possible revisions in the book as proposed. I shall await your comments with interest.

Sincerely yours,

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director

WCL/vmt
enc.

OUTLINE OF PROPOSED BOOK ON THE THEORY AND THE

TECHNIQUES OF SECURING EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT BY LAW

Chapter 1 - Legal Theory: The use of the police power to protect the public welfare. The conflict of rights and the conflict of freedoms. The rights and freedoms granted by the law far outweigh those it denies.

Chapter 2 - The Extent and Consequences of Discrimination: Summary of studies indicating extent and nature of discrimination in employment because of race, religion or national origin. The negative effects of discrimination on the individual worker, on others concerned with employment policy, and on the general community. The corresponding positive effects of employment on merit.

Chapter 3 - The Laws and their Provisions: Analysis of the theoretical and practical reasons for the common and the contrasting provisions in the 7 state laws and the 3 city ordinances. The provisions discussed include coverage and exemptions; unfair practices by employers, unions, employment agencies, and others; procedures for the investigation and conciliation of complaints; publicity and public hearings; court review and enforcement; penalties for violation; citizens' participation in administering the laws; and general educational provisions.

Chapter 4 - The Commission and the Staff: An analysis of the different organizational structures established by the laws in the 10 jurisdictions with extensive operating experience. The qualifications and responsibilities of staff and commission members and the functions actually performed by each.

Chapter 5 - The Adjustment of Complaints: The common and the contrasting procedures used by the commissions in different jurisdictions and a critical evaluation of each. The foregoing extensively illustrated with cases drawn from actual operating experience. (This chapter would be somewhat parallel to the major part of my article for the Minnesota Law Review. However, it would emphasize and evaluate the differences in the procedures used by the several operating commissions.)

Chapter 6 - The Nature and Disposition of Cases: A brief statistical analysis of the kinds of cases presented to the commission and the disposition made of them. This information could be presented as Chapter 6, accompanied by brief statements of interpretation and comment, or it could be taken out of the body of the book and placed in an appendix.

Chapter 7 - Administrative Law Developed by the Commissions: An exposition and a critical analysis of the body of administrative law developed by the practices and the rulings of the commissions during the course of their operating experience. Might include such subjects as quota systems; publicity versus confidential records; rulings on items included in application forms or employment interviews; rulings relating to seniority, discharge and upgrading; rulings on devices for limiting union membership; rulings on employment agency policy; rulings on newspaper advertising policy; etc.

Chapter 8 - Educational Procedures: An evaluation of conferences with those who make employment policy and more general educational methods used to promote the principle of employment on merit. The contrast of the attention given by those who make employment policy to the educational work done under the law with the attention given to similar programs carried on without the law.

Chapter 9 - City, State or Federal Laws: An analysis of the functions of municipal, state and federal governments in this field. The relation of federal, state and municipal commissions to each other and a discussion of the appropriate role of each.

Chapter 10 - Answers to Critical Questions: A statement of summary and conclusions in the form of answers to key questions often raised about such laws. ~~(Might include materials~~ similar to those on pages 30 through 34 of my Law Review article.)

"WE BELIEVE IN EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT, BUT - - - - "

(An article prepared for publication in the Minnesota Law Review, February, 1953)

Much of the controversy over proposed laws against discrimination in employment is cast in unreal terms. Such phrases as "jail sentence law", "you can't legislate morality", "interference with an employer's freedom to use his own judgment in hiring the best qualified worker" and "harrassing employers by Gestapo methods of investigation" have virtually nothing to do with what has actually taken place in the seven states and three separate cities which have had commissions administering such laws for periods ranging from two to seven years.[1] There is little excuse for the failure of either the opponents or the proponents of new legislation to examine this record.

A good deal has been written on this experience in general terms. Articles ranging from popular magazine stories to scholarly theses have reached the common conclusion that much has been accomplished by the laws and that most of it has been done by the conciliation process for which each law provides.[2] Very little has been written about just how this process works. Also, the question as to why "enforcement powers" are necessary requires a more adequate answer. It is hoped that this article will meet these needs. If it does, it may be useful to legislators and to citizens generally in deciding whether or not similar laws should be adopted by additional

cities and states. It should also prove useful to those who will administer these laws.

A law against discrimination in employment does two essential things: it establishes a clear-cut public policy of employment on merit and it creates an instrument for promoting that policy. The key question we wish to consider here is the precise nature of this instrument. It consists of a commission of citizens and an operating staff. It has gone by different names in different jurisdictions: fair employment practice commission, commission against discrimination, commission for equality in employment, civic unity council, etc. Perhaps the most accurate term is the name chosen in the 1953 bill proposed to the Minnesota Legislature, the State Commission for Employment on Merit.

Before the specific functions of the commission are examined, two basic points about its nature and responsibilities should be made clear. First, it is an impartial public body and is concerned with the public interest, and not with the special interests of any group. It has just as urgent a responsibility to clear up false suspicions of discrimination as to correct discriminatory practices when they are found. Second, the policy of employment on merit which it seeks to promote is just as beneficial to the employer, the labor union and the employment agency as it is to the applicant for employment and to the general community.

The commission created by the law is just one instrument for dealing with one specific problem, the problem of discrimination in employment. If the policy of employment on merit is beneficial to all concerned, why does any such problem exist?

Prejudice on the part of employers and union leaders is generally assumed to be the primary reason for discrimination. Our experience does not confirm this conclusion. While we have encountered some evidences of prejudice, we do not find strong expressions of it on the part of those who make employment policy. What we do find is a very general feeling of fear that prejudices on the part of fellow workers, union members or customers will cause friction in the company or the union or will cause a loss of trade. This general fear of friction is the primary problem to be dealt with in promoting the general adoption f a policy of employment on merit. Just how do the law and the commission attack that problem?

The whole process of enacting any law ~~getting the law passed~~ focuses attention on the problem with which it deals. ~~seriousness of discrimination and its consequences.~~ The campaign for the law is an important educational project. The majority of legislators must be convinced that the legislation is both necessary and desirable. They must reach the conclusion that the objective sought ~~employment on merit~~ is so vital to the general welfare that it should be established by law as a matter of public policy.

The passage of the law for employment on merit constitutes a clear statement of ~~this~~ public policy. Business men and labor leaders who may have been apathetic to problems of discrimination

in employment becomes convinced of the necessity for facing the issue squarely. Some of them begin to re-examine their own employment practices, and to study the experience of employers and unions which have successfully integrated workers of different racial, religious and nationality groups into their work forces and into their union membership. The law also serves to strengthen and support employers and union leaders who want to follow a non-discriminatory policy but fear they will meet resistance from other employees and union members. Thus, the mere enactment of the law may result in substantial improvements in policy on the part of the more progressive employers and labor unions. However, the great majority are still bound to their old habits of discrimination by the fear of prejudice on the part of employees and customers. To meet this challenge is the job of the commission and its staff.

While the agencies administering the laws are differently constituted in different jurisdictions, the basic pattern is the same. They each include a policy-making body and an operating staff.[3] In Minneapolis, the commission consists of five citizens who serve without compensation as a public service. They are appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the City Council. First appointed in 1947 for terms of from one to five years, the members are now all on five-year terms, with one member coming up for re-appointment each year. In terms of occupation, one member is an employer, one a labor union official, and three are lawyers. The staff consists of an executive director and an office secretary. The latter is expert in clerical skills and the former has had

training and experience in labor economics, industrial relations, public administration and college teaching, as well as extensive experience in the intergroup relations field.

The task of the commission and staff is two-fold: to investigate and adjust complaints of discrimination through conciliation and to promote the policy of employment on merit through education. The individual who encountered the discrimination may bring his complaint directly to the commission office, or may be referred there by another agency, such as the Urban League, Jewish Vocational Service, or the Japanese American Center.[4] The Minneapolis commission can also act on information received from any source and can itself become the complainant in the case.

The initial steps in the conciliation process are taken by the executive director. He first gets from the complainant the full story of his experience in connection with the complaint and his reasons for believing that he has encountered discrimination because of his race, religion or national origin. The second step depends upon the facts developed in the first. More facts may be needed to decide whether there is reason for believing that discrimination has been practiced. If this cannot be established, the complaint is not accepted and it is not recorded as a case in the commission's files. If there appears to be sufficient evidence of discrimination to justify further investigation, the next step is to examine the qualifications of the complainant in relation to the position he seeks. If objective measurements, such as skill or aptitude tests, length of work experience, or educational background are

involved in the problem, these will be checked independently by the executive director. If the complainant does not meet the required standards for the job, this fact will be reported to the commission with the recommendation that the complaint be dismissed. On the other hand, if the facts continue to point to probable discrimination, the next step taken by the executive director is to arrange for an interview with the individual against whom the complaint was made.

The executive director calls the respondent on the phone and arranges for an interview in the respondent's office at a mutually convenient time. He tells the respondent that he represents the commission and that he wishes to discuss a question of employment policy, but he does not disclose the details of the problem on the phone. At the beginning of the interview, the executive director tells the respondent the provisions of the ordinance and the responsibilities of the commission. He explains that the City Council decided several years ago that the City could not afford to waste its human resources by allowing discrimination to prevent some workers from finding employment which would make full use of their highest skills. He says that the Council had also acted to combat the frustration and bitterness which might develop in the minds of some workers who are taught in school that this is a land of equal opportunity for all but who find in the labor market that most doors are closed to them because of their race, religion or national origin. He then asks the respondent what he thinks a sound policy would be with respect to the members of different racial, religious and nationality

groups. In reply to this question, the respondent almost invariably states that he believes the only sound policy is to employ workers in accordance with their skill and not to exclude any applicants from consideration because of their race, religion or national origin.

At this point the employer says, "We believe in employment on merit, but - -." The "but" may be followed by a variety of problems which the employer fears will arise if he hires a worker of a different race, religion or national origin from those already employed in his firm. This is the point where the commission's job actually begins. The executive director starts in by saying, "Since you and the commission are apparently in full agreement on the principle of employment on merit, let's see how this principle should be applied to the problem presented by the complainant in this case."

The remainder of the conciliation depends on the nature of the particular case. The most common situation presented to the commission involves a report of refusal by an employer to hire an applicant who tells the commission that he is no longer interested in that particular job - believes the employer is prejudiced and wouldn't work for him on a bet - but wants the commission to straighten out the policy of the company for the sake of the next applicant that comes along.

One typical case of this kind handled by the Minneapolis commission involved a Jewish applicant who had applied at a major insurance company for a clerical job. She

had been required to state her religion on the application form and subsequently had not been hired. By the time she reported her experience to the commission she had secured another job and was not available for employment by the respondent. The facts reported by the complainant were presented by the executive director to the personnel director of the company and later to the vice-president in charge of personnel. They denied that the company had a policy of excluding Jewish workers, but investigation revealed that only one Jewish employee was then working for the company and he was an elevator operator. The executive director pointed out that the company's policy had been put under suspicion by the presence of the question on religion in the application form. The company agreed to remove this item, although the Minneapolis ordinance did not specifically prohibit such questions at that time. The executive director pointed to the numerous companies in Minneapolis who were successfully employing Jewish workers in clerical positions, together with the members of other religious, racial and nationality groups. The personnel director said that, so far as he could determine, very few Jewish applicants presented themselves for employment by this concern. The executive director passed on to him the report made by the complainant that she had talked about her experience with a good many of her friends and that many of them had told her this concern was generally considered to have an anti-Jewish employment policy so that Jewish workers generally did not apply there.

The company officials became interested in the possibility of new sources of qualified workers. They also became aware of the importance of correcting the general impression that the company had a discriminatory policy so as to build good will for the concern in all segments of the community. The executive director arranged to have representatives of the Urban League, the Jewish Vocational Service, the Japanese American Center and the Bureau of Indian Affairs confer with the company's personnel department.

All of these facts were presented by the executive director to the full commission at the next commission meeting. Since the company management had stated its belief in a policy of employment on merit, but had not yet had the opportunity to put such a policy into effect, the commission requested a written statement for its files to the effect that the company has established and will continue to maintain a policy of employment on merit and without discrimination, and that it has instructed all of its employees who have any responsibility for personnel to carry out such a policy. When this statement was received, the commission voted to defer action on the complaint, pending further evidence of violation or compliance.

A few months later, another Jewish applicant applied for a supervisory position with the same company. Investigation clearly revealed that the company had a valid reason for hiring another applicant in preference to the complainant. Accordingly, the commission voted to dismiss this complaint.

A little over a year later, the executive director talked again with the company's personnel department in accordance with the commission's established policy of following up on the employment practices of companies against which complaints have been made. He was able to report to the commission that the company then had a number of Jewish workers on its clerical staff and that it also had Negro, Japanese American and American Indian workers in clerical positions. One Negro man, a recent graduate of the University of Minnesota, was employed in the accounting department, in accordance with his training and skill. On the basis of these facts, the commission voted to reclassify the original complaint as having been satisfactorily adjusted.

The foregoing case was typical of the majority of cases handled by the commission in a number of respects. In the first place, the complaint involved refusal to hire. Of the 209 cases handled through December 31, 1952, 80 percent were of this kind. The complaint was made against a private employer as were 83 percent of the complaints accepted by the commission. The complainant was not seeking placement in the job, but desired only that the respondent's apparent policy of discrimination should be corrected. This is the kind of request made by the complainant in 52 percent of the cases handled. Since the complainant was not available for employment, the commission could not secure his placement in the job. The best the commission could do was to secure a favorable settlement by obtaining a firm commitment from the respondent to carry out a policy of employment on merit in the future. This was the initial adjustment

made by the commission in 37 percent of the cases handled. Finally, the actual employment of workers from the group represented by the complainant in the type of job he was seeking gives final proof that the company's policy has been satisfactorily adjusted. The commission has obtained proof that a policy which appeared to be discriminatory has been changed to the actual practice of employment on merit in 12 percent of the cases handled. Since the above complaint was based on discrimination because of religion, it was not typical of the majority of the complaints received. Nineteen per cent have been based on religion, 3 percent on national origin and 78 percent on race.

A recent case involving a Negro applicant for a position as furrier in the fur department of a leading Minneapolis store will illustrate the adjustment of a complaint in which the applicant is ready and willing to accept the position from which he is apparently being excluded by a policy of discrimination. The woman who brought this complaint stated that the department manager had told her that her services were needed and that he would like to see her have the job. However, he had noted some prejudiced remarks on the part of some of the employees and union members and he was fearful that friction would result from her employment. She reported that the manager was trying to get the union business agent to iron out the problem and that the latter was passing the buck back to the management. The executive director conferred with both the department manager and the union business agent. He outlined the provisions of the ordinance and pointed out that both the union and the management had full responsi-

bility for carrying out a policy of employment without discrimination.

Immediately thereafter, the department manager talked with his employees. He explained to them that non-discrimination was not only a matter of union and company policy, but that it was the public policy established by municipal ordinance. He said that neither the company, the union, nor the workers had any alternative but to comply. No indication of any opposition was raised by the employees and a number of them indicated that they would certainly be glad to accept a qualified Negro applicant as a fellow worker on the basis of her individual qualities, and without discrimination. The applicant went to work the following day. She reported to the commission a week later that she had been fully accepted on a very friendly basis and she had no idea as to which workers, if any, had ever expressed an attitude of prejudice. This is a typical experience in cases of this kind.

The facts in connection with a complaint are not always clear. It is sometimes difficult to prove whether or not discrimination has been practiced. In such cases, the commission simply defers action, pending further evidence, and goes forward with its educational job. One such case involved a worker of Mexican ancestry, who applied for an order filling job in a concern which does a considerable portion of its business on a mail order basis. She had held a job of this kind in another branch of the same company located in another state. The Minneapolis branch personnel manager told her that no opening was available for her as an order filler and gave her a dish-

washing job instead. Investigation revealed no workers of Mexican ancestry or of non-white racial groups employed in order filling jobs. All such workers were employed in the food service or maintenance departments. On the other hand, the applicant had requested a permanent job and the beginning jobs as order fillers were of a seasonal nature with considerable seniority required before a worker in one of these positions could be assured of year-round employment. The dishwashing job was a permanent position and carried a wage rate a little higher than the beginning job as order filler. On the basis of these facts, the commission was unable to determine whether or not discrimination had been practiced. It proceeded to attempt to sell the management on the benefits to them of a policy of employment on merit for all jobs within the organization. This involved conferences held by the executive director with members of the personnel department and a meeting in which a member of the commission and the executive director conferred with the general manager of the concern.

As an impartial public body, the commission feels as much responsibility for clearing up unwarranted suspicions of discrimination as it does for correcting discriminatory practices when they are found. Here is one typical case. A Negro applicant for a typing and clerical position was refused employment by a major grain brokerage concern. Investigation revealed that she had been given tests for typing skill and for clerical aptitude by the United States Employment Service. The company had checked these records and found the applicant did not meet their standards for the

position which they had open. Furthermore, the girl in question was a recent high school graduate from another city with virtually no work experience in the clerical field. The company had selected an applicant who had substantially higher test scores and had references as to both training and work experience which could be readily checked. On the basis of these facts, presented to the commission by the executive director, the complaint was dismissed on the ground that no discrimination had been practiced. The fact that the company had never employed a Negro worker in a clerical position did not prevent the commission from dismissing the complaint. However, it did serve as the basis for further educational interviews with the company management. The personnel director was interested in discussing a number of problems relating to his recruitment of workers. He came to a commission meeting at his own request, to discuss these problems with the commission members. The problems of procedure about which he was concerned were satisfactorily clarified. The commission members also told him of the successful experience of a number of Minneapolis banks, insurance companies, merchandising and manufacturing concerns which had successfully integrated Negro workers in office and clerical positions. He agreed to check with these concerns to inform himself as to the facts of their successful experience. A few months later, this company hired a fully qualified Negro worker and she became a valuable member of the office staff.

In over 40 percent of the cases handled by the commission, the complaint has been dismissed because no discrimination was found. The commission regards the protection of the respondent against these unwarranted complaints to be a major part of the service which it renders in promoting a policy of employment on merit. In not one of these cases did the commission find that the complaint had been made with malicious intent. All of them had been questions raised in good faith and the experience of the complainant had given him a legitimate reason for believing that discrimination might have been practiced against him because of his race, religion or national origin. In all of these cases the executive director, and sometimes the full commission, went over with the complainant all the facts developed by the investigation and the reason for the commission's decision that no discrimination had been found. In most instances the complainant was glad to know the facts and to be assured that he had not been the victim of discrimination. This process serves the very useful function of reducing or eliminating the feeling of frustration and bitterness which otherwise would be experienced by the complainant. It also constitutes a valuable service to the respondent, since it reduces the possibility that he will become the object of antagonism and of loss of good will in the community through the circulation of an unwarranted report that he practices discrimination in employment. Thus, the work of the commission in investigating and dismissing unwarranted complaints serves to build good will for employers and to improve the relations between the members of different racial, religious and nationality groups

in the community.

While 80 percent of the cases involved refusal to hire, another 10 percent involved complaints of discrimination in working conditions, opportunities for advancement or wage payments. One such case involved an American Indian worker on an old age pension who supplemented his income by dishwashing and other odd jobs. He complained that a restaurant owner had paid him only about one-half of the wage that he had earned and that he believed the respondent was seeking to take advantage of him because of his race. The employer claimed that the worker had misunderstood. He said that the check he had received had been for work up to the end of the last pay period and that he had intended to pay him the additional amount he had earned in his next check. The complainant questioned this statement and the truth of it could not be determined. He had left the respondent's employment and did not intend to return. Therefore, at the executive director's request, the employer made immediate payment of the amount due and the case was recorded as a satisfactory adjustment.

About 5 percent of the cases handled by the commission have involved problems of discharge. One of those involved a Negro city government employee who had been told that he was to be discharged because of an unexcused absence from duty and another infraction of departmental rules. Investigation revealed that this disciplinary action would be more severe than that normally used in that department for a similar offense. A conference by the executive director with the department head had resulted in an

agreement to take a less severe disciplinary action which would be in accordance with the normal procedure in such cases. The executive director also conferred with the complainant and the latter agreed to accept responsibility for complying with departmental regulations in the future.

Another complaint in which the discharge question proved to be involved illustrates a common misconception about the work of the commission. Two Negro girls had applied at a department store for jobs as stock girls. The employment manager had told them that she was not going to hire any Negro girls for stock work. When the executive director arrived at the store, he noted two Negro girls already at work in the stockroom, another Negro woman operating the elevator and a fourth Negro employee holding a very responsible position in the dress department, handling orders and taking care of selling and purchasing records. When the executive director asked the employment manager why she had made the remark that had been reported, she said that one of the Negro girls in the stockroom was an unsatisfactory employee and she was afraid to dismiss her because she feared that she would be charged with discrimination. Therefore, she had decided not to hire any more Negro workers. The executive director made it clear to her that the discharge of an unsatisfactory employee would certainly not represent any violation of the ordinance. He pointed out that the commission protects respondents against unwarranted charges of discrimination in 40 percent of the cases

which it handles. He said that the store personnel manager should dismiss any unsatisfactory worker, regardless of his race or color, and the commission would protect the management against any unwarranted charge of discrimination that might be made. The employment manager said that she was currently looking for a stock boy and agreed to put in an order for such a worker with the Urban League, as well as with other recruitment agencies, and to hire the best qualified applicant without discrimination.

Discrimination by labor unions in admission to membership and services to members is also prohibited by the ordinance. Various devices have been used by unions in the past to exclude persons of different racial, religious and nationality groups. Such exclusion has sometimes been established by a provision in the union's constitution and by-laws. One case involving such a provision was handled by the Minneapolis commission. A white union member reported that his union was evidently excluding Negroes from membership because of a clause in the constitution. Discussion with local union officials revealed that the constitution had recently been amended to provide that this exclusionary feature should not apply in states having fair employment practice laws. Extensive correspondence with the national office of the union was necessary in order to secure a ruling that the Minneapolis city ordinance must be complied with just as clearly as a state law against discrimination in employment. When this ruling had finally been secured, the membership of the local union unanimously voted to accept an

eligible Negro applicant into membership.

Another exclusionary device sometimes used by labor unions is the provision that one or a very few blackballs will serve to prevent the acceptance of an applicant into membership. One case presented to the Minneapolis commission involved this problem, as well as the problem of seniority. The complaint was made that helpers in a particular railroad shop craft were admitted to the craft union if they were white but were required to join the laborer's union if they were non-white. Only one Negro worker was employed in this helper's category at the time the problem was brought to the attention of the commission. The demand for workers in the particular craft was on the decline in this shop because of the shift from steam to Diesel locomotives. On the other hand, the demand for workers in other labor categories in the shop promised to continue strong. Therefore, the Negro worker was in a better position in respect to job security as a member of the laborer's union than he would have been as a member of the craft union. He was being paid the same wage rate on the helper's job as other helpers who were members of the craft union. These helpers had no prospect of advancement to journeymen in view of the declining demand for workers in the particular craft. Therefore, the commission could not conscientiously ask the Negro helper to shift union affiliations and thus to lose a degree of job security. The best that could be accomplished in this case was to get a commitment from the union not to discriminate in the future. The

executive director had a number of conferences with union officials and he and the labor member of the commission discussed the problem at a union membership meeting. They secured a clear commitment from the membership and the union leaders to accept eligible workers into membership in the future without discrimination.

This union required a vote of the membership on the acceptance of a new member, and three blackballs would disqualify the applicant. The commission representatives discussed this procedure in terms of its possible use to support a policy of discrimination. The union officials explained that, if three blackballs are cast, the members so voting must explain and justify them on the floor of the meeting. They guaranteed that no blackball based upon objection to the applicant because of his race, religion or national origin would be accepted as valid.

Another union procedure which may result in discriminatory exclusion from membership lies in the method for selecting candidates for apprenticeship training. One such case presented to the Minneapolis commission involved a Negro applicant who had applied over two years before and had continuously renewed his application but had not yet been accepted. The union had no Negro members. After numerous delays, and the final summoning of the union officials before a full commission meeting, the executive director was finally granted the opportunity to examine the qualifications of all of the applicants for apprenticeship training who had been accepted during the two year period since the complainant's

application had been filed. The union ~~did~~ gave preference to the sons of members, but only about one-fourth of those accepted for training were in this category. All of the other successful candidates had qualifications which were superior to those of the complainant. Therefore, the commission did not find discrimination in the particular case, although the general policy of the union was still open to question.

One other union case presented to the Minneapolis commission was filed by a Negro union member who complained that white members were given preference in placement on jobs and in other services rendered by the union. He charged specifically that the union had failed to collect wages due him, although it had collected wages due to white workers on the same job. Investigation revealed that this specific charge was not valid. None of the workers on that job had yet received the extra wages sought, and the claim of the Negro worker was being processed with all the others and he would receive the same treatment as any other union member. In a general discussion of union policy, the business agent agreed to the importance of treating all the members alike and providing them with the full services of the union without discrimination. The complainant later reported great improvement in the services afforded by the union to its Negro members.

The administration of the law as it relates to employment agencies is one of the most difficult aspects of the commission's work. Employment agencies were not

covered by the law when it was first enacted but were brought under coverage by an amendment passed in 1948. Shortly thereafter, the executive director and three of the commission members participated in a conference with the owners or managers of all the private employment agencies in Minneapolis. The executive director also conferred with the director and supervisory staff of the Minneapolis branch of the Minnesota State Employment Service. One result of these conferences was the removal of questions on race, religion or national origin from the personnel data forms maintained by the employment agencies. The removal of these questions appears to have had a substantial effect in reducing discrimination on the basis of religious faith, since an applicant's religion cannot generally be determined without asking him about it. Another positive effect of the law has been to reduce very substantially the number of discriminatory specifications which are included in job orders given by employers to employment agencies. In recent conferences with representatives of the commission, both the public and the private agencies report that the number of such discriminatory orders received has now become negligible.

An applicant who goes to an employment agency for placement has no way of knowing the jobs to which the agency may fail to refer him because of discrimination. Therefore, it is extremely difficult for the commission to reach any clear conclusion in attempting to process a complaint of discrimination against an employment agency.

Generally speaking, the best it can do is to get a commitment from the agency management to register, classify and refer workers to jobs on the basis of merit and without discrimination.

For this reason the commission has undertaken a series of educational conferences with the staff members of employment agencies. The executive director has generally been successful in getting agreement from the manager of the employment agency that he would make more money if he could find jobs for all applicants who come to him for placement than if there are some who cannot be placed because of their race, religion or national origin. When the agencies become convinced that they have a real financial stake in non-discrimination, they become more interested in helping to expand the opportunities for placement of workers of so-called minority groups. A number of the agencies appear to make a real effort to sell qualified workers on the basis of their skills and to combat habits of discrimination which may have been followed by employers in the past. However, most of the agencies are extremely sensitive to the patterns established by employers and feel that any effort to change these patterns will result in a loss of opportunity for future placements. Many of the agency staff members are so fearful of a negative reaction on the part of the employer that they will not refer a fully qualified member of a non-white racial group to any employer unless they know in advance that he has a positive policy of non-discrimination. Therefore, many of

the agencies pass up opportunities to refer non-white workers to employers who would, in fact, accept them because the agency is not sure of this acceptance and is reluctant to risk incurring the employer's displeasure.

The commission has sought to deal with this problem by informing the employment agencies of the favorable employment patterns already established by many employers in the community. The commission has also endeavored to persuade employers with whom it has contact to make it clear to employment agencies that they will be happy to accept qualified workers on merit and without discrimination.

The Minneapolis ordinance now prohibits the inclusion in application forms, employment interviews or personnel records of "any question or statement designed to elicit or record information concerning the race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry of the applicant." This provision was not in the ordinance when it was originally adopted but was added by amendment in 1948. In spite of the absence of this specific requirement from the law, many of the leading Minneapolis employers had removed such questions from their application forms as soon as the ordinance was first enacted. They had been advised by their attorneys that such questions could be used in evidence against them if they should be called upon to meet a charge of discrimination brought by an applicant for employment. Many of them realized that such items would raise questions in the public mind as to why such information should be requested

if it is not to be used as a basis for discrimination. Many were also motivated by the desire to comply with the spirit of the law.

However, a substantial number of smaller employers did not remove the objectionable questions. The commission continued to receive complaints based upon the fact that an applicant had filled out a form including such a question and then had not been hired. The applicant would frequently conclude that the company must have refused to employ him because of his race, religion or national origin. Investigation often revealed that such complaints were unwarranted. In many cases the employer was found to have had a valid ground for hiring some other applicant in preference to the complainant and he could often demonstrate an established policy of non-discrimination by showing that he had already employed workers of the group represented by the complainant in positions having the same level of skill and responsibility as the position for which the complainant had applied. In conferring with the employers in such cases, the executive director could almost always convince them that the removal of these items would protect them from unwarranted suspicion of discrimination. The commission also became convinced that the removal of the question on religion substantially reduced the likelihood that applicants would encounter discrimination on the basis of their religious faith. Furthermore, when an applicant for employment sees questions of this kind on many different application forms as he goes about in search of work, he is given the impression that discrimination is a very general practice in

the community. This may often cause minority group applicants to refuse to leave applications with companies requesting these questions and may cause them to be very reluctant to apply for employment in any concern where they do not know that members of their own racial, religious or nationality group are already employed. The commission found that the presence of these items on application forms often had the effect of giving receptionists, interviewers or supervisors the impression that the answers to these questions are important in terms of company policy, even though top management may have no such intention. In these instances the employees having a part in the personnel procedure oftem exercise their own individual prejudices in selecting or rejecting applicants. For all of these reasons, after a year and a half of operating experience, the commission decided to recommend to the city council that the law should be amended to prohibit such items in application forms or in employment interviews.

In administering this provision, the commission has consulted with employers as questions have been raised. Through this process, the commission developed a set of rulings for the guidance of persons who prepare application forms, keep personnel records or conduct employment interviews. The commission has cooperated with employers in helping them to develop forms and procedures which would provide them with all the data they might wish to obtain for the purpose of determining the qualifications of an applicant and which would still eliminate items relating to race, religion or national

origin. Reports concerning objectionable items in application forms have not been recorded as complaints by the Minneapolis commission. The commission simply sends a routine letter to the employer asking for a copy of his application form. After examining the form, the executive director sends a letter explaining any changes that may be necessary to bring it into compliance with the provisions of the ordinance. If an employer feels that such changes will create any problems in connection with his personnel procedures, the commission endeavors to work them out with him. For example, after consultation with a number of employers, the commission recommended and obtained an amendment to the ordinance permitting questions on national origin if such questions were required for purposes of national security.

After conferences with the Urban League, the Jewish Council and other inter-group relations agencies, the daily newspapers in Minneapolis had adopted a policy of prohibiting statements relating to race, religion and national origin in "help wanted" advertising before the ordinance was passed. An interesting problem in this connection was recently presented to the commission. One employer who follows a completely non-discriminatory policy attempted to insert in a classified advertisement for workers a statement that all qualified applicants would be welcome without discrimination because of race, religion or national origin. The newspaper had refused to accept this ad and the commission was called upon for advice. After extensive

discussion, it was agreed that such an advertisement should not be accepted. Instead the newspaper agreed to insert the following statement at the head of its "help wanted" columns: "Advertisements in these columns have been accepted on the premise that jobs offered will be filled on the basis of merit and without discrimination because of race, color, religion or nationality in accordance with Fair Employment Practices and with the generally accepted qualifications."

The work of the commission outlined above has involved the adjustment of specific complaints. In all of the cases described so far, compliance with the provisions of the ordinance and with the policy of employment on merit has been achieved through the process of conciliation. With a single exception, all of the cases handled by the Minneapolis commission to date have been adjusted by this process. This is typical of the experience of all of the state and municipal commissions that have been in operation over the past seven years. Of the approximately six thousand cases handled by the ten operating commissions over that period,[5] only seven have gone to public hearings[6] and only two have gone to court.[7]

In Minneapolis, just one case advanced to the public hearing stage. This involved the complaint of a Negro applicant for a position as taxicab driver. ~~(with the Yellow Taxi Company.)~~ Two previous complaints against the company had been tabled for further evidence of violation or compliance. In the current case, the complainant alleged that he had been told that all positions were filled and had been given no

opportunity to present his qualifications. He presented evidence that the company had continued thereafter to accept applications from white applicants and to hire a number of them as taxicab drivers. The commission scheduled a public hearing on this complaint and invited both the complainant and the respondent to appear. Before the complaint was presented at the public hearing, the attorney for the company said the respondent had not had an opportunity to adjust the complaint by conciliation and asked that the hearing be adjourned for that purpose. This was done and the commission proceeded to work out an adjustment of the complaint through the conciliation process.

No case has ever been taken to court under the Minneapolis fair employment practice ordinance. If the commission should be unable to secure compliance with the ordinance through conciliation or a public hearing, the law requires it to "certify and recommend" the case to the municipal court for prosecution. The fact that this has never been done is not the result of a policy decision on the part of the commission. It has been simply because there has been no case in which discrimination could be proved in which the commission has not been able to secure compliance through the conciliation process. In Minneapolis, the commission does not stand between the complainant and the court. The law provides that, "Nothing in this section contained shall be construed to limit the right of a complainant to make and file a complaint without such certificate or recommendation by said commission." The fact that no

complaint has ever been filed by any complainant in municipal court is evidence that complainants have felt that the commission has secured a proper settlement of their complaints through the conciliation process.

In view of the very limited use that has been made of the court action and the public hearing procedures provided in laws against discrimination in employment, critical attention should be given to the question as to whether these enforcement provisions are necessary in legislation of this kind. The experience of the commissions, as compared with the contrasting experience of voluntary agencies, gives a clear answer to this question.

The enforcement features are needed to impel those who make employment policy to face the issue of discrimination squarely. Excellent voluntary agencies, with sound educational programs, have been working in many cities and states over a long period of time, but only a few of the more forward-looking business and union leaders have paid any attention to these programs.. Men in policy-making positions in industry are generally busy with a host of problems. If the question of discrimination in employment comes to their attention at all, it is given very minor emphasis. Businessmen are faced with urgent problems of production and sales. They have in the back of their minds some vague but disturbing fears of frictions that might develop and of problems which might be involved in integrating in their working force

the members of racial, ~~religion~~ religious and nationality groups different from those currently employed. For these reasons the decision to examine their discriminatory policies is put off until some indefinite future time. Those who make employment policy are generally too busy to talk with the representatives of the voluntary agencies. If they do grant them an audience, only very superficial consideration is usually given to the problems discussed. As a result, voluntary programs have proved relatively ineffective in securing actual changes in employment practices.

When a law prohibiting discrimination and including penalties for a violation is enacted, business and labor leaders give immediate and serious attention to the problem. However, an administrative agency with the minimum necessary budget and staff is essential if the concern about questions of general policy is to be translated into specific action. The commission becomes a focus to which specific problems can be presented and an agency for solving these problems through conciliation.

After the law has been passed and the commission established, the results achieved are by no means limited to the contacts made by the commission and its staff. All of the voluntary agencies find a marked improvement in the attention given to their educational programs by those who make employment policy. Also, a substantial number of business and union leaders put non-discriminatory policies into effect as a result of having their attention forcefully directed to the problem by the enactment of the

law and the establishment of the commission, without any contact with the commission itself or even with the voluntary agencies.

At least two extensive voluntary programs directed against discrimination in employment by organized business groups proved to have little effect in securing actual changes in employment practices. Both of them developed excellent educational materials which have proved equally useful in areas covered by fair employment practice laws. However, in the absence of these laws, they proved relatively ineffective.

One of these voluntary programs was conducted by the Chamber of Commerce in the State of Illinois and the other by the Chamber of Commerce in the City of Cleveland. In the latter program, a full-time staff was employed and a budget of $31,500 was expended over a period of fifteen months. At the end of that period, the business and civic leaders who had been studying the problem concluded that a law with enforcement powers was both necessary and desirable and the Chamber of Commerce supported the enactment of such a law. The Cleveland Press of January 31, 1950, comments on this experience. The article is headed, "Voluntary FEPC Didn't Work; Now City Gets Real Thing." Excerpts from the editorial follow:

"Cleveland was fortunate indeed that its Chamber of Commerce set up and operated a thorough, conscientious and spirited voluntary FEPC. Its program was

so good, in fact, that Philadelphia, which has compulsory FEPC, borrowed many of the educational and promotional ideas generated by Cleveland's excellent committee.

"But the voluntary plan simply wasn't enough. There was no noticeable change in the employment of minority groups. There was plenty of goodwill, but practically no jobs.

"Yesterday, the Chamber's committee in effect admitted failure. With a minor change, they agreed to a compulsory FEPC, which Council promptly passed, 25 to 7.

"The important thing is that Cleveland has legislated with courage against racial and religious discrimination in employing its citizens."

Two states have enacted laws establishing fair employment practices as statements of public policy and have set up educational agencies without enforcement powers. The reports indicate that the Indiana program has been almost completely ineffective. In Wisconsin, the success achieved by the Industrial Commission has been limited primarily to the city of Milwaukee. This may be explained by the fact that the city enacted an ordinance with enforcement powers, but failed to set up any agency to administer it. The state agency has taken over this responsibility and thus actually has enforcement powers within the city. The educational program carried on in other parts of the state has not proved effective.

Finally, experience has shown that a conciliation commission plays a vital role in the effective administration of such a law. The State of New Mexico enacted a law with full enforcement powers in 1949, but failed to provide any funds for its administration. Reports indicate that no use has been made of this law in correcting discriminatory practices. It is evident that court procedure is not an appropriate device for the initial task of examining and correcting discriminatory practices. It should be reserved for the functions ~~an agency~~ of review and enforcement as in the Minneapolis ordinance and the proposed Minnesota state law.

In closing, it should be pointed out that an important part of the work of the commission is to promote a policy of employment on merit by educational programs in addition to the conciliation of specific complaints. The commission has felt that its unique contribution in the educational field could be made through personal conferences with businessmen, union leaders and employment agency staff members with only a minor emphasis on the more general methods of education. Such of these methods as have been used, involving the distribution of pamphlets, talks and discussions before business, labor and civic groups and appearances on radio and television programs, have been directed toward explaining the objectives of the law and toward gaining community support for these objectives. Thus, a law for employment on merit with enforcement powers should not be thought of as an alternative to an educational process. It should

be recognized, rather, as an integral part of that process and a necessary device for gaining the attention necessary to enable the educational program to achieve concrete results.

"We Believe in Employment on Merit, But - - - - - "

Footnotes

1. State commissions against discrimination in employment have been operating in the following states since the dates indicated: New York 1945; New Jersey 1945; Massachusetts 1946; Connecticut 1947; Rhode Island 1949; Washington 1949; and Oregon 1949. Municipal commissions against discrimination in employment have been operating in the following cities since the dates indicated: Minneapolis 1947; Philadelphia 1948; and Cleveland 1950.

2. "Local Regulation of Discriminatory Employment Practices", by Alex Elson and Leonard Schanfield, Yale Law Journal, February, 1947; "Tolerance in Industry: The Record", by Henry C. Turner, New York Times, August 24, 1947; "Anti-Discrimination Gets Results" by Kings Ransom, New York Herald Tribune, August 6, 1948; "Effectiveness of FEPC", pp.40-47, FEPC Reference Manual, 1948 edition, and Business Looks Ahead to Fair Employment Practices, 1948, both published by the National Community Relations Advisory Council; "Does State FEPC Hamper You?", Business Week, February 25, 1950; Section on "Employment", pp. 39-55, Civil Rights in the United States in 1951, A Balance Sheet of Group Relations, American Jewish Congress and NAACP, New York, 1952;

"FEPC - How It Works in Seven States", Look Magazine, ~~August~~ October 21, 1952; "Negro Employment" by John A. Davis, Fortune, July, 1952; Report of the Commission on Employment, Sixth Annual Conference, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Washington, D. C., November, 1952; "The Effects of Fair Employment Legislation in the States and Municipalities", by Morroe Berger, National Security Resources Board and U. S. Department of Labor, submitted as a staff report to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, July, 1952; and Equality By Statute by Morroe Berger, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952.

3. New York: Full time paid commission of five members, staff of fifty-six; New Jersey: Advisory commission of seven members, staff of twelve under the administration of the State Department of Education; Massachusetts: Partially paid commission of three members, staff of ten; Connecticut: Commision of ten members on per diem basis, staff of fourteen; Rhode Island: Partially paid commission of five members and staff of five; Oregon: Law administered by Secretary of Labor, staff of two; Washington: Commision of five members on per diem basis, staff of two; Minneapolis: Non-paid commission of five members, staff of two; Philadelphia: Commission of five members on per diem basis, staff of fifteen.

4. The use of the law to overcome discrimination and to increase employment opportunity has not been limited to the work of the commission and its staff. The specialized intergroup relations agencies often successfully adjust complaints themselves and secure the adoption of policies of employment on merit in compliance with the law. As explained later, the law also helps to gain serious attention for the educational work of these agencies and thus to make this work more effective.

5. See page 14, "The Effects of Fair Employment Legislation in the States and Municipalities", Staff Report to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, July, 1952.

6. Three in Connecticut, two in New York, and one each in Massachusetts and Oregon. The Minneapolis hearing mentioned in this article was scheduled but not carried out, because the respondent offered to settle through conciliation.

7. Both in Connecticut. The court upheld the commission's ruling in the case against the Clark Dairy Company in 1950 and against the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in 1952. Two other court challenges of commission rulings have not directly concerned the adjustment of complaints. In New York, an association of employment agencies has challenged the right of the commission to require the posting of a notice summarizing the law and to prohibit

7.(con) certain preemployment inquiries, the answers to which might be used for discriminatory purposes. In Philadelphia, a complainant sought to force the commission to hold a public hearing. The court refused to do so, holding that the commission had discretionary power and could not be forced to hold a formal hearing if it chose not to do so.

Copy for George Mitchell

February 18, 1953

Mr. Henry Spitz, General Counsel
State Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Henry:

I'm sorry to have delayed so long in communicating with you concerning the possibility of collaboration on a book for Harper and Brothers which we discussed briefly at the NAIRO Conference in Washington last November. I had a note from Mr. John Fischer shortly after the Conference and have had an exchange of correspondence with him, copies of which I enclose.

I am also enclosing a copy of the article which I have written for the Minnesota Law Review and which I believe will be published on about March 15th.

I hope you may find time to read the article and to critically examine the suggested outline for the book which I submitted to Mr. Fischer in my letter to him of February 11th. I shall let you know the nature of his reply.

In the meantime, I should like very much to have your own critical appraisal of this outline, whether or not you may be interested in possible collaboration. If you are, I should like very much to have your thinking on just how this could most appropriately be handled. My own suggestions would be that you might do the initial writing on chapters 1 and 7 and that I might do the initial writing on chapters 2 and 5, and that we might work together on the other chapters on whatever basis might be agreed. You will note from my letter to Mr. Fischer that I think the material in chapter 7 might be expanded and organized into two or three separate chapters. I am aware of your very extensive thinking and experience, particularly on the legal and theoretical aspects of fair employment practice laws. I believe that my own strength lies primarily in my practical experience with the adjustment of complaints and the administration of the educational program. As you may know, I served as Consultant on Program Planning to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice in Washington in 1944 and '45. Therefore,

I have had some experience at the Federal level, in addition to the two years I spent as Executive Secretary of the Minneapolis Mayor's Council on Human Relations and the five years I have just completed in my present position.

I am sending copies of the outline and related correspondence to George Mitchell and shall pass on to you any comments he may have.

Best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director

WCL/vmt
enc.

City of Minneapolis

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

407-A MINNEAPOLIS CITY HALL

MINNEAPOLIS 15, MINNESOTA

TELEPHONES: LINCOLN 1803—LINCOLN 9594

RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

COMMISSION MEMBERS:

AMOS S. DEINARD, CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND W. CANNON
ANDREW T. JONES
STUART W. LECK
C. WILLIAM SYKORA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

WILFRED C. LELAND, JR.

February 18, 1953

Good cases but the need is to codify

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I finally sent a copy of my Law Review article and a suggested outline for the book, together with a covering letter, to Mr. John Fischer at Harper and Brothers on February 11th. I am enclosing copies of all three items herewith.

I have just written to Henry Spitz today to inquire about his possible present interest in collaborating with me on the book and I am also sending you a copy of this letter.

I should like very much to have your critical comments on both my Law Review article and my outline. Do they cover what you had in mind when you made your suggestion at the NAIRO Conference? I should like very much to have you express very freely your thinking and criticism. I shall sincerely appreciate your further suggestions as to other material which should be covered or changes which should be made in the book as proposed.

Thank you again for getting this enterprise started. Best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Leland

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director

WCL/vmt
enc.

fepe

February 24, 1953

Mr. Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director
Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission
407-A City Hall
Minneapolis 15, Minn.

Dear Bill:

I read your LAW REVIEW article and think it excellent. Full of the finest kind of examples; each one pithily put and doing an excellent job of teaching.

I see that you've got space in your outline for another kind of enterprise, which is what I am really after. That is, do the kind of job that Blackstone did 200 years ago. I don't know any law, but I think what he did was to examine enough court decisions to enable him to extract principles and rules of law from them. So your job is to examine enough anti-discrimination decisions to give you the rules that are now established. You would have to show also the nubbins of rules, as they emerge as yet unformed. And also trace the broadening of precedent and the forming of principle. Another thing is to show the gaps where as yet little or no rule is laid down.

The lawyers in each State have a service that does that as to current decisions. I think they issue a sort of codifying of them every year. You could become the one guy in the United States who annually sifted and brought up to date the administrative law of non-discrimination. There's not only usefulness and fame in it; there's a permanent living for a good-sized Institute in it.

It seems to me you have shown in this article that you could do it. All power to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

IR

FEPC

February 25, 1953

Mr. John A. Howard
Box 18
Boone, N. C.

Dear Mr. Howard:

Sorry you missed Marion Wright. He's a good egg. Go back to see him again.

I send you various things that will be helpful, though most of it is on the other side from the one you are saddled with.

Two further items available in your library: NEGRO EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTHERN INDUSTRY, by Donald Dewey of Duke, from THE JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, Vol. LX, No. 4, August 1952; and NEGRO EMPLOYMENT: A PROGRESS REPORT, by John A. Davis, FORTUNE magazine, July, 1952.

I send you also the last ten or twelve months' issues of NEW SOUTH, which will give you a good many items on general Negro progress.

Of course, I think a compulsory FEPC law would work, and the Council is on record in favor of the principle of such a law.

In the absence of such a law, I think the most fruitful things to be done would be: a non-compulsory law, establishing State commissions with the duty of working with employers and trade unions and members of the general public to lessen discriminatory practices. Such a commission, State by State, would do some good, but everybody's experience in the North has been that a powerful commission of this kind is much less effective than one which has the power to compel publicity and, ultimately, compliance.

One of your best arguments would be to list the various big trade unions in the country which have, in the last few years, at least formally dropped their bans against Negro members. The difficulty is that while the national unions may remove barriers, locals often do not comply.

The Winston-Salem JOURNAL, in its February 22 Sunday issue, had a good feature story on what the Southern Regional Council has had a hand in. It also talks about the various main general lines of progress in the South in recent years.

Mr. John A. Howard, Feb. 25, 1953

You will find the bulletin No. 1119 from the Department of Labor quite helpful. We had a couple of copies, and I send you one.

You and maybe some of your friends ought to become members of the Southern Regional Council. It wouldn't break you and it would keep a stream of good information coming to you.

Membership blank at the back of blue leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 22, 1953.

Mr. John A. Howard
Box 18
Boone, North Carolina

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED
FEB 25
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

I have just come from the home of Mr. Marion A. Wright. I was a member of a small group of debators from Appalachain State Teacher's College, who visited him this evening to talk about the Southern Regional Council and its progress in the field of Race Relations in the South. As luck would have it, Mr. Wright was in South Carolina at the time. In his absence, Mrs. Wright suggested that I write to you and that you would be glad to send us information concerning the progress of the Southern Regional Council and other data that would be useful in debating our Query, which is;--

Resolved: "That the Congress of the United States Should Enact a Compulsory Fair Employment Practices Law."

I would like information dealing with the negative side of the issue particulary, showing that, through the progress of the Negro under the status quo, there is no need for such a law and that the problem is local and regional. I would like to know especially the part the Southern Regional Council has played in promoting the progress which has been made in the South.

Mrs. Wright suggested to us that we ask you to send 2 copies of any literature that you send--a copy for each negative team. Before we left Mrs. Wright, we accepted her invitation for a return visit for an interview with Mr. Wright. I'm sure that we will get a great deal of help from him Hoping you will assist my colleagues and I in our endeavor, I am

Sincerely yours

Mr. John A. Howard.

Mr. John A. Howard

City of Minneapolis
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION
407-A MINNEAPOLIS CITY HALL
MINNEAPOLIS 15, MINNESOTA
WEEKDAYS, CALL: MA 1116, EXT. 425
AFTER 4:30 AND SATURDAY CALL: MA 3757

COMMISSION MEMBERS:
AMOS S. DEINARD, CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND W. CANNON
ANDREW T. JONES
STUART W. LECK
C. WILLIAM SYKORA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
WILFRED C. LELAND, JR.

March 12, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 16
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 24th and for your kind comments on my Law Review article.

By your reference to Blackstone, you make clear to me just what you have in mind in the way of developing rules and principles through an analysis of cases adjusted by fair employment practice commissions.

I am by no means sure that I have either the qualifications or the interest to adequately perform that specific job. I think that Henry Spitz, or someone else with a legal background, might be able to handle that kind of assignment a good deal better than I. I am enclosing a letter which I have just written to Henry Spitz along this line and which I am sure is self-explanatory. If he is not interested in the project, I'll reconsider it myself and will also try to give you some other suggestions as to individuals who might be fully qualified to handle it.

John Fischer of Harper and Brothers wrote me on the same day that you did to tell me of their reasons for deciding that they could not handle the proposed book as I had outlined it. I am enclosing a copy of his letter herewith. After our campaign for a state fair

employment practice law is over, I may follow Mr. Fischer's suggestion to submit the proposal to a university press.

I should like to take this occasion to thank you again for getting me started on this project. I'll write you further, as soon as I hear again from Henry Spitz.

Best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director

WCL/vmt
enc.

March 11, 1953

Mr. Henry Spitz, General Counsel
State Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Henry:

Just before receiving your letter of March 2nd concerning the proposed book for Harper and Brothers, I received a letter from Mr. John Fischer, a copy of which I am enclosing. I also received a letter written on the same date from George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council and I am also enclosing a copy of that letter.

George Mitchell has in mind a job similar to the one which Blackstone did on the English Common Law. I am not sure that I have either the interest or the qualifications to do precisely that job in regard to cases adjusted by fair employment practice commissions. You would certainly be eminently qualified to do it, if you have both the time and the interest required. I'll turn this idea over to you and will so advise George Mitchell.

If your interest in this specific project is definitely negative, as I gather it may well be from the tone of your March 2nd letter, I'll try to put George in touch with someone else who might be interested in that kind of a job. Your suggestions along that line would also be appreciated.

~~I am sorry that you are too burdened with other responsibilities~~ to consider collaborating on the type of book which I outlined. After our campaign for a state law is over here in Minnesota, I

may follow Mr. Fischer's suggestion by submitting the proposal to a university press.

It was good to hear from you and I shall certainly accept your invitation to get in touch with you whenever I may next visit New York.

Best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director

WCL/vmt
enc.

COPY

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 33d Street
New York 16, N. Y.

February 24, 1953

Dear Mr. Leland:

Thank you for sending along an outline of your proposed book on the Theory and the Techniques of Securing Employment on Merit by Law, together with a copy of your article for the Minnesota Law Review. I read both with interest, but finding the material a little too special for the general trade book department, I passed it along to Mr. Ordway Tead, who is in charge of our social and economic books. I'm sorry to have to report that he also feels that the book you have in mind would not be a feasible publishing project for a commercial house like Harper. Have you thought of submitting your manuscript to one of the university presses? They are geared for specialized publishing, and might be interested in a book of this type.

Many thanks for giving us an opportunity to consider the project.

Sincerely,

(signed) John Fischer

Mr. Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director
Fair Employment Practice Commission
407-A Minneapolis City Hall
Minneapolis 15, Minnesota

John Fischer: W
Encls.

We are returning herewith
your outline and the article.

1806 Kline road
Ithaca, New York
March 22, 1953

To the Secretary
Chamber of Commerce
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear sir:

I am a student at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, and a member of the debate team. I am debating the negative to the question of the federal government enacting a compulsory Fair Empoyment Practices Commission. We have taken this stand mainly because we think that a law will not work if it is not supported by the people who are mostly influenced by it, the people in the South.

We further believe that discrimination is mainly due to the community situation, not so much to the individual's prejudice. We also think that much progress has been made already in giving greater employment opporunity to the Negro, and that this progress is continuing.

These are the main points in our debate, but more than logic is needed, we must present evidence to support our points. Therefore I am writing you to ask if you could please give us information about any experiences Atlanta may have had with FEPC. What is your personal opinion to the workability of a federal FEPC, and why? Could you also please give the opinions of some businessmen, and their reasons why they don't hire Negros? I do not need to know their names. And finally, could you please give examples of progress made by the Negro in the past few years, and what you would expect to happen if the law were enforced.

Thank you very much. Any information you may have will be very helpful to us, and may be the margin in winning a debate.

Yours truly,

Rudolph Johanns

IR

FEPC

April 13, 1953

Mr. Rudolph Johanns
1806 Kline Rd.
Ithaca, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Johanns:

Your request for information on FEPC, addressed to the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, has been forwarded to our office.

We are sending a bibliography of "Sources on Fair Employment Practice Legislation" and several articles related to FEPC and Negro municipal employment under separate cover.

The following items, not listed on our bibliography, will also be helpful:

Davis, John A. "Negro Employment: A Progress Report," FORTUNE, July, 1952. Reprints from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Dewey, Donald. "Negro Employment in Southern Industry," JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, August, 1952.

U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 1119, "Negroes in the U. S. : Their Employment and Economic Status." On sale with Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, DC at .30 a copy.

The Southern Regional Council is a southwide organization, with membership among whites and Negroes, devoted to attaining equal opportunity for all peoples of the South. Our organization has endorsed the principle of federal fair employment practice legislation.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

FEPC in colleges

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
APR 23
Southern Regional Council

April 19, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letters. Jane and I discussed your proposal on the FEPC program in the colleges. It impressed us a great deal; it is an extremely promising idea, and something certainly should come of it, if not right away, then within the next few years. I would really welcome an opportunity to participate in such a venture; it would be a real challenge - and an opportunity.

I have had no further word from Glenn Sisk. However, you can call off what I am sure are your diligent efforts in my behalf at Tech. Yesterday I completed arrangements to serve as an assistant professor of sociology at Sacremento State College for the academic year 1953-1954. The offer was one on which I couldn't delay very long, although I held off as long as I could expecting that Sisk might come through with something definite. I am writing him to withdraw my name from consideration, at least for the time being. Had there been more definite indications that I might fill the position, I would have been willing to gamble again as I did on the offer from Rollins and a more recent one from Arizona State. However, I figured that eventually the odds might turn against me, and so I inked the Sacremento offer. It is a good proposition, George. The salary is substantially better than anything I could have commanded in the south, and right now I am not exactly well-heeled enough to make monetary sacrifices. However, the appointment is for only one year and is subject to renewal after the end of the period. I still want to get back south, and perhaps it will be better if I have some definite base of operations occupational wise out here.

I appreciate very much your efforts in my behalf. Please keep me in mind for anything that looks good.

Sincerely yours,

Cy

April 14, 1953

Mr. Cy Wilson Record
Department of Sociology
University of California
Berkeley 4, Calif.

Dear Cy:

Our letters must have crossed. I am so glad there is a prospect, at least, of your being at Tech. I will get hold of Sisk and keep him encouraged.

Meanwhile, I still think the FEPC school thing is what you ought in the end to be doing.

If we get rich, we might try to do it with you ourselves.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Re

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
APR 9
Southern

April 6, 1953

Dear George:

It was a real pleasure to visit with you in Atlanta on my recent jaunt to the southeast. I am sorry you weren't able to get up to the SSS meeting in Chattanooga. Bill Noland up at North Carolina read a very good paper on industrialization in the south, one in which the SRC might be interested in circulating in reprint or pamphlet form.

I renewed a lot of old acquaintances in Atlanta, and I am sorry I didn't have more time. I welcomed the opportunity to have lunch with Fleming and some of the B'nai Brith people.

I finally decided to definitely turn down the Rollins College offer. I would have felt terribly cramped. Imagine being thirty miles from Groveland and under orders not to express any opinion on the legalized lynching which has been going on there. Glenn Sisk out at Georgia Tech asked me to submit an application for an opening in industrial sociology which will be available in September. I didn't feel that I was too well qualified for the sort of thing he had in mind, but I finally got off the necessary forms and letters. If you should see him, you might mention that I don't have horns, am not a dipso, do not use dope in any form and lead a sane sex life.*

I am definitely interested in the SRC program you outlined. I know it is contingent upon your receiving the necessary funds. I hope you are able to get at least 2/3s of the amount you have in mind. I can't think of a better human investment. I hope you will keep me informed on the progress of your effort, and that you will consider me in some research connection if the project develops satisfactorily.

Best wishes,

Cy

Cy Wilson Record

*Also that I am a fairly competent research sociologist and writer.

Re

April 6, 1953

Mr. Cy W. Record
Department of Sociology
University of California
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Cy:

I'm sorry I let you get away before I had a brain storm as to what you ought to be doing.

This business of fair employment is a thing that is going to have to be administered in detail, and unfortunately, there's almost nobody trained to make it work. We should have somewhere in these United States, and hopefully in these Southern States, a professor hooked into a school of business administration who gives his time to teaching people to be fair employment experts. It's really a new branch of personnel administration. The content is human relations in general, race relations in particular, industrial organization, labor resources, trade unions and minorities, history of fair employment practices, legislation and administration, State laws, and (in great detail) the broadening precedent of State negotiations and decisions.

I believe that some decent university in the South would take on a professor of that. A smart university could get a goodly sum for doing it. Of course, and this is the hitch, whatever university does it is going to have to admit white and Negro students to those courses, because it would be silly to train people of only one race to be FEPC experts.

Best I can think of is Duke.

I have set John Griffin to thinking about it for Emory.

Anyhow, that's what I think you ought to do. You are the professor elect. Make 'em pay you $9,000. It's worth it.

Write to us, anyhow.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

-1-

IR

FEPC

June 25, 1953

Mr. Roscoe Giffin
22 Jackson
Berea, Ky.

Dear Mr. Giffin:

I had not forgotten that I promised to send you some suggested sources on integration in industry--have just been extra busy.

Enclosed is a copy of an SRC bibliography on FEPC. The few items that are concerned with industrial integration are marked. Two others are:

Ross, Malcom, "They Did It in St. Louis," COMMENTARY (July, 1947), 9-15. Reprints from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Thomas, Julius A., "Fair Employment Works." Oceana Publications, 43 W. 16th St., New York City.

The following organizations would be good sources to consult:

American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa. You are probably already familiar with their Job Opportunities Project. The enclosed AFSC pamphlet on Employment on Merit deals briefly with steps and problems in integration. It also lists their various offices and suggests writing them for information about the job opportunities programs; there is an AFSC office in Columbus, Ohio.

National Urban League, 575 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place NW, Washington, DC.

United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, Anti-Discrimination Department, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill. Publish a handbook for local union anti-discrimination committees called "Our Equal Rights."

UAW-CIO Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, 5701 Second Boulevard, Detroit 2, Mich. Also publish a "Handbook for Local Union Fair Practices Committees."

United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Washington 25, D. C. Have a minority groups consultant and publish a training manual on integrating minorities.

Enjoyed seeing you and dining with you at the annual meeting.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

fepc

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY
INDUSTRIAL RACE RELATIONS COMMISSION
805 ROBINSON BLDG.
PHILA. (2) PA.
LO 7-3131

SAMUEL H. DAROFF
CHAIRMAN
SOL R. GITMAN
SECRETARY
HARRY BOYER
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ANDREW J. SORDONI
CLEWELL SYKES
MRS. ROBERT S. VANN

DAVID M. WALKER
SECRETARY OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY
WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 26, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of a Study of Employment Practices in Pennsylvania which was recently completed by our Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:cjc

Enclosure

RECEIVED
JUL 23
Southern Regional Council

August 3, 1953

Mr. William H. Gray, Jr.
Industrial Race Relations Commission
805 Robinson Bldg.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I greatly appreciate the copy of the report of the Commission on employment practices in Pennsylvania. I have read most of it and thought it an excellent job. I do hope it will have great effect in obtaining for the State the next step of a State Fair Employment Practices Commission.

We all still miss you in these States and are jealous of Pennsylvania in its possession of your abilities.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

11 - Fair Employment Practices

EMPLOYING 'MINORITIES' *Successfully*

(REVISED)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH 12TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

EMPLOYING "MINORITIES" SUCCESSFULLY

SINCE the passage of the Philadelphia Fair Employment Practice Ordinance more and more firms are hiring and promoting on the sole basis of merit. For your aid in employing successfully persons of various racial, religious and nationality backgrounds, the American Friends Service Committee has assembled what it considers to be the best practices used by employers nationally and locally.

1. *What is the first step in employing minorities successfully?*

   Management must be completely sold on the principle of employment on merit. This cannot be over-emphasized. Top executives must take a firm stand.

2. *Should we discuss the matter with our supervisory force before we hire members of a minority group?*

   Yes. The supervisory force should have as much information as possible about minority groups.

3. *How can the union help?*

   Most unions have adopted non-discriminatory resolutions. In many organizations the unions have played a major part in the successful integration of minority groups into industry. If there is a union in the plant, its cooperation should be enlisted before the first member of the minority group is hired.

4. *Should we hold a special meeting to inform all employees regarding company policy?*

The statement of the firm's policy on non-discrimination in employment probably should not be made the occasion of a special meeting or special bulletin, but should be included in a regular meeting or bulletin.

5. *What action should be taken if the management is willing to hire minorities but the employees are not?*

Many firms believe that their employees will object if Negroes, Jews, and, sometimes, Catholics or Protestants are employed. Personnel directors have found time and again that a very small percentage of their fears materialize in this connection. This is invariably true where the board of directors goes on record to support FEPC in the spirit as well as in the letter of the law. Employees who object should be allowed to separate from the firm.

6. *How should we select our first employees of a given minority group and in what kind of job should the first members of minority groups be placed?*

They should be selected and placed on a basis of qualifications. Conditions in your own plant are the determining placement factors.

Here is what some other organizations have done:

a—A leather goods company placed a Jewish sec-

cretary in the office, in order to demonstrate to the whole plant that the employees were not being asked to do anything that the management group was not also willing to do.

b—A utility corporation placed a Negro girl at the information desk so that their non-discriminatory employment policy was demonstrated to all comers.

c—An aircraft firm placed a Polish Catholic stenographer in the employment office for the same reason.

d—A large organization selected a group of Negroes to be started on several levels over a period of months: a stenographer, a librarian, a file clerk, etc.

e—A general manager of a large industry took the first minority group member employed by the firm to the department in which he was to work. He thus demonstrated completely his approval of the plant's fair employment policy.

7. *Is it advisable to start employing members of the minority groups by manning a whole department with the same group?*

No; according to best national experience the initial distribution of minority groups through the firm, two or three to a large department, has proved successful.

8. *Should we demand physical examinations of minority group applicants alone?*

No; plants where minority group members are successfully employed do not ask these applicants to take a physical examination not required of every other applicant for the job in question. Physical examinations for everyone are rapidly becoming a standard procedure.

9. *Will we have to provide separate service facilities for Negroes?*

No; separate facilities will only create problems rather than solve them. It should be remembered that there are no separate facilities in public schools, theaters, restaurants, public buildings, department stores, etc.

10. *Should members of minority groups receive special privileges of any kind?*

No; however, some advice and help should be available to those who are to be the first ones employed in an organization. This should be done only by a qualified individual. Many firms have delegated to a personnel officer the responsibility for executing management's fair employment policy; some firms have added to their personnel staff an individual with special experience in inter-group relations.

11. *Are there instances in Philadelphia of the successful employment of minorities?*

We cannot list here the many types of occupations in which Jews, Negroes, Japanese and Chinese Americans, Catholics are successfully employed. The following list is purely illustrative: (1) Sales-clerks in retail stores; (2) Stenographers in many social and religious agencies; (3) Workers in the clothing industry; (4) Technically trained employees in chemical, pharmaceutical, medical, dental, government and other business and industrial firms; (5) Professional employees in the public school system, colleges and universities, business and industry.

12. *Are there large national corporations which have employed minorities successfully?*

Yes, many. Among the better known corporations which have had considerable experience are:

International Harvester Company....Chicago, Ill.
Macy's .....New York City
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
New York City
G. Fox and Company, Inc. .....Hartford, Conn.
Western Electric Company, Inc. ...Kearny, N. J.
Gilchrist Company .....Boston, Mass.
Pitney-Bowes, Inc. .....Stamford, Conn.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, in 1938, established a program to assist New Americans to find jobs. During World War II the Committee helped find jobs for Americans of Japanese descent who were forced to leave their West Coast homes. In the fall of 1945 a special project was initiated to help Philadelphia Negro high school and college graduates. On the basis of this interest and experience in the placement of minority groups, and especially Negroes, and with the help of fifty representative employers who have generously given their opinions and suggestions, the Committee has assembled the information contained in this brochure.

The American Friends Service Committee represents the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in national and international fields of social action. The Committee was founded in 1917 to carry on relief and post-war reconstruction in Europe. It has since been engaged in many projects here and abroad to promote international, industrial and interracial understanding, and to offer opportunities for constructive service, participated in and supported by Americans of all faiths.

At the present time the Committee is engaged in relief and rehabilitation work in eight European countries as well as in China, India and Japan. Besides its many educational projects for young people, the Committee's program also includes a self-help cooperative housing project in western Pennsylvania, work in economic relations and race relations, and peace education. All of these projects are carried on without regard to race, creed or color.

No. 380A—8-48—5M—PA

Answer the Critics of F.E.P.C.

TRY THIS QUIZ AT HOME

ARGUMENTS

Most Frequently Used

FOR AND AGAINST

Federal PERMANENT FEPC LEGISLATION

(Bills: S. 101 and H. R. 2232)

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FEPC
930 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Can Public Welfare Be Fully Served Without An FEPC Law?

1. **AGAINST**—*The best way to do away with discrimination in employment is to achieve full employment.*

FOR—That is not necessarily so. In periods of full employment there is still discrimination: minorities are arbitrarily restricted to certain jobs (usually the menial, lower-paid jobs) or paid less wages than others for the same work. If full employment automatically meant fair employment, there would have been no need for FEPC during the war.

2. **AGAINST**—*Prejudice is an attitude, and attitudes cannot be changed by law any more than the Prohibition Law changed the drinking attitudes of the nation.*

FOR—This law has nothing to do with prejudice itself; it merely seeks to prevent the manifestations of prejudice of one person from inflicting themselves upon the economic life of another, within the limits of federal jurisdiction in employment. FEPC is related to prejudice only as laws forbidding driving while drunk are related to drinking.

3. **AGAINST**—*Attempts to enforce a law involving people's prejudices will create disruption and disunity. Group hatreds would be intensified. Conflicts and even race riots might result.*

FOR—On the contrary, this law is a necessary safety device. By maintaining impartial machinery for the orderly redress of grievances and for interpreting the law, it provides one of the best means of preventing racial strife. Those who suffer discrimination would be less likely to be driven to violent or unlawful behavior, or to be misled by un-American propagandists, when they know they can turn to the government for redress. Those who would wish to practice discrimination in employment would be less likely to do so if they knew the law would be enforced.

4. **AGAINST**—*If left alone, public opinion will automatically do away with discrimination. This law is revolutionary; it will upset the normal trend of progress.*

FOR—Human nature being what it is, even the Ten Commandments need to be implemented by legislation. The function of government in a democracy is to make public opinion the law of the land. Public opinion is effective only if it invokes sanctions, and now the public is ready to do so. This is indicated by the fact that spokesmen for organizations involving over sixty million people testified before the House and Senate Labor Committees in behalf of this FEPC legislation to implement their desire that there be no job discrimination in areas where the Federal Government has jurisdiction.

5. **AGAINST**—*This type of legislation is little more than a political bid for the votes of minorities.*

FOR—Politicians achieve or hold office by will of the majority of the voters in their districts, and their success depends upon their ability to reflect or anticipate public opinion. But even on the basis of politics alone, the fact remains that if FEPC is important enough politically to make a considerable difference in vote-getting, the welfare of the country certainly demands it. Moreover, it is a mistake to assume that only minorities are in favor of this legislation.

6. **AGAINST**—*Discrimination can best be eliminated through the educational process. We should look to the school and the church for the teaching of the evils of discrimination.*

FOR—Great progress is being made in these fields, but church and educational leaders support FEPC legislation as a bulwark to their teachings of fair practice, just as they support laws against stealing and other such infringements upon the rights of others as a bulwark to their teachings in other fields of honesty and morality. Besides, experience has shown that one of the easiest ways to be educated out of a prejudice is to have the actual experience of working beside a member of the group about which one has had false notions.

7. **AGAINST**—*Wouldn't it be wiser to experiment for a few years with an educational type of FEPC, but without enforcement powers?*

FOR—We already have the example and experience of four years of operation of an FEPC without enforcement powers, and are long past the experimental stage. We know from experience that even when discrimination delayed production of war material, some employers and unions ignored the pleas of the wartime FEPC. We also know that the remarkable record of compliance achieved by the wartime FEPC, despite its lack of enforcement powers, was made possible because of the manpower shortage and the pressure of the all-out effort on the home front. In peacetime these urgencies no longer exist. Enforcement powers are intended and required only for those who would refuse to comply with the law voluntarily. They should not be allowed to set a bad example and encourage lawlessness.

8. **AGAINST**—*Every individual has the right to discriminate. We all do, consciously or unconsciously, in the selection of our friends, our tradesmen, etc.*

FOR—Every individual has the right to grow roses or potatoes in his back yard, whichever he chooses. But he cannot grow either in the public road in front of his house. This law does not apply to the individual's personal or social life. It only prohibits him from inflicting his prejudices upon the job rights of others.

9. **AGAINST**—*This is "class legislation." It gives special privileges to special groups.*

FOR—No special privilege is granted any group. The law seeks merely to prevent the withholding of certain privileges from special groups. Its purpose is simply to extend to all in the area of federal jurisdiction, the privilege of being considered for employment on the basis of ability, character and training, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

10. **AGAINST**—*Such a law would lead to a quota system, and the criterion would become race, color, creed or national origin, instead of ability.*

FOR—A quota system would indeed be discriminatory and FEPC would prevent, rather than encourage its use.

11. **AGAINST**—*A Federal law would come in conflict with State segregation laws or community segregation customs where they exist.*

FOR—This law can be applied only in connection with equal job opportunity. It has nothing to do with racial separation in places of public accommodation.

12. **AGAINST**—*A Federal law would infringe on States' rights. Why not let the States that need it and are ready for it enact State laws?*

FOR—States, both as a practical matter and under the Constitution, cannot regulate the areas of interstate commerce, Federal employment and Federal contracts which this bill embraces. Purely local business is not affected by this bill. If a State does not need an FEPC it will not be adversely affected by a Federal FEPC; if it does, a Federal FEPC is the best way to begin, since it would apply only to that portion of its industry which is in interstate commerce or under contract to the Federal government. The whole theory of Federal regulation of interstate commerce is based on the realization that one State must be protected against unfair competition from another. To allow an industry in interstate commerce to compete unfairly with industry in other States by virtue of discriminatory wage rates, etc., is in direct violation of the U. S. Constitution.

13. **AGAINST**—*Minority group workers are often unclean and afflicted with disease. Why should others be forced to work beside them?*

FOR—The law does not require an employer to hire anyone who is unclean or afflicted with contagious disease. An employer is free to set any cleanliness or health standards he may wish. Social and health studies, however, have demonstrated that uncleanliness and disease are not peculiar to persons of any one race or religion, but are the unfortunate result of low economic and living standards.

14. **AGAINST**—*This law would repeal all veterans' special preference laws.*

FOR—It would not. If anything, it would give emphasis to the unfairness of discrimination against veterans of minority groups.

15. **AGAINST**—*This law would interfere with religious schools; it would compel a Catholic school to hire a Protestant teacher.*

FOR—The law is not intended to apply to schools, religious or otherwise.

WHAT IS ITS EFFECT ON BUSINESS?

16. **AGAINST**—*FEPC would destroy the American system of free enterprise.*

FOR—Free enterprise does not mean unlimited license. The basis of Anglo-American jurisprudence is the realization that every man owns and operates his property and business subject to the requirements of the public welfare. If there were no impartial governmental referee continually on guard, the free enterprise system would soon destroy itself. Besides, there is no free enterprise as long as work opportunities are arbitrarily denied certain groups regardless of ability, character, aptitude and training.

17. **AGAINST**—*This law creates another regulatory body. Business is already subject to excessive regulation.*

FOR—There are scores of laws to safeguard the property and other rights of business. Human rights are no less important than property rights, and equally deserve the protection of law.

18. **AGAINST**—*The success of business depends on the employer-employee relationship. The law restricts rights of an employer in employee selection and takes away his right to manage his own business.*

FOR—No restriction is placed on the employer's right to employ or to upgrade an employee on the basis of his own judgment of the candidate's training, experience, ability, personality, or whatever standards he may choose to set. Nor does the law force business to hire any person or refrain from firing any specific person. On the contrary, it protects him in his right to choose the best candidate without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

19. **AGAINST**—*Is it fair to insist that an employer hire members of a minority group if his other employees refuse to work with them? This might induce friction between the workers themselves, and between workers and management.*

FOR—The law applies to unions as well as to management, or it would be discriminatory in itself, and the industries where the law would apply are practically all unionized. Besides, it has been the experience of the overwhelming majority of employers who have (many of them for the first time during the war) employed minority-group workers that their fears of employee friction were not realized.

20. **AGAINST**—*The FEPC can force an employer to hire a complainant, even though the employer has no vacancy and would have to fire an employee to take the complainant.*

FOR—FEPC would have no authority to compel an employer to hire when no vacancy exists, or to fire an employee to create a vacancy for anyone.

21. **AGAINST**—*Enforcement of the law will add to the businessman's cost of running his business.*

FOR—On the contrary, it will protect him in his right to hire the best man for the job. It will help also to eliminate unfair price cutting of competitors who pay lower wages to minorities.

IS IT A GOOD PUBLIC INVESTMENT?

22. **AGAINST**—*No one has the right to interfere with the way in which a man conducts his business.*

FOR—It is the legitimate concern of a community that industry within its environs should employ all available labor, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. The short-sighted employer who limits the materials he can produce and sell because he refuses to hire minority-group workers not only keeps down his own profits; he also keeps down the income of the entire community. Raising the living standards of the most depressed group in a community automatically results in raising the standards of all other groups. The corner grocer, the dry goods merchant, the

public utilities, all prosper when the workingman has a job and decent wages.

23. **AGAINST**—*This law would raise the tax burdens of citizens.*

FOR—The increased productivity and income of minority-group workers would more than offset the small cost of administration.

24. **AGAINST**—*Some minorities, notably Negroes and Mexican-Americans, will work for less money, thereby undercutting wage rates and reducing the standard of living generally.*

FOR—The bill provides specifically that there shall be no wage differential; that all conditions of work, including wages, be the same for each job classification regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. It would help, instead, to raise the general standard of living.

25. **AGAINST**—*Business is reluctant to make new investments, or to expand, in industrial areas where there is racial tension.*

FOR—Enforcement of the law would encourage expansion and new investment, for it would help to alleviate the racial tensions in the areas of job competition.

26. **AGAINST**—*Because minorities often act as strike breakers, they are a threat to unions and to all that unions can accomplish in the way of improvements for workers.*

FOR—Minorities are as quick to join unions as any others to whom the benefits of unions are explained. Usually it is a union's refusal to accept minorities into full membership, especially in closed shop industries where only union members may work, that encourages minorities to become strike breakers as the only means of making a living. The best way to make certain that no minority group is forced to undermine the unions in order to eat is to admit it to membership. The bill makes it unlawful for unions to discriminate in any way against minorities, thus opening new job opportunities to them, giving them all the benefits of unionism, strengthening the unions themselves, and helping to remove the strike-breaking threat.

27. **AGAINST**—*FEPC would upset the patterns of community life.*

FOR—On the contrary, it would tend to normalize community life. In a scarce labor market FEPC would help to make sure that business uses local labor, thus benefiting the community and lessening the need to import outside labor which might also create housing and other shortage problems. When labor is too plentiful in a community and the competition for jobs is keen, FEPC would help to alleviate any racial tensions by ensuring fair employment practices.

28. **AGAINST**—*This bill opens the door for every communist, fascist, nazi, or anyone believing in radical philosophies contrary to the principles of U. S. democracy to obtain key positions in business and unions. FEPC could place radicals in key spots and socialize the nation.*

FOR—The term "creed" in the bill refers to religious belief or affiliation, and not to political belief or affiliation. Besides, FEPC is not an employment agency. It will not create or fill jobs, but will only guard against discrimination on the specific grounds listed in the bill: race, color, creed or national origin. The social stability of the nation is, in the last analysis, the social stability of its individual families. Without FEPC, the door is left wide open for the worst type of un-American agitation. Clergymen, police officers and social workers are continually faced with the problems of social maladjustment created by discrimination.

ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT

29. **AGAINST**—*This law would be impossible to enforce. The charge of discrimination is easy to make, but how can it be proved?*

FOR—Actually discrimination is easy to prove. Most often employers admit it. Several unions have discriminatory clauses in their constitutions or by-laws. Discrimination, where practiced, is usually a well-established policy, openly acknowledged and recorded in union contracts, newspaper advertisements, orders to the United States Employment Service or other employment agencies, payroll records, etc.

30. **AGAINST**—*The mere existence of FEPC would encourage every unsuccessful candidate for a job to presume discrimination, and to harass and involve business and unions in unjustifiable and costly litigation with FEPC.*

FOR—Absence of discrimination is equally easy to prove. Trained investigators can screen out and dismiss groundless charges without formal proceedings, and sometimes even without contact with the persons accused. Herein lies one of the greatest advantages of having an administrative agency on hand to protect management as well as employees. The wartime FEPC dismissed as groundless two-thirds of all complaints filed with it.

31. **AGAINST**—*Even if an employer were proved not guilty of discrimination, he would be subject to unfavorable publicity and his business might suffer until cleared.*

FOR—The practice is to give no publicity to a case until and unless the public hearing stage is reached. By that time FEPC must have gathered together enough evidence of discrimination to justify a public hearing, and the employer accused of discriminating would have an equal opportunity in that hearing to refute any charges made against him. The law ensures him that right.

32. **AGAINST**—*The proposed FEPC would have too much power: it would be the instigator, investigator, prosecutor and judge, all in one.*

FOR—The bill would set up a quasi-judicial agency, specifically and only for the purpose of investigating and judging whether the law had been violated, and endeavoring to secure compliance with the law. Its primary function will be to endeavor to secure voluntary compliance; the enforcement power exists only as a last resort for recalcitrants. The procedures of the FEPC are patterned after those followed by other long-established quasi-judicial administrative agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Communications Commission, National Labor Relations Board, etc. The Supreme Court has established ample protection for fair hearings before such agencies. The final power to enforce the law and to invoke sanctions and penalties rests not with FEPC, but with the Federal Courts.

33. **AGAINST**—*Why not provide trial by jury in a community where the violation occurs, rather than by a bureaucratic machinery controlled in far-away Washington?*

FOR—Since discrimination is not made a crime, a jury trial (used in criminal cases or private suits to settle differences) is not necessary or proper. Trial by jury will be accorded those who are charged with a crime under the bill, but this applies only to those who "willfully" interfere with Commission agents "in the performance of duties pursuant to this Act," and therefore are subject to a criminal charge. Where no such crime is involved, but the problem is one of discriminatory employment practices involving only honest differences of opinion, misunderstanding, or other non-criminal violations of administrative regulations, the bill adopts the humane view that such a situation requires correction rather than punishment. Society has a stake in eliminating discrimination, and should assume the responsibility and costs of enforcement by administrative machinery. It should not leave it to individuals to hire their own lawyers to enforce a Federal law. Such enforcement means would be haphazard, complicated, time-consuming, costly, and hardly uniform. The average worker cannot afford protracted court cases. Those who need enforcement of the FEPC law are not able to hire their own lawyers. An administrative agency provides the most speedy, effective and inexpensive means of redress for both worker and employer.

34. **AGAINST**—*The Federal Courts should handle all the judicial aspects from the beginning, instead of the FEPC.*

FOR—An administrative agency handling all the judicial aspects of a case until the point where it must turn to the Courts for enforcement, has the following advantages:

A. Permits a commission of experts and a trained staff to devote full time to the complex problem of job discrimination.

B. Insures uniformity of interpretation, as against the possibility of differing interpretations by almost 100 Federal District Courts.

C. Permits the simple screening out of unjustified complaints. A respondent has to defend every suit filed against him in court, hire lawyers, etc.

D. Avoids legal costs and saves time for both plaintiff and defendant.

E. A judge is an umpire. His only role is to listen and to adjudicate in cases argued before him by opposing parties. An administrative agency's function is more analagous to a court agent, such as a probation officer in juvenile cases, or a special officer in domestic relations cases. Here the function is to iron out the problem humanely, reserving only the unadjustable cases for the courts.

35. **AGAINST**—*The Federal Courts could not hear new evidence.*

FOR—The courts could certainly consider the relevancy of new evidence and, if they wished, could send the case back to the FEPC with instructions for further adjudication in light of the new evidence.

36. **AGAINST**—*Why limit it only to discrimination on grounds of race, etc.—why not include also sex, or age, or refusal to belong to a union?*

FOR—Discrimination on grounds of sex or age is based on unique factors which have no relation to the overall problem to which this bill is directed and is best handled separately. Legislation has been introduced in the Senate and House to eliminate discrimination in employment because of sex. The question of refusal to hire because of unwillingness to join a labor union is in essence the highly controversial "closed shop" issue; the optional choice of union membership can hardly be considered on the same basis as race, color, creed, etc.

CONSTITUTIONALITY

37. **AGAINST**—*The bill is unconstitutional.*

FOR—Final determination as to constitutionality of laws passed by the Congress rests with the U. S. Supreme Court. The FEPC bill, however, was reviewed from the standpoint of its constitutionality and in light of previous Supreme Court decisions on similar legislation, and the official report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on S.101 states: "The provisions of this bill follow well-marked legislative

precedents which have met the test of constitutionality in the courts." The following citations are abstracted from this report:

Government Employment: The congressional power to regulate employment practices of all Federal Agencies is found in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution. No challenge to this power has ever been successful in the courts. See *United States* v. *Mitchell,* 89 F. 2, 805, 8-9 (App. D.C.).

Government Contracts: The congressional power to prescribe the terms on which the Federal Government may contract with private parties has been upheld in *Perkins* v. *Lukens Steel Co.,* 310 U. S. 113, 127.

Regulation of Commerce: The congressional power to regulate employment relations affecting interstate or foreign commerce has been upheld in *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.,* 301 U. S. 1; *Texas & New Orleans Ry.* v. *Brotherhood,* 281 U. S. 548; *United States* v. *Darby,* 312 U. S. 100; *Kentucky Whip & Collar Co.* v. *Illinois Central Railroad Co.,* 299 U. S. 334. The FEPC bill stays within the limits marked out by the statutes upheld in the foregoing cases.

Labor Unions: In *Steele* v. *Louisville & Nashville Railroad,* 323 U. S. 192, the Supreme Court unanimously held that discrimination because of race by a railway labor union against non-members was illegal. A New York State law forbidding unions to discriminate in membership on grounds of race, color or creed, was held to be in accord with the U. S. Constitution by the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of *Railway Mail Ass'n* v. *Corsi,* 326 U. S. 88.

State Rights: The bill is not an invasion of State rights since it is limited to interstate commerce and to Federal activities which are the primary constitutional concern of the Federal Government rather than the States. See *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.,* 301 U. S. 1; *United States* v. *Darby,* 312 U. S. 100; *Kentucky Whip & Collar Co.* v. *Illinois Central Railroad Co.,* 299 U. S. 334.

Partial List of Cooperating National Organizations

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Race Relations
American Federation of Labor
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Unitarian Association
American Unitarian Youth
Americans United for World Organization
B'nai B'rith
Catholic Interracial Council
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Church League for Industrial Democracy
Committee of Racial Equality
Common Council for American Unity
Congregational Christian Churches (Council for Social Action)
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council Against Intolerance in America
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Evangelical and Reformed Church, General Synod
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in America
Free World, Inc.
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks of the World
Independent Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions
Iota Phi Lambda Sorority
Japanese-American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans of the United States
League of United Latin American Citizens
March on Washington
Methodist Church, General Conference
Methodist Ministers' Union
National Alliance of Postal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses
National Bar Association
National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination
National Committee to Abolish Anti-Semitism
National Community Relations Advisory Council
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Council of Student Christian Associations
National Council for a Permanent FEPC
National Farmers Union
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
National League of Women Shoppers
National Negro Congress
National Negro Insurance Association
National Religion & Labor Foundation
National Urban League
National Women's Trade Union League of America
Negro Newspaper Publishers Assn.
Postwar World Council
Presbyterian General Assembly
Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Tenant Farmers Union
Study Conference on Just and Durable Peace
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Union for Democratic Action
United Council of Church Women
United States Student Assembly
Women's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church
Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Workers Defense League
Young Men's Christian Association, National Board
Young Women's Christian Association, National Board

THE FEDERAL PERMANENT FEPC BILL

A Digest-Analysis of S. 101 and H. R. 2232

The Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission will have but one function: to prevent arbitrary discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry. It would be the primary responsibility of the Commission to attempt to secure voluntary compliance with the FEPC law. Any party aggrieved by an order of the Commission may appeal to any U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. When the Commission fails to secure voluntary compliance with a Commission order, it is empowered to apply to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for a court order.*

Management continues free to set its own hiring, training and upgrading practices, to adjust its internal plant policy, and to discharge according to any standard it may adopt, so long as there is no arbitrary discrimination because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry. In the same way, organized labor continues free to manage its internal affairs according to its own lights, except that it cannot deny any of the advantages of opportunities of union organization and collective bargaining to any person because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry.

Scope of the Bill

1. All agencies of the Federal Government.
2. Employers of six or more[1] persons whose operations affect interstate or foreign commerce.
3. Contractors or subcontractors performing services for the Federal Government.
4. Labor unions whose practices affect interstate or foreign commerce. (In S. 101 unions of Federal employees are included.)

Procedures of the FEPC

1. Receives and investigates complaints.
2. Endeavors to adjust complaints by informal and voluntary methods.[2]
3. Where informal negotiations fail, conducts public hearings in which parties charged have right to employ attorneys.
4. If public hearings reveal discrimination, FEPC may issue a formal "cease and desist order." It may also order reinstatement or hiring of employees discriminated against, with or without back pay.
5. Administrative procedures are similar to those of ICC, NRLB, FTC, SEC, FCC, and other like agencies of the Federal Government. The Supreme Court has established ample protection for fair hearings before such agencies.

Enforcement Powers

1. If a cease and desist order (issued after public hearings) is defied, FEPC can do no more than petition the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals to back up its order. The Court, after review of the case may issue a court decree ordering compliance with the FEPC order. Violation of a court decree is punishable, by the Court, as a "contempt of court."
2. Federal Government contracts may be withheld from violators of the law.

* Since court review is not applicable where employment in a Federal agency is concerned, enforcement is referred to the President.

3. The only criminal penalty provided is for willful interference with FEPC agents "in the performance of duties pursuant to this Act." In such circumstances, jury trial is available to persons so charged. (It is common practice to include such a protective provision in Federal legislation.)
4. When an agency or official of the Federal Government violates the law, since court action is not applicable, referral is to the President for enforcement, and he may discharge any willful violator.

Judicial Review

1. Only the Court—after judicial review—can enforce an order of the FEPC.
2. Judicial review procedures are similar to those provided for NLRB orders in the law establishing that agency.[3]
3. Any employer or union dissatisfied by an FEPC order may appeal to the Court.
4. The Court will review all questions of law. On questions of fact, the findings of the FEPC will have to be supported by substantial[4] evidence. This is the customary procedure for judicial review of administrative agencies, approved in the past by the Supreme Court.

Supervision and Check

1. Members of the five-man Commission will be named by the President, to serve five-year terms, but must be approved by the Senate.
2. Regulations of the FEPC are subject to automatic review of the Congress, and may be amended or cancelled by the Congress.
3. Congress automatically reviews the operations of all Federal Agencies when acting upon their annual requests for appropriations.
4. Congress may at any time investigate the conduct of a Federal Agency.
5. Judicial review. (See foregoing)

Amendments

The following amendments, introduced in the Senate, are unopposed by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, on advice of its Legal Committee. (Numbers correspond to footnote numbers in foregoing.)

[1] Only employers or unions of 25 or more persons would be covered.

[2] A section would be inserted to remove any doubt that the Commission must give no publicity to efforts to adjust complaints by conference, conciliation and persuasion, until such efforts fail and public hearing is deemed necessary.

[3] Judicial review procedures would be similar to those provided by law for the Federal Trade Commission, rather than the NLRB.

[4] The word "substantial" would be written into the bill to remove any doubt that substantial evidence would be required by the courts.

AMERICAN SEATING

AMERICAN SEATING COMPANY · GRAND RAPIDS 2, MICHIGAN · SALES OFFICES IN PRINCIPAL CITIES

November 14, 1957

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Since attending the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission Third Staff Seminar at Haven Hill Lodge October 28-30, I have been asked several times by my friends on the Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission for information about your very profound presentation of the topic "Civil Rights - A National Prospective".

I realize that you talked from notes at the Tuesday evening meeting, and may not have reduced your conclusions to writing; however, if there is anything available in your files corresponding to the presentation you made at Haven Hill, I would very much like to have a copy.

I hope this letter catches you before you leave for the Kansas City meeting of NAIRO because I would very much like to have this information for use early next week.

Yours very sincerely,

Harry Kelley

Harry J. Kelley
Mgr. Industrial Relations

HJK:LM

FEPC - Mich

November 18, 1957

Mr. Harry J. Kelley
Manager Industrial Relations
American Seating Company
Grand Rapids 2, Michigan

Dear Harry:

Thank you for your note of November 14th requesting a copy of my presentation at the FEPC meeting at Haven Hill Lodge. Unfortunately it has never been written out, but I am enclosing some material which I think will be of use to you.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
(Dictated by Fred Routh but signed in his absence)

Enclosures.

FBR:fcl

Material sent to the above:

A brief history of SRC
~~The Negro Voter in the South~~
The South of Promise
Changing Patterns

FBR replied Dec. 14, 1957.

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

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Feild? FEPC - mich.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

129 MASON BUILDING
LANSING, MICHIGAN

900 CADILLAC SQUARE BUILDING, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
TELEPHONE: DETROIT WO 2-6680 — EXT. 43 LANSING: IV 5-8144 — EXT. 453

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FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

December 9, 1957

Please Reply: DETROIT

Dr. Fred Rauth
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Although I sometimes make promises like a politician and then neglect to fulfill them, in your case this is not so. Upon returning from the NAIRO conference I attempted to obtain a copy of the record, "Ballads for Sectarians" which I am so sure you would en joy. A check of the Detroit sources revealed that no copies are available locally, whereupon I contacted Joe Glazer of the Rubber Workers Union since he is the author, producer and one of the performers. His reply to this request is enclosed. If a copy of the record does happen to turn up, I shall forward it to you as my contribution to your morale--I am sure that listening to it will provide a brief interlude of escape from inter-racial problems.

The other material I promised you (Ogden Nash's immortal poem) was, fortunately, much easier to produce and is enclosed. If I am apprehended for using the mails for "immoral" purposes, I hope you will visit me in the jailhouse.

Now, may I remind you of the promise you made me? If you can accumulate any literature, clues or anything of assistance in re human relations training centers, please send it to me. I have written to Dean Epley for a copy of his study on this subject and would greatly appreciate whatever additional guidance anyone can provide. There is a small committee working on this project at Wayne State University; their interest and motivation is high but, like myself, could use some practical help.

In addition to the center I am gestating two other "brain children", both for NAIRO. These are a local unit in Detroit and a study of members and potential members. As a newly elected veep, I hope you appreciate my efforts and will be instrumental in conferring commensurate honors on me. As a suggestion, I would love to find a Friden calculator in my Christmas stocking.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Fran

FRANCES R. COUSENS, Chief
Research and Survey Division

FRC:vm

Encl.

Mich FEPC file

The URBAN LEAGUE of Flint

200 East Kearsley Street Flint 2, Michigan CEdar 9-2195

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Member of
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RED FEATHER FUND
and
COUNCIL OF
SOCIAL AGENCIES
Affiliated with the
NATIONAL
URBAN LEAGUE

January 5, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

Sam Simmons has conveyed to me your decision to decline participation in our community conference because of a February 9 date at Tuskegee and the strike of Eastern Airlines. I am wondering if now that the Eastern strike is settled would it be possible for you to accept this February 7 date? Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Edmunds

Arthur J. Edmunds
Executive Secretary

AJE:og

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

COMMISSION
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FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

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TELEPHONE: DETROIT WO 2-6680 — EXT. 43 LANSING: IV 5-8144 — EXT. 453

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FRANCIS J. COOMES
FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCIS R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

Please Reply: Detroit

July 22, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Ashburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Having returned from my foray into your jurisdictional territory (where desegregation of public transportation in New Orleans coincided with my arrival there -- correlation or null hypothesis?) I assume you are also back at your desk and accessible to Yankee "nudniks."

Warren Breed, one of my brother's colleagues at Tulane's Sociology Department, acquainted me with the publications of the Committee on Intergroup Relations of SSSP. Despite membership in the latter, I was not aware of the Committee. The last two issues of their newsletter list many references to completed and in-process research closely related to the interests of agency people.

I noticed in the roster names of individuals who, I know, are also members of NAIRO. The thought which occurred to me is that there should be closer liaison between the Committee and our professional organization. Although most of them are academicians, whose primary interest is in teaching, their membership in the Committee connotes considerable interest and concern for intergroup relations. Why can't NAIRO capitalize on this interest by recruiting them for membership? Such effort could be stimulated by scheduling one session for them at our annual conference.

In addition to proselytizing for NAIRO, I have had a burning desire to see a compendium of all intergroup relations research. The latter would serve a dual purpose in apprising agency people of unpublished and, frequently, uncirculated materials as well as publicizing NAIRO.

I am writing to you because (a) you are currently a NAIRO veep; and (b) you visit New Orleans frequently and could talk to Warren Breed, who is chairman of the Committee.

If these suggestions have no merit, attribute my aberration to Michigan humidity; I felt they merited at least one letter. If you feel something can be done in this direction, I shall write to John Lassoe and/or anything else you suggest.

If Georgia summers are like Louisiana's, you have my sympathy. Our stay in Silver Beach, Florida was lovely, but New Orleans in July taxed even my great sibling love, particulary since we have been having unseasonably low temperatures here.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Fran

FRC:mw

P. S. How about 2 copies of The Negro Voter in the South - one for our Lansing office? If you insist on the four-bits, I'll get a special appropriation from the Legislature.

F.R.C.

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

COMMISSION
HARRY J. KELLEY, CHAIRMAN
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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

Please Reply: Detroit

August 15, 1958

Dr. Frederick Routh
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

You should know, by now, that I am prone to brainstorms and, therefore, should not become too disturbed by my flights of fancy.

I just received the notice of the 1959 sociology meetings to be held in Chicago. Since you are probably a member of that august body (this organization has been most potent in making me so appreciative of NAIRO!) you have also received a list of the sections to be covered. Since there is a section on Race and Ethnic Relations and also because the SSSP, meeting concurrently, will be focusing on intergroup relations, it occurred to me that the practitioners in our field who are members of either or both groups could get some mileage out of the meetings.

What I have in mind is submitting a paper dealing with either the opportunities for sociologists, or the role of social research in intergroup relations. Although I am an aging sociologist, I am still somewhat of a novice practitioner in our field, and would benefit from the wise counsel of someone with longer tenure. Would you be amenable to co-authoring such a paper? Aside from the obvious advantages of two great minds, etc. there is the opportunity for broader perspectives, i.e., regional differences, private and public agency, as well as differences in the orientation, jurisdiction, emphasis, and techniques of our respective agencies.

How does the idea strike you? If you think it stinks, don't hesitate to say so. On the other hand, if your reluctance stems from the amount of time required, I would volunteer to do the "leg work" on it, namely dig around in the literature, get ideas from a few people of note, and prepare the first draft of the paper. At this point, you would need only to edit it carefully and make changes.

There is no great rush on this as the deadline is February 1. However, our office is relatively quiescent during the summer, and what I don't start before Labor Day often gets postponed indefinitely.

If your response is a positive one, let me know soon. When we meet in Pittsburgh in November, we should be able to polish off the final text.

Hope you are well.

As ever,

Fran

FRC:mw

Frances R. Cousens

FEPC ON THE JOB IN MICHIGAN

BI-MONTHLY INFORMATION BULLETIN
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION
SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1958
VOL. III., NO. 5

CLAIMS DATA, SCHOOL CASES DRAW ATTENTION

Staff reports to the Commission's September and October meetings discussed the basis of claims coming to the Commission, and reported on claims experience with local school boards.

The seven classifications into which FEP Claims are separated for statistical purposes include: hiring, upgrading (promotion), conditions of employment, discharge, labor union membership, and job referrals. Of the claims which have been processed by the Commission, slightly more than one-half, 52%, relate to the act of hiring. The next largest category, 25%, resulted from a discharge. Another 8.5% concerned referral practices of employment agencies and labor organizations. Conditions of employment—unequal treatment in facilities and rights as employees — account for 8%. Upgrading was at issue in 5% of the claims. The final 1.5% represents claims involving application for or membership in a trade union.

These statistics demonstrate the wide variety of settings in which employment discrimination may occur. Contrary to much current belief, the FEP process extends far beyond the hiring gate or personnel office.

The figures, while useful in indicating the nature of the Commission claims load, are not an infallible indicator of problem areas or a full measure of the impact of the FEP Act. Among some of the claims resting on an issue of upgrading or job referral are found cases with impact beyond their numbers. Such claims may, implicitly, represent many more employees or job applicants than are formally parties to an FEP proceeding. The nature of the adjustment

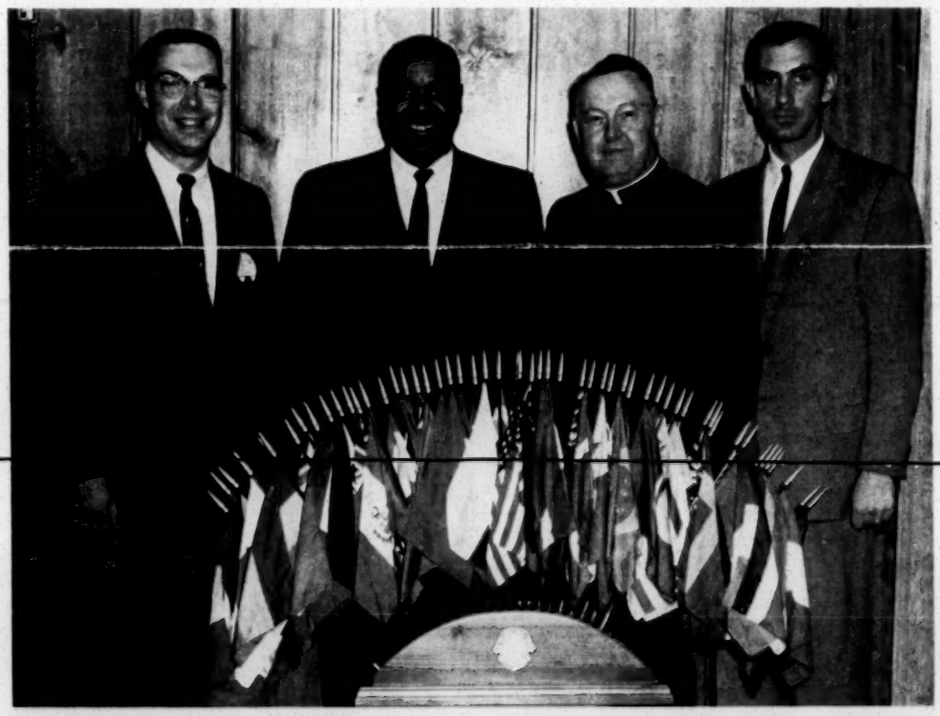
(Continued on Page 2)

Four A/C's Launch New Programs

The four Commission-sponsored employment advisory councils in Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Lansing and Muskegon, have been continuing their similar but independently determined programs. During September and October, the Grand Rapids Council advanced plans for the second and third in a series of meetings with selected industry and trade groups. The Kalamazoo Council met on October 3. Programs under discussion included cooperation with a recently developed community motivational program, an informational meeting with an organization of local personnel officers, a conference involving school superintendents of the southwestern Michigan area, and the first industry-based FEP meeting contemplated for this community.

The Kalamazoo group had earlier decided that vocational motivation was a project outside its immediate scope and means and instead decided to cooperate with a newly-organized community committee which has guidance as its primary function. The Council also voted to participate in the January meeting of the Kalamazoo Personnel Association. It has under development a sixteen-county-area meeting with the 200 district school superintend-

(Continued on Page 2)



More than fifty members of the Alpena Lions Club turned out on October 14 to hear representatives of the FEP Commission. The program, twelfth in a series of community information messages arranged by the Commission, heard discussions of its approach and methods and a review of claims experience by Commissioner John F. Finnegan (third from left) and Deputy Director William M. Seabron (second from left). Officers of the club shown are William Zeller, President, left, and Robert McDonald, Secretary, right.

FOUR COUNCILS

(Continued from Page 1)

ents who are serviced by Western Michigan University School of Education and Field Division and other Michigan colleges of education.

In assessing its progress, the Kalamazoo Council agreed upon a step which had been under discussion in the other communities. This involves a shift to a series of conferences, studies or projects organized within major industry units. It is felt that these groups, with a sense of self-identification, offer a logical and promising basis on which to further develop the FEP educational-interpretative effort.

The Commission's newest advisory council, Lansing, met on October 22. Under discussion was a recent contact with the community's retailing leaders. An excellent response to the question of minority group utilization was reported. Plans were made to stimulate minority-youth aspirations in the retail area. The council decided a "motivational" conference beamed toward youth advisors and designed along the lines of earlier meetings held in Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids and Muskegon was an appropriate next step. In addition, it gave early priority to a meeting of management and schools personnel to discuss emerging employment trends in commerce and industry and the capacities and problems of the school systems in keeping pace.

A committee of the Muskegon Advisory Council met with the retail committee of that community's chamber of commerce on October 29. Conferees reported a "spirit of complete cooperation and cordiality". It is felt that the meeting put the community on the threshold of greatly expanded use of minority group personnel in distributive trades in Muskegon.

At a subsequent meeting, council members discussed extension of the school co-operative training program now in operation in the City of Muskegon to adjoining school systems with large minority youth enrollments. Also placed on the table was a proposal for a management-schools meeting.

The Commission's program in the Flint area has recently been expanded although there is no advisory council in the community. Commission personnel are now working with a committee of school, church, fraternal and civic organizations to develop a "Community Motivational and Preparation Project". As tentatively drawn this proposal would involve school specialists and counseling agency personnel in a five session, alternate week institute describing job opportunities, training facilities, and the need to stimulate youth to aspire and qualify for the more rewarding careers increasingly available to them. Minority community leadership will be asked to participate and then to act as sources of new information within their neighborhoods and in their usual social settings.

CLAIMS DATA

(Continued from Page 1)

often affects individuals who stand in the same class or group as the claimant.

SCHOOL CLAIMS

From its inception in the fall of 1955 until the opening of school this year, the Commission had received twelve claims concerning teacher hiring. Eleven have been resolved, one is still pending. Five claims were dismissed on a finding of no probable cause to sustain the allegations of the claimant.

In six other claims there has been agreement on adjustments. In two instances immediate hiring was provided. In the four others, terms of settlement call for consideration for next vacancy, future vacancy, and (in one instance) placement on the school's list of accredited substitutes.

The Commission, in receiving the staff report, was concerned about policies of teacher assignment to schools in three of the cases in which the precise claim was insufficiently supported by the evidence. While commenting on a generally warm and cooperative response from school administrators, Commissioners noted that assignment of teachers to various schools within a community without respect to race, religion or place of birth is a condition of employment within the meaning of the FEP Act.

ON THE JOB IN MICHIGAN
INFORMATION BULLETIN

Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission

Harry J. Kelley, *Chairman*
Alex Fuller, *Vice-Chairman*
Mrs. Anne H. Cook, *Secretary*
Rev. Fr. John F. Finnegan
Louis Rosenzweig Rev. Allan A. Zaun

John G. Feild, *Executive Director*
William M. Seabron, *Deputy Director*

Published in February, April, June, August, October, December

FEP ALTERS STAFF PLAN; "CHARITIES" CALL COOMES

Pursuant to Commission action, the staff and operational program of the FEP Commission have been reorganized in an attempt to provide more efficient service and to deal more directly with local communities. The new Commission organizational plan calls for four regional service centers, in Detroit, Lansing, Grand Rapids and Flint.

The Commission currently has offices in Lansing and Detroit and has requested that the legislature provide for offices in Grand Rapids and Flint which are now the centers of on-going activities which must be serviced from the two offices.

The plan approved by the Commission and now being tested provides for unified service by field representatives handling claims and voluntary compliance and functioning under regional directors who will be responsible for the total program in their areas. In addition, staff service will be available to the field men through a coordinator of claims and conciliation and a coordinator of research and survey.

Deputy Director William M. Seabron has assumed the additional duties of acting director of the Detroit region. Field representatives who have been servicing the Commission's educational program in Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Lansing, will continue with these assignments and will have additional responsibility for claims investigation. Field representatives assigned to the former claims division will become members of the Detroit regional staff, with headquarters at 900 Cadillac Square Building.

NEW POST FOR COOMES

Jerry Coomes, Commission field representative since June 1956, submitted his resignation in October to become Executive Director of the Catholic Charities of Michigan. The group, which has been established in recent months, coordinates the efforts of Catholic social welfare agencies in the five Michigan dioceses, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Lansing, Saginaw, and Marquette.

Coomes has been director of the Commission's Lansing office and executive secretary of the Commission's Lansing and Muskegon councils. A native of Detroit and a graduate of Michigan State University, he makes his home in Haslett.

The Commission adopted a motion expressing its recognition of Coomes' service and extending its good wishes to him in his new post.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF CIVIL RIGHTS, NORTH AND SOUTH

(As Expressed in a *Statement on Civil Rights* Adopted by The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials)

The South

EMERGING SUPPORT FOR DESEGREGATION

It may well be that a turning point recently has been reached in the struggle for racial desegregation of the public schools. Some of the costs of "massive resistance" have made themselves felt. Public schools have been closed, imposing hardships upon white as well as Negro pupils. A comprehensive ruling by the United States Supreme Court has stricken every vestige of legality from all schemes and stratagems for evading its earlier desegregation ruling, whether now or in the future. The promises of some southern governors, attorneys general, and political leaders, that the mandate of the Supreme Court could be circumvented or countermanded by interposition of state authority have been shown to be empty. The growing wave of violence, unmistakably stemming from and given sanction by the defiance and evasion of law by public officials, has brought home the inevitable consequences of this course of action. As a result, an articulate segment of public opinion in the South has begun to advocate compliance with the Supreme Court rulings.

A growing number of people not only recognize that they have been misled by their political officials, but realize also that, in standing aside from the controversy heretofore, they have defaulted on their duty and contributed by their silence to the creation of an intolerable situation. The monopoly upon public expression of views on desegregation, that has been held by the intransigent segregationists is being challenged. Desegregation is being debated in the South. The beginnings of a dynamic shift of public opinion are discernible.

(Continued on Page 4)

This *Statement on Civil Rights* is a consensus view of the current state of the various civil rights issues in America today, as seen by the 450 members of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, lay board members and professional workers of the many agencies and organizations working in whole or in part in the area of intergroup relations. NAIRO, as a professional society, "is concerned with advancing intergroup relations knowledge and skills, improving the standards of intergroup relations practice, and furthering the understanding and acceptance of the goals and principles of intergroup relations work."

But NAIRO and NAIRO members believe too that "no greater challenge faces the contemporary world than that of perfecting the means whereby free men may live together in mutual acceptance with respect for differences. Indeed, it is the crucial challenge of our time. . . . Intergroup relations work is focused on that challenge. Its goal is a society in which men and groups can live comfortably and creatively together. . . ." The preamble to the *Statement* observes that "while there has been movement in this direction, it is distressingly evident in our own land that the world is still far from having succeeded in building such a society."

NAIRO's assessment runs to 4,000 words. Information-Bulletin has space for only an extract of sections concerned with northern and southern, national and local responsibilities, in the issue-areas of school integration, and free access to housing. This selection may seem disparate and unrelated. We have structured our presentation feeling that the content makes quite clear that these issues are but the northern and southern sides of the same coin. Such contrast as there is may lie in the reaction of government and governmental officials.

The *Statement* was adopted at NAIRO's Twelfth Annual Conference at Pittsburgh in November.

The North

SIMILAR PHENOMENA, DIFFERING POLICY

Segregation and other forms of discrimination are not limited to the South; they exist in many, if not all, of the large industrial centers of the entire nation. Wherever they exist they must be eliminated. However, while the sanctions of law are being misused in some southern states in unconstitutional attempts to perpetrate injustice, they are being used increasingly in some other states in other parts of the nation in support of Constitutional guarantees of equal rights and equal freedoms. Twenty states now have civil rights statutes of varying degrees of comprehensiveness, with administration and enforcement in the hands of official state agencies. In addition, a much larger number of ordinances are in effect in municipalities, many of which also have official agencies for their administration.

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

In the South, the issue of equality of opportunity is being fought out primarily in the context of the school desegregation struggle. Elsewhere, equality of access to available housing is perhaps the major key to problems of segregation and discrimination. Segregation by neighborhood is the inevitable breeder of every other form of segregation—in educational facilities, welfare services, public accommodations and community organization. Under the conditions that exist in virtually all our major urban centers, moreover, it is a means of perpetuating inequalities and contributing toward intergroup hostilities, antagonisms and resentment. . . .

HOUSING POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Many factors and influences combine to sustain our present segregated neighborhoods and communities: group prejudices in the majority population group, practices current in the housing industry and among real estate brokers and builders, policies and practices of governmental agencies and public officials. The Federal Housing Administration, although committed in principle to "equality of opportunity . . . irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin," does not control the discriminatory practices of private builders or lenders. Other agencies of the federal government are making funds available for the construction of public and redevelopment housing that is expressly set up on a segregated or discriminatory basis. State laws requiring segregation are accepted as binding despite court decisions plainly establishing their invalidity. Finally, the Race Relations Service of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has been steadily reduced in strength and power. . . .

Aside from standing in the way of the improvement of intergroup relations, housing segregation bears within it the seed of deterioration and decay of our cities. Our cities are being gradually emptied of economically more self-sufficient elements, which are moving to racially and sometimes religiously exclusive suburbs. The central urban areas, thus abandoned, may grow into great ghettos. The new political leadership of the cities is likely to be relatively inexperienced. Already much retail business and some industry, not dependent upon a mass sup-

(Continued on Page 4)

The South

(Continued from Page 3)

We believe this emergent sentiment must be channelled into constructive roles in the continuing conflict, through the wise and effective utilization in the period immediately ahead, by both government and private organizations, of the processes of law and the approaches and techniques of intergroup relations. This will be best achieved if the processes of law and the approaches of intergroup relations are conceived, not as alternatives, but as complementary.

LAW AND EDUCATION AS RELATED TOOLS

Both law and education are instruments of social change. Law operates not only as coercion, but as a conditioner of conduct and attitude. This is especially so in a democracy. Authoritarian governments may use laws as repressive devices, but in our system law is looked upon as an expression of the popular will, and government as the instrument of its effectuation. Most people, accordingly, abide by law as a matter of course. Law against discriminatory behavior thus inhibits as well as prohibits such behavior by the prejudiced and even tends to reduce impulses to such behavior while it supports and encourages the unprejudiced in the practice of equality.

The reverse is likewise true: law imposing discrimination, so general in our South, has sustained and nurtured prejudice. It is ironically notable, indeed, that many who have decried the use of law against discrimination on the ground that prejudice must first be overcome by moral suasion are among the most vigorous defenders of law to enforce discrimination.

The sanction of law, in brief, is a potent factor in the promotion of equality of opportunity, complementing and in turn complemented by positive educational and intergroup relations approaches. Nor are the sanctions of law exclusively punitive or coercive. Effective positive incentives to compliance may be provided, thus adding tangible rewards to the impact of the moral weight of law in fashioning conduct.

No law, however, is self-implementing, whether it be court ruling or legislative enactment. Law does not, of itself, effect change; it merely provides authority or mandate; it has to be used, otherwise it remains a dead letter.

The North

(Continued from Page 3)

ply of relatively unskilled labor, are moving to the suburbs. Declines in municipal tax revenues are inevitable. In these circumstances, deterioration of public services of all sorts is almost certain.

Population mobility is a characteristic of a healthy modern society. It should not be impeded. But a radically new and more imaginative approach to housing is imperative to deal with it. Such an approach would eschew the multiplication of housing projects designed to accommodate particular economic levels; such projects encourage racial and ethnic segregation. Rather, a new conceptualization is needed of the kinds of integrated communities we wish to create; we should plan for communities, not merely for shelter. In such an approach is to be found the hope for solution of our housing segregation.

CIVIL RIGHTS A NATIONAL PROBLEM

Civil Rights are, in every sense, a national and not a sectional problem. In the dynamic currents of population movements in our nation, the effects of disfranchisement, unequal treatment, oppression, and degradation in any section are carried throughout all parts of the country, as an infection is carried in the body by the bloodstream. Many of the heavy costs of racial discrimination are born inequitably by those sections of our country which are themselves most advanced in the assurance to all of equal opportunity.

Officials of northern states, who are in the forefront of leadership in behalf of civil rights, have tended to rely on local and state actions, while largely overlooking ways in which they might exert their influence upon national policy. They have failed also to perceive or to evaluate fully the grave implications for the economic and political future of their own cities and states inherent in the continued repressiveness and discrimination of parts of the South. . . .

The influence of the northern states, for example, might be directed toward securing more effective implementation of existing laws and regulations affecting non-discrimination in the employment policies of firms holding government contracts; to more effective pursuit of federal authority designed to assure the right of Negroes in the south to vote; . . . to the provision of grants in aid for civil rights programs.

ON THE JOB IN MICHIGAN
Information Bulletin
900 Cadillac Square Bldg.
Detroit 26, Michigan

1

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Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FORM 3547 REQUESTED

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

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FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

129 MASON BUILDING
LANSING, MICHIGAN

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JOHN G. FEILD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES
RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS
LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

November 26, 1958

Please Reply: DETROIT

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It is unfortunate that the heavy program of the NAIRO conference rarely affords the opportunity to chat in a relaxed fashion without the pressure of the next commission or departmental meeting. I do believe that we must go to a four day conference with Monday left open for the Board meeting and the meeting of functional specialists, e.g. researches, public relations men.

For sometime now I have considered the Florina Lasker Fellows program at Brandeis University to be a fortuitous coincidence meeting my desire to further develop my conceptual framework. As you know, I am one of the many guys who bumped into this field on a stray moment's lookup from politics and community organization. I had about given up the idea when it became apparent that several members of our Commission staff were considering other opportunities; but recent developments have convinced me that I must think a bit more selfishly and not be the maiden sister remaining at home to care for the old folks; therefore, with John's consent I am applying for a fellowship.

While I strongly suspect that if I probed deeply enough into the formation of the new Lasker program I might find the prints of your grubby fingers, I am sending along a photo copy of the Lasker announcement. My request is that you be gracious enough to send a letter supporting my application. They ask for letters from "responsible associates". (Can this mean you?) The letter should be directed to:

Mr. Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.
Director, Lasker Program
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

I feel that your letter from "down home" (as we say) would broaden the base of my support. I feel I am eminently qualified to ask you for your endorsement because I have never been south of Cincinnati - not even to Covington, Kentucky yet.

If you don't find a way to come north in the next six weeks, I am going to arrange a big shindig including a fat fee because Michigan ought to see you.

Fraternally,

ROBERT J. GREENE
Director
Grand Rapids Region

RJG/plp

December 1, 1958

Mr. Robert Greene
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a blind copy of a letter just written to Mr. Katzenbach. Glad to make the recommendation 'cus strangely enough, for once I believe what I say.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

December 1, 1958

Mr. Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.
Director, Lasker Program
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Katzenbach:

I should like to take this opportunity to recommend as a candidate for the Florina Lasker Fellowship in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights Mr. Robert J. Green of the Michigan F.E.P.C.

I have known Mr. Green for some four (4) years and have found him to be a happy combination of judiciousness and courage in his profession. His professional competencies are considerable, yet as a relatively young man his potentialities are even greater. I believe the directed reading and the fourteen-week seminar at Brandeis University would be a real help in his professional growth.

Mr. Green is a person of intellectual and professional integrity; he has a bright and well-organized mind; he is dedicated to working for the attainment of a more fully democratic society. I am convinced that should he be accepted, both Brandeis and the Florina Lasker Fellowship Program will one day be proud of the fact that he is a product of this project.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

December 1, 1958

Miss Frances R. Cousens
Research and Survey Division
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Fran:

Thanks for your notes on Scammon's talk. It is a very nice job. I am impressed with the speed with which you got it out.

Your P. S. puzzles me. One of your guys is either near-sighted or perhaps my fraternity ring had slipped over on one side. I am wed only to my work and to my deep conviction that it is right.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

Please Reply: Detroit

December 4, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am almost afraid to write you--there appears to be a terrifying correlation between my letters and violent occurrences somewhere in the South. I assuage any guilt feelings with the knowledge that this is a temporal rather than a causal relationship.

This is not an official communication since protocol would dictate that I address Maggie Garrity as well. Will you consider it, therefore, as a request to you as a NAIRO Board member and a personal friend.

You will recall that I spoke with you in Pittsburgh regarding the reactivation of NAIRO's Department of Research Services. I presume that this plan does not have the unanimous approval or support of the Board or else the department would never have been eliminated in the first place. I am hoping that your feelings in this matter are similar to Maggie's and mine, namely, that the department should be re-established no matter who is asked to serve as its chairman.

At the meeting of our research committee in Pittsburgh, we voted to submit an official proposal to be acted upon at the next Board meeting. I am sending you the minutes of that meeting as well as the preliminary draft of the proposal which has been circulated to the committee members for their amendment and approval. In your capacity as President-elect, you will receive a copy of the official document. I wanted you to have these preliminary materials, however, in order to enlist your support. The draft will indicate my own rationale which, I hope, becomes the consensus of our committee.

Maggie is planning to be in Detroit the latter part of this month and I intend to talk with her about a few ideas I have had brewing for over a year but which got nowhere because there was no group specifically assigned to nor concerned with research.

Believe me, I do not wish to put you on the spot by asking for any commitment to approve my plans nor those of our committee. I do hope you will give this some thought and consideration, though, and thus be in a better position to support our proposal at the next Board meeting. I feel so strongly about the entire matter that I do not hesitate to do whatever "operating" is necessary to increase our chances for success.

Thank you for any suggestions you can offer.

Sincerely,

Fran

Mrs. Frances R. Cousens, Chief,
Research and Survey Division

FRC:mw
Encl.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members, Committee of Research Staffs, Public Civil Rights Agencies

FROM: Frances R. Cousens

SUBJECT: Attached Minutes and Proposal

DATE: December, 1958

At our meeting held in Pittsburgh, November 21, I was asked to draft a proposal to be submitted to the NAIRO Executive Board for consideration at their next meeting requesting that NAIRO's Department of Research Services be reactivated.

Enclosed are the minutes of that meeting and the draft of the proposal. Since we want the latter to represent the consensus of our group, will you kindly give it your immediate attention and make any additions, deletions or corrections you deem advisable. Return the draft so that it will reach me no later than December 15. If I do not hear from you by that date, we will assume it meets with your approval as it stands.

After December 15, I shall prepare a new proposal incorporating all the suggested changes and again circulate the completed draft.

Please act on this promptly. The officers and board members of NAIRO are certain to be considering many suggestions; the sooner we reach them with ours, the better will be our chances for a favorable reaction.

PROPOSAL

TO: Executive Board, NAIRO

FROM: Committee of Research Staffs of Public Civil Rights Agencies

DATE: December, 1958

In order to achieve a closer working relationship between one group of agency practitioners, a committee has been established comprised of individuals with full or part-time research assignments in public agencies.

Although some plans have been developed for joint research projects, the effectiveness of this committee is limited since it involves a small number of individuals and agencies.

The committee feels, however, that all intergroup professionals could benefit from the research findings being accumulated in our field. Since the abolition of the Department of Research Services, a vaccuum has existed which this committee could not fill. It voted, therefore, to submit a proposal to the executive board of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials that its Department of Research Services be reactivated as soon as possible.

The benefits to be derived are manifold; to name but a few, NAIRO could achieve, through the Department of Research Services, the following:

(a) a clearing house and repository for all agency research.

(b) the periodic preparation and distribution to NAIRO members of an annotated bibliography of research conducted by universities and other agencies and institutions outside the field of intergroup relations but having relevance to our interests and concerns.

(c) assistance to intergroup agencies having no research budget or staff in obtaining such staff or consultant services by providing professional testimony and materials for use with legislative bodies, commissions or boards.

(d) assistance to NAIRO in preparing prospectuses and proposals for presentation to foundations aimed at obtaining financial assistance for research which would benefit all member agencies and individuals.

(e) assumption of the responsibility of planning and conducting cooperative inter-agency research projects. This was the rationale behind the formulation of the present committee, but a Department of Research Services, with broader representation could accomplish more in this direction.

(f) development of a uniform method of recording and reporting claims filed with regulatory agencies.

(g) work in close liaison with the Commission on Nature, Scope, and Theory and the Committee on Professional Standards in developing greater and more accurate knowledge of the field and those working in it.

The undersigned members of the committee therefore propose that the Executive Board of NAIRO re-establish the Department of Research Services.

Aaron Antonovsky -	New York State Commission against Discrimination
Rhetta Arter	Commission on Intergroup Relations
Herbert Aurbach	Commission on Human Relations
Frances R. Cousens	Fair Employment Practices Commission, Michigan
Burton I. Gordin	Commission on Human Relations
Henry Stetler	Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights
Eunice Grier	New York State Commission against Discrimination
George Grier	New York State Commission against Discrimination
Bert Schloss	Chicago Commission on Human Relations
Anna Holden	Race Relations Dept., Fisk University

MINUTES

Minutes of meeting of representatives of public anti-discrimination agency research staffs, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 21, 1958.

PRESENT:

*Aaron Antonovsky, New York State Commission Against Discrimination

*Herbert Aurbach, Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations

*Anna Holden, Race Relations Department, Fisk University

Gregory Shinert, Missouri Commission on Human Rights

Walter Ducey, Chicago Commission on Human Relations

Warren Lehman, Chicago Commission on Human Relations

Jack Isselhardt, Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission

*Frances Cousens, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission

It was noted that Burton Gordin of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations was not present because of his early departure from the conference; likewise Eunice and George Grier of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, having planned to attend this meeting, were detained by a tour of urban renewal projects in Pittsburgh. They will receive copies of these proceedings as will Henry Stetler, Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, Rhetta Arter, New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, and Bert Schloss, Chicago Commission on Human Relations. All five have full-time research assignments for their respective agencies.

The meeting was opened at 12:45 by Aaron Antonovsky, Acting Chairman; Frances Cousens was asked to serve as recorder. The Chairman presented the background leading to the formulation of this group and a brief resume of the meeting held in New York City on February 19-20, 1958, attended by Henry Stetler, Frances Cousens, Rhetta Arter, Aaron Antonovsky, Eunice and George Grier.

*(full time research assignment)

The general aim was to establish a quasi-permanent organization of researchers in state and city agencies with some degree of semi-structured coordination of research activities. Through meetings and correspondence we would attempt the following:

(a) cooperative research in needed areas where it would not be possible for individual agencies with limited resources;

(b) replication of studies in order to achieve wider geographical coverage;

(c) exchanging methodological clues and materials developed, ie. not only final reports of findings but designs, interview schedules, etc.;

(d) developing uniform methods of analyzing complaints to be used by agencies in annual reports and elsewhere.

The group discussed the possibility of circulating copies of periodic reports of research activities as they are submitted to our respective agency heads and commissions. There was some disagreement with this plan since these reports often contain confidential information which should not be used outside the office. This problem may be resolved by either deleting such confidential information or else preparing another report for consumption by this group. It was agreed however, that we should aim for some method of regular reporting rather than on an ad hoc basis since the latter often results in not sending anything around. The greater exchange we can achieve, the more help each individual can derive from this group.

The following recommendations were adopted:

(1) to prepare an annotated bibliography of research and other relevant materials in intergroup relations for the benefit of agencies which do not have anyone assigned to research activities.

(2) obtain the materials prepared by the Joint Committee on Intergroup Relations of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Frances Cousens offered to contact the SSSP co-chairman for this purpose;

(3) to submit a proposal to the NAIRO Executive Board that the department of research services be reactivated. Frances Cousens was asked to draft such a proposal; after it has been approved by each member of the group, it will be sent to Margaret Garrity, President and John Lassoe, Executive Secretary of NAIRO for action at the next meeting of the Executive Board;

(4) to prepare a directory of all research people in the field of intergroup relations and that it be distributed through the NAIRO office;

(5) that the minutes of the meeting held in New York in February, 1958, be sent to all those present who have not yet received them. Aaron Antonovsky volunteered to do this;

(6) that the minutes of this meeting be distributed to all members of the group whether or not they were present.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Frances R. Cousens
Recorder

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

December 8, 1958

Please Reply: DETROIT

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Just a note to express my sincere appreciation and very great gratitude for the inspiring professional appraisal which you wrote Brandeis University in your letter of recommendation. If I believed what you said I would resign forthwith and apply for a top job elsewhere paying double my present salary.

When I first read your letter my reaction was to dictate a two-word reply, each word of which would contain but four letters. The first word relates to the male member of the species which provides us with proteins through meat and milk; the second word relates to the fecal product of mammals. However, since I am a horrid typist and since our secretary is a charming young girl who would be grossly offended by such language, I had to defer this use until next we meet, highball in hand.

I have recently had contact with the American Jewish Committee whose Director of Community Affairs, A. Harold Murray, is interested in me for a staff position. It seems they are going to reassign another man to the South, which may come as interesting news to you, and thus there will be an opening. Murray and I left the matter quite open. I did not deign to

discuss a possible Brandeis excursion with him. Barring an extremely fine offer from another source, the Brandeis project is currently my number one professional concern. Should you have occasion to reflect on the AJ Committee, in the near future, I would appreciate your observations and comments. There is no rush to this. My concern with Committee is that their preoccupation would be with a membership building operation and not with an action-oriented program development. They certainly stand alone for the status, power, intellectual capacity and emotional security of their membership. I have my doubts as to how willing they are even yet to use this potential and as to how willing this potential is to be used.

Fondly,

Robert J. Greene
Director
Grand Rapids Region

RJG/plp

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

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RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

12/9/58

Dear Fred:

Would you or SRC have any objection to circulating copies of Mr. Wright's talk at NAIRO? The instructor of a Race Relations class at Wayne (Soc. Dept.) has contributed much free and valuable manpower to my research projects for the agency. The remarks by Wright are timely and apropos for a group of students in such a class.

I did not, however, want to make use of the paper without permission. Will you please drop a note or post card to let me know if this is OK? Thanks.

Hope you and all are well.

Fran

December 11, 1958

Miss Frances R. Cousens
Research and Survey Division
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Fran:

Thanks for your note of the 9th asking about using Marion Wright's paper presented at NAIRO. We would be pleased to have it used. It might be regarded as an epistle to Yankee Corinthians.

My only question is whether NAIRO would want any of it published before it comes out in the procedings of the Conference. But classroom use would be fine, I'm sure.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

December 29, 1958

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
Education and Community Services
Division
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Sam:

Fran Cousens wrote me and asked about the possibility of my serving as the speaker for the general assembly at the community conference sponsored by the Urban League of Flint. Unfortunately, I am previously committed to the Tuskegee Civic Association on the 9th. Since Eastern is on strike, only Capital and Delta are serving the Atlanta-Detroit run, and their schedule would not permit me to be back in time to get to Tuskegee. I regret this for I would enjoy participating in the conference.

Best regards to all my friends up there.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
cc Frances Cousens

December 29, 1958

Miss Frances R. Counsens
Research and Survey Division
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Fran:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have just written to Sam. I am sorry that travel schedules make my participation impossible. If the Eastern strike is over by then, the chances of my making it would be good, but the Urban League has to know now and it would be unfair to them to accept on so tenuous a basis.

Sorry I missed your call but I was in route home for the holidays. I did contact the operator in Detroit and leave my Miami number, but heard nothing further.

With the very best wishes for the new year,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

December 24, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Fred:

Thanks for the prompt reply to my last letter. The contents were most welcome and are already being utilized.

This one is being written on behalf of Sam Simmons. I do not recall whether I told you that he is leaving our staff to assume the directorship of the State Labor Mediation Board. We are all helping him to complete his current commitments.

Sam has been representing our agency in the Flint area; thus the Urban League there approached him for assistance in planning the conference described in the enclosed letter. When Sam asked me whom I would recommend as their keynote speaker, the choice was very easy since it narrowed down to one, namely you. He and Art Edmunds readily concurred.

Now they need to know several things: (1) would you be available on Feb. 7? (2) what is your fee, in addition to expenses, for such an engagement? (3) if you accept, are there any suggestions you can offer about the format and procedure of the conference?

I tried reaching you by phone and learned you were in Miami, so will you please reply immediately upon your return to the office? You can write directly to Sam but he will tell me if you are planning to come and, if so, I will arrange a small party for the same evening, replete with cheese cake (the edible kind, of course.) ~~Since the date falls on a Saturday, you would have the next day~~ to recuperate.

You and I have been discussing a fishing expedition--a trip to Michigan in the very near future might very well accomplish a dual purpose in re paragraph #1 above.

Best wishes for a happy holiday season and a wonderful year.

Sincerely,

Fran

Frances R. Cousens

FRC/ms

The URBAN LEAGUE of Flint

200 East Kearsley Street Flint 2, Michigan CEdar 9-2195

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and
COUNCIL OF
SOCIAL AGENCIES
Affiliated with the
NATIONAL
URBAN LEAGUE

December 18, 1958

Dear Sam,

I think I mentioned to you that on February 7, the League is going to have a community conference on the theme "Next Steps Forward In Interracial Progress." I would like for you to be a speaker in the workshop session on "Developing Effective Use Of Minority Group Workers." I also need your help in securing a couple of other people, but first let me briefly outline the program.

It will be from 11:15 until about 6:00 p.m. George D. Stevens will keynote it using as a backdrop a similar conference we held some ten years ago. At the luncheon meeting, Dr. Basil G. Zimmer of the University of Michigan will talk on population movements and their implications on race relations. After this we will have six concurrent workshop sessions on the following topics: I. "Development of a Free Market in Housing"; II. "The Role of the Religious Leader in Interracial Progress"; III. "Developing a Community Awareness For Interracial Progress"; IV. "Civil Rights and Law Enforcement"; V. "School Segregation In Northern Communities - What Can We Do About It?"; and, the sixth one is on employment. Then, at a general assembly we will have a nationally prominent person in the intergroup relations field who can talk about what local people can do. Now, can you suggest a person and a topic for this? I know you mentioned Dan Dodson and suggested some topic. Is there anyone else and what could we get them for? (Incidentally, I would also like to get Dr. Alfred Kelly of Wayne State and Bob Frehse of the Coordinating Council for the Schools and Religious workshops respectively).

Let me hear from you as soon as possible so I can get this thing moving.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Edmunds

16 Years of Interracial Activity For Building Better Race Relations

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

January 5, 1959

Please Reply: DETROIT

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Just a note to let you know that I have been selected as one of the Lasker Fellows at Brandeis University. I am very grateful to you for your gracious letter in my behalf.

There are other matters which I very much wish to discuss with you if we could only get together. I have no desire to compromise your position and do not now know that I would be directly involved, but there is an insight or two which I would like to share. Do you have any plans to be coming through this way now that Eastern is flying again?

Cordially,

Robert J. Greene

Home address:
19915 Kentfield
Detroit 19, Michigan

KEnwood 3-4394

February 17, 1959

Mr. Robert Greene
30 Willow Street
Newton Center 59, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of the 14th, and for the previous call. I have written Dr. Katzenbach, accepting the invitation.

I didn't get to Detroit because one-half hour before plane time all flights were canceled due to heavy fog in the Atlanta area. I called Alex Fuller and we are arranging a later date.

Thank you for your interest in all these matters. In haste,

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

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WILLIAM M. SEABRON
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

March 4, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear

It was good of you to submit your travel expenses with such clarity ~~and promptness. We submitted the forms to arrange payment yesterday and~~ you should receive your reimbursement within ten days to two weeks.

Warm personal regards,

"Bill"

William M. Seabron
Acting Director

WMS:vc

April 15, 1959

(W)

Mr. Alex Fuller
82 Mountcalm Street
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Alex:

My delay in answering your good letter has exceeded the demands of courtesy. I regret this delay, but I have been out of the office on field trips to Virginia and Tennessee.

I am grateful that the Commission feels that it can meet with the conditions you outlined in your letter. I look forward to a long, pleasant and fruitful relationship with the Michigan FEPC. I must say that it is with a considerable degree of reluctance that I leave the South, and yet I feel the opportunity for professional contribution in this field demanded my accepting the Michigan job.

I would prefer as little publicity as possible on this appointment until I actually come to the job. Knowledge by unfriendly forces that I am going to head an FEPC could hamper the work I have yet to finish before leaving SRC. I hope you understand my position.

Please give my best regards to Harry, the other Commissioners, and the staff. I look forward to working with you all.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

May 4, 1959

Mr. Alex Fuller
Commissioner
Michigan FEPC
82 West Montcalm
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Alex:

Many thanks for your recent letter which arrived in the morning's mail.

I full well understand the difficulties of paper work in connection with payrolls, and will arrange my schedule to conform to one of the specified dates. I wish I could say I could come on May 24, but that is not possible. Therefore, I will select the next pay period, June 7, which means I begin work on Monday, June 8. This is probably just as well as the 1st (which I had originally proposed) for it will give me a brief vacation between jobs - something I don't mind saying I could use.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

COMMISSION
SIDNEY M. SHEVITZ, CHAIRMAN
MRS. ANNE H. COOK, SECRETARY
REV. FR. JOHN F. FINNEGAN
ALEX FULLER
HARRY J. KELLEY
REV. CHESTER A McPHEETERS

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

129 MASON BUILDING,
LANSING, MICHIGAN

904 CADILLAC SQUARE BUILDING, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
TELEPHONE: DETROIT WO 2-6680 — EXT. 43 LANSING: IV 5-8144 — EXT. 453

JOHN G. FEILD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

WILLIAM M. SEABRON
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

CLAIMS DIVISION
EDWARD N. HODGES III
CHIEF
ROSCOE B. BALLARD
THOMAS J. PELOSO, JR.
WALTER R. GREENE, JR.
FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY SERVICES DIVISION
SAMUEL J. SIMMONS
ROBERT J. GREENE
FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

REPLY TO: 2nd Floor
82 West Montcalm
Detroit 1, Michigan

Mr Frederick B Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

We're very pleased that you are going to work with the Michigan Commission and will certainly respect your wishes with regard to advance publicity.

We understand that you will be coming to Michigan on or about the first of June, however there is some paper work in connection with payroll and we would like to have as definite a date as you can name at this time. Our payroll dates for this period are May 24, June 7, and June 21st and because we must add new staff at the beginning of a pay period, a date near to any one of the three mentioned above for your Detroit arrival would help us with our paper work here.

We don't mean to rush you - albeit we are anxious to have you -- but I think you understand our need.

Thanks and my very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Alex.

Alex Fuller
Commissioner

AF:cdd

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

COMMISSION
HARRY J. KELLEY, CHAIRMAN
ALEX FULLER, VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. ANNE H. COOK, SECRETARY
REV. FR. JOHN F. FINNEGAN
LOUIS ROSENZWEIG
REV. ALLAN A. ZAUN

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

129 MASON BUILDING
LANSING, MICHIGAN

900 CADILLAC SQUARE BUILDING, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
TELEPHONE: DETROIT WO 2-6680 — EXT. 43 LANSING: IV 5-8144 — EXT. 453

JOHN G. FEILD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

WILLIAM M. SEABRON
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

CLAIMS DIVISION
EDWARD N. HODGES III
CHIEF
ROSCOE B. BALLARD
THOMAS J. PELOSO, JR.
WALTER R. GREENE, JR.
FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY SERVICES DIVISION
SAMUEL J. SIMMONS
ROBERT J. GREENE
FRANCIS J. COOMES
FIELD REPRESENTATIVES

RESEARCH AND SURVEY DIVISION
FRANCES R. COUSENS

LEGAL COUNSEL
GERALD D. WHITE
ASS'T. ATTY. GENERAL

May 14, 1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Would you be good enough to send me a 3 x 5 glossy print of yourself which we can use for publicity purposes? Commissioner Fuller has advised me of your desire that we release nothing on your appointment until you indicate you want it done. We will most certainly abide by your request. I have decided, however, to develop the release, have a cut made on your photo and some mats run for distribution to the newspapers. Commissioner Fuller is sending me the biographical sketch which he has on you and this should be sufficient for our needs.

Things are progressing satisfactorily here and it looks as if we might have a payday soon. By the time you arrive, we should be passed all these uncertain days.

See you soon. Warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

"Bill"

William M. Seabron
Acting Director

WMS:sig
afscme52

May 18, 1959

Mr. William M. Seabron
Acting Director
Michigan FEPC
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th. In response to your request for a 3x5 glossy print, I am sending along three. I believe the biographical sketch which I sent Alex Fuller some time back adequately covers all the information about me that would be needed.

I have received a great deal of kidding about taking a job with a state government which has payless paydays but I have faith that by the time I arrive these uncertain days will have passed away. The handful of recalcitrants in the senate have done severe harm to the good name of the state of Michigan.

I look forward to being with you soon.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

set up file? yes

August 1, 1967

Mr. William H. Burson, Director
Family & Children Services
State of Georgia
State Office Building
12-18 Capitol Square, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Mr. Burson:

Your actions relative to the poor in Georgia are the most realistic and the most commendable of any steps being taken in the region.

Please call on us if we can be of any possible assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

re: article in Journal on hungry children in Ga.

file

State Department of Family and Children Services

STATE OFFICE BUILDING/ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30334

WILLIAM H. BURSON
DIRECTOR

file

August 3, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your kind letter of August 1 was most gratifying and I thank you for its generosity.

You will receive in the very near future an invitation for the Southern Regional Council to be represented at the forthcoming Conference on Feeding Hungry Georgians. I hope it will be possible for you or one of your associates to attend.

Please convey my regards to my friend Pat Watters.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

William H. Burson

William H. Burson

WHB:mcd

File

State Department of Family and Children Services

STATE OFFICE BUILDING/ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30334

WILLIAM H. BURSON
DIRECTOR

File

September 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Department of Family and Children Services is greatly concerned about the finding that more than 116,000 Georgians in 69 counties are hungry and, out of that concern, is conducting an intensive effort to seek the inauguration of food programs by all of Georgia's 159 counties.

As a key part of this campaign a Conference on Feeding Hungry Georgians will be held Wednesday, September 13, 1967, in the House of Representatives Chamber of the State Capitol in Atlanta. The meeting will begin at 10:30 A.M. and will continue through 3:00 P.M. with a recess for lunch.

I wish herewith to extend to you an urgent and cordial invitation to attend and participate in this Conference. You will be joined by other leaders of our State and hopefully we will have a cross section of state and local officials and representatives of all civic, women's, veterans, fraternal, professional and other public service and community action organizations and groups.

The Conference will feature discussions of the different food programs in Georgia, the details of their operation and instructions on getting one of them underway in counties not now operating food programs. Particular emphasis will be given to the role local organizations can play in developing a climate of public opinion in support of such programs in their areas.

This Department and the State of Georgia need your help in getting food on the tables of those who do not get enough to eat. I hope you can attend and I look forward to seeing you on this occasion.

Sincerely,

William H. Burson

William H. Burson

September 8, 1967

file

Mr. William H. Burson
Director
State Department of Family and
Children Services
State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Mr. Burson:

Thank you for your good invitation to attend the most important meeting next week. I shall be there.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mm

Return to HCF

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

July 9, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Recent events prompt me to seek your reaction to a matter which has been on my mind for some time. A letter from Mrs. Tilly plus the results of a rather hasty survey I made on farm wages in Mississippi are probably the immediate factors leading to this letter. The attached, while not a complete sampling, is sufficiently broad in scope to give some indication of what faces thousands of farm workers in the South today.

In the past, spokesmen like Charles Johnson, Howard Odum, George Mitchell, Sam Franklin, Howard Kester and Will Alexander, to mention a few, saw to it that national attention was focused on problems such as these. During the 30's and 40's, the entire Southeast received the consideration of such organization as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, National Sharecroppers Fund, Home Missions Council, Workers' Defense League, Southern Regional Council, and various church agencies. Dedicated men and women of both races received the financial support of both religious and secular groups as they attempted to bring relief to the area.

Today, we find no consistent, organized effort on the part of private agencies to keep the plight of some 1½ million low-income farm families on the conscience of the nation. The concern expressed in the 30's for our economic depressed areas needs to be voiced anew. An occasional meeting at the national level by groups such as the newly organized National Committee on Farm Labor helps to give the nation some inkling of the problem. As much as one appreciates the interest and efforts of these brief gatherings in Washington and New York City, the fact remains that the basic agricultural problems of the South do not receive the attention they deserve.

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

In order that the problems of the region might be adequately studied and publicized, a single central agency is needed within the region itself to accomplish the job. Atlanta would seem to be the logical center for the operation and SRC the organization best qualified for the task.

To implement such a move, the following steps would appear to be in order: (1) convince the national organization which now have an interest in the region that a cooperative approach is essential to any solution of the basic problems which confront us, (2) locate the financial support essential for this new emphasis on the part of SRC, (3) pull together and make use of the resources of existing agencies and institutions of the Southeast, both public and private, and (4) secure the services of a top-flight agricultural economist with the ability to place this new concern before the nation.

In short, SRC might do with the low-income farm problem what Southern School News is doing in the field of education - on a more modest scale, of course.

Remember: SRC is "a Council to attain through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South." And, my friend, this includes the $2 per-day hoe-hand in Holmes County, Mississippi.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene Cox

A. E. Cox
President

CONFIDENTIAL - Not for publication

Wages paid for cotton chopping in 15 Mississippi counties - June 1-10, 1959

COUNTY	CHECK POINT	OPENED	JUNE 1-10
Desoto	Lake Cormorant	$3.00	$3.00
Tunica	Robinsonville	2.50	2.50 (P) (W) (T) (11-12)
	Tunica	2.50	3.00 & 3.50 (T)
	Dundee	2.50	3.00
Coahoma	Lula	2.50 & 3.00	2.50 & 3.00 (T) (10-11)
	Clarksdale	3.00	3.50 (DH)
Bolivar	Alligator	3.00	3.50 (9)
	Mound Bayou	3.00	3.50
	Cleveland	3.00	3.50 (T)
Washington	Leland	3.00	4.00* (DH)
	Hollandale	3.00	3.00 (P)
	"	3.00	3.50 (DH)
Humphreys	Belzoni	2.50	3.00
Sharkey	Anguilla	3.00	3.00 (P)
	Rolling Fork	3.00	3.00 (P)
Holmes	Foothills	2.00	2.50 & 3.00*
	Tchula	2.50	3.00
	Cruger	2.50	3.00 (10-11)
	Lexington	2.50	3.00
	Pickens	2.50	2.50 & 3.00
	Goodman	2.50	2.50 & 3.00
	Durant	2.50	2.50 & 3.00
Warren	Red Wood	3.00	3.00
Yazoo	Yazoo City	2.50 & 3.00	3.00 (9)
Issaquena	Valley Park	2.50 & 3.00	3.00

COUNTY	CHECK POINT	OPENED	JUNE 1-10, 1959
Leflore	Greenwood		3.50 (DH)
	Schlater	3.00	3.00 (P)
	Ruleville	3.00	3.50
Sunflower	Rome	3.00	3.00 & 3.50*
Tallahatchie	Sumner	3.00	3.00
	Tutwiler	3.00	3.00
Quitman	Lambert	3.00	3.00
	Darling	3.00	3.00
	Sledge	3.00	3.00

(P) Plantation with own labor supply

(DH) Day-haul labor supply recruited from town

(9) Hours worked per day

(W) Women workers paid $2.25 per day on plantation near Robinsonville

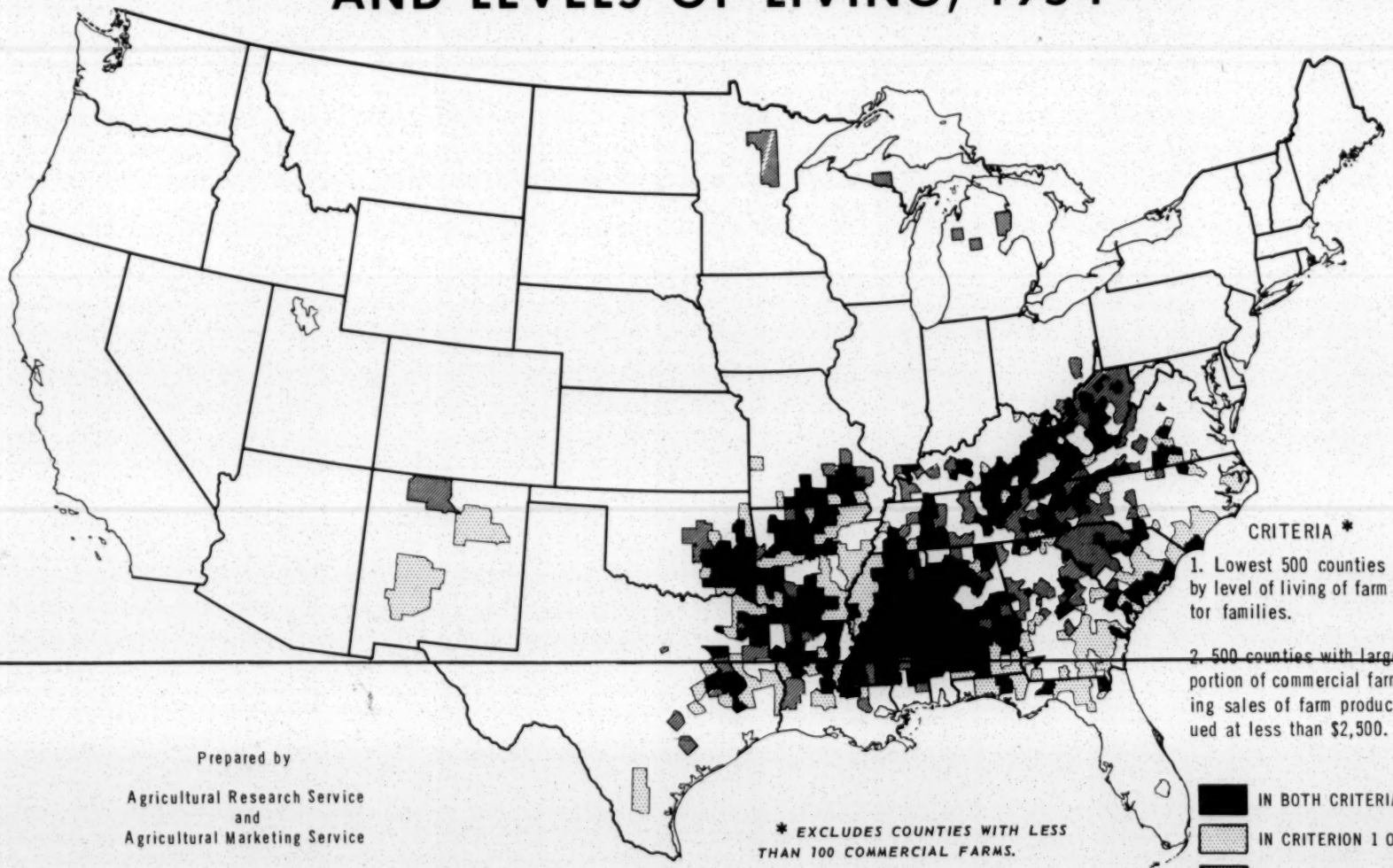
(T) Wages paid tractor drivers: Robinsonville $3.50 to $4.50, Tunica $5 to $6, Lula $3 to $6, and Cleveland $5 to $6.

*
Leland - Season opened at $3 per day. Excessive rainfall caused wage rate to advance to $4 on June 3.

*
Holmes County - One Negro small-farm operator opened season at $1.50

*
Sunflower County - A few instances where $4 was being paid in area where there had been long rainy spells.

COUNTIES WITH LOWEST FARM INCOMES AND LEVELS OF LIVING, 1954



CRITERIA *

1. Lowest 500 counties ranked by level of living of farm operator families.

2. 500 counties with largest proportion of commercial farms having sales of farm products valued at less than $2,500.

IN BOTH CRITERIA

IN CRITERION 1 ONLY

IN CRITERION 2 ONLY

* EXCLUDES COUNTIES WITH LESS THAN 100 COMMERCIAL FARMS.

Prepared by

Agricultural Research Service
and
Agricultural Marketing Service

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. DN-1003

THE NEW YORK TIMES.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1958.

For Action on Farm Labor

Farm labor in the United States is a depressed and mostly unorganized group of workers, both native and imported, at the bottom of the economic scale. Some 400,000 are regularly employed American wage workers on the bigger farms. Then there are half a million "migrants," also American, who swarm up from the South each summer to harvest the crops, East and West—35,000 to New York State alone—and another half million or so who are brought into this country on contract from Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Bahamas and West Indies, not to mention 44,000 "wet-backs" who cross the Rio Grande illegally.

The wages of all of them are notoriously low and their living conditions are often disgraceful —especially those of the migrants. Even the Americans are excluded from the protection of most Federal and state labor legislation.

Action to alleviate the condition of these workers has been in reverse ratio to their needs and to the investigations that have been made of them. A President's commission, many congressional and state inquiries and interdepartmental committees have accomplished little to assure farm labor the high standards of living which most American workers have achieved.

Action depends on public awareness and a definite program to which the public, and the workers themselves, can rally. The recently formed National Committee on Farm Labor is resolved to furnish both. Its joint chairmen are Frank P. Graham, former Senator and president of the University of North Carolina, and A. Philip Randolph, a vice president of the AFL-CIO. Other members include former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and an impressive array of educators, religious leaders and government officials.

One of the committee's first moves will be to hold a "public inquiry" in Washington next February to focus national attention on farm labor conditions and what should be done to better them. But all its activities will be directed to the long-range objective of "a workable program * * * which will be just and equitable to all levels of employer and employe interests." There could hardly be a worthier or more timely aim.

ST. PAUL DISPATCH
2 ★ Fri., Oct. 24, 1958

Farm Labor Advisory Unit Formed

By ROBERT E. LEE
Dispatch Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Another in a long series of efforts to bring the economic problems of farm workers under a national spotlight is now in progress. This time the effort is expected to be accompanied by outspoken criticism of the AFL-CIO for failing to organize a strong agricultural workers union.

Formation of a national advisory committee on farm labor was announced this week, with Dr. Frank P. Graham and A. Philip Randolph as co-chairmen. Graham is a former president of the University of North Carolina and a former Democratic senator; Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters AFL-CIO. Among other members are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D., N. Y.) and prominent educators and Catholic, Jewish and Protestant clergymen.

Indications are that the committee, which has scheduled an open hearing on farm labor problems next February in Washington, will focus much of its attention on two questions:

Is the AFL-CIO leadership doing enough to encourage development of trade unionism in agriculture?

Is the U. S. government properly regulating the importation of Mexican and other foreign farm workers so as to protect U. S. farm hands and family farm operators?

The announcement of the committee's formation stated that its "special concern" will be the "plight of the small farm families, the wage workers and the migrant workers whose depressed conditions are a challenge to national concern and action."

The committee is an offshoot of an organization known as the National Sharecroppers Fund, which for more than two decades has concerned itself with farm labor problems. Graham is chairman and Randolph co-chairman of the fund.

Gardner Jackson, an Agriculture department official in the Roosevelt administration and former AFL-CIO organizer, remarked to the conference that organized labor has never attempted a "concentrated, fullscale drive" to set up a farm workers' union. He wondered how long the American labor movement would "put up with ths disgraceful state of affairs."

Committee officials doing preliminary work on the February hearing said they will ask government experts and other witnesses accepting their invitation to answer such questions as:

Why does the federal government import thousands of Mexican workers for employment on large-scale farms while millions of U. S. citizens are unemployed?

Why is the United States the only highly-industrialized nation in the world which doesn't have a numerically substantial agricultural workers union?

Have the low wage scales of farm hands on large-scale industrialized farms put family-type farms at a competitive disadvantage?

What are the chances of bringing agricultural workers under federal labor relations and wage-hour laws?

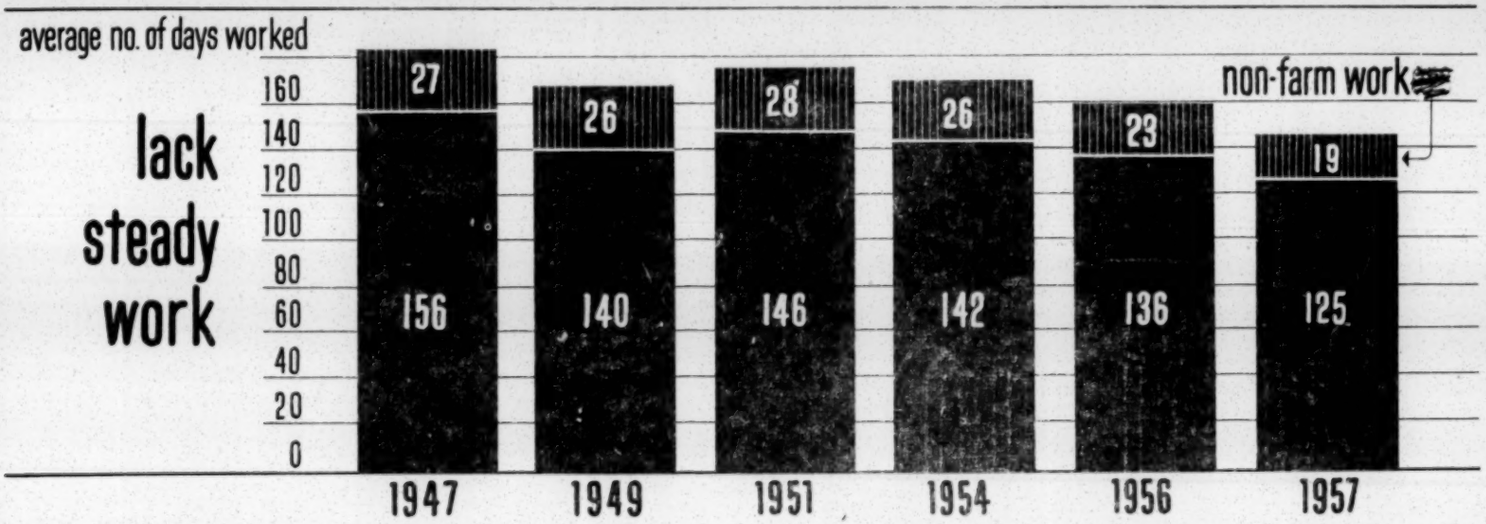
THE WASHINGTON POST
and TIMES HERALD
Monday, October 27, 1958

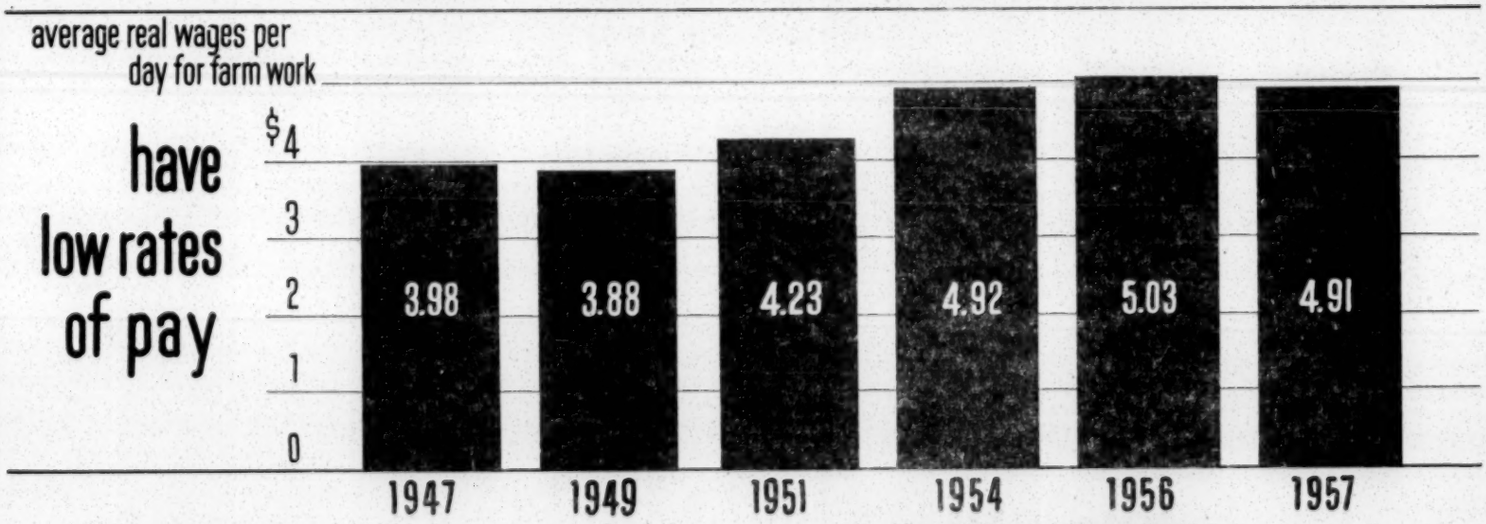
Forgotten Farm Laborers

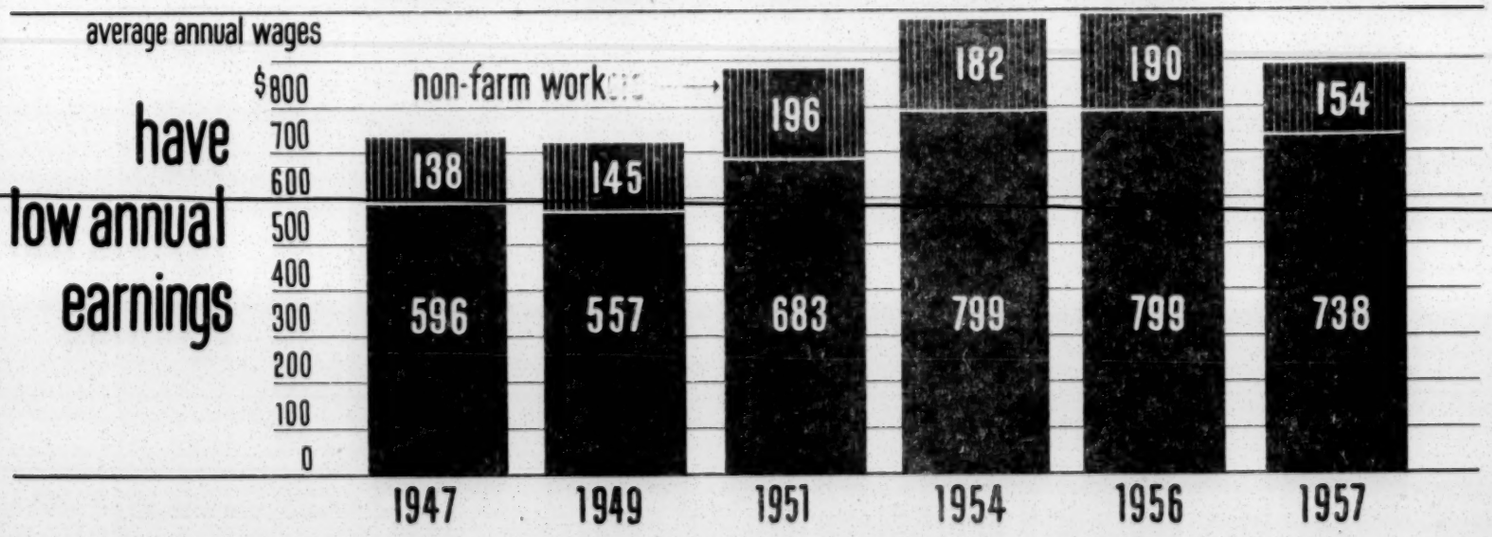
The shameful conditions under which 1.5 million farm laborers work and live in the United States have been the subject of so many inquiries that it is easy to despair of any action ever being taken to help these unfortunate people. Until public opinion is sufficiently aroused there is not likely to be any private or governmental action to aid the migrants, the sharecroppers, the contract laborers and the wetbacks.

Thus it is encouraging to learn that many Americans—including Eleanor Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman, who are deeply concerned about the farm labor problem—are seeking to make a new attack in this neglected area through the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. The public inquiry which the Committee plans to hold in Washington in February ought to reawaken the interest of many persons in their 1.5 million less fortunate fellow workers.

Farm wage workers...

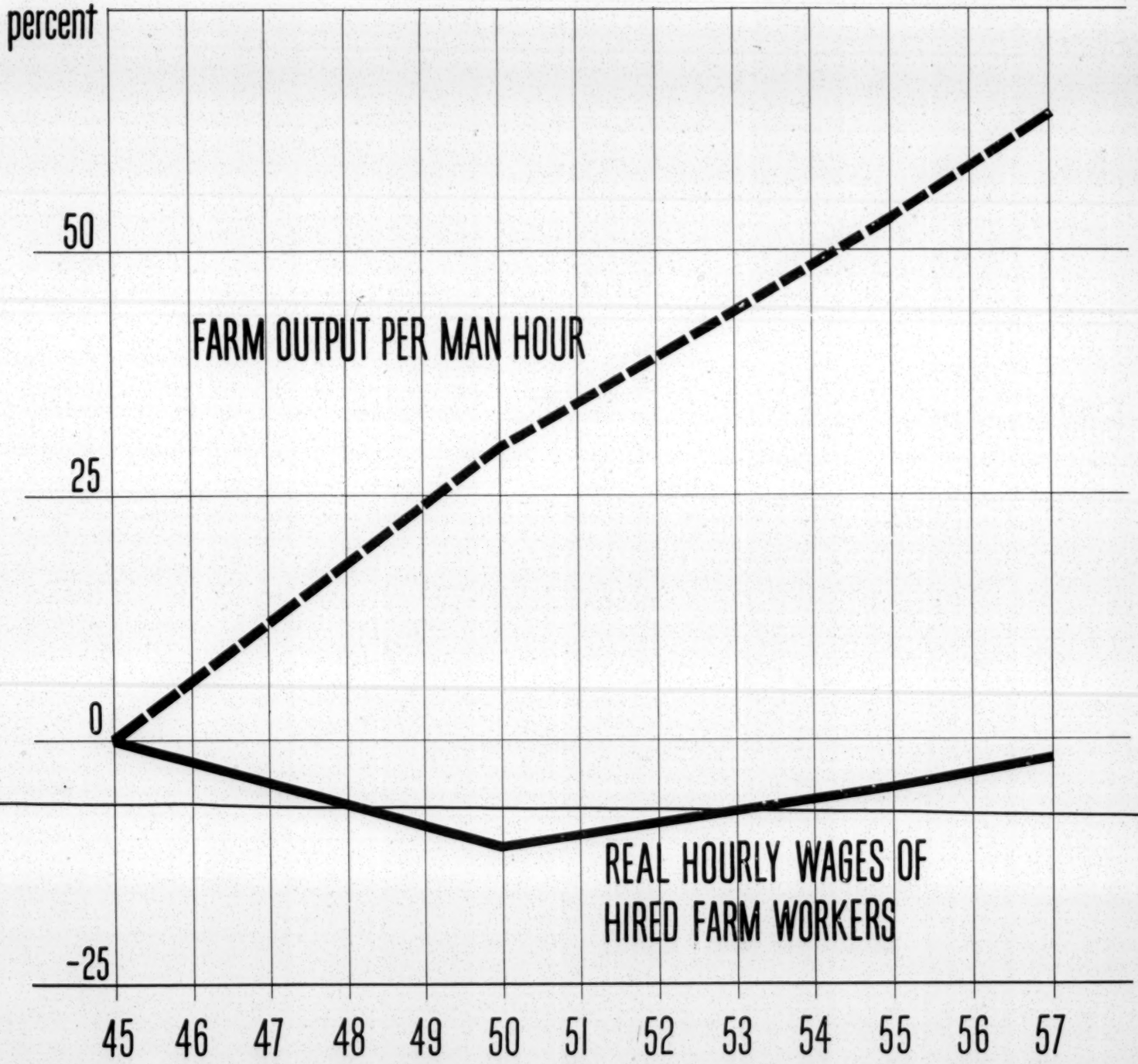




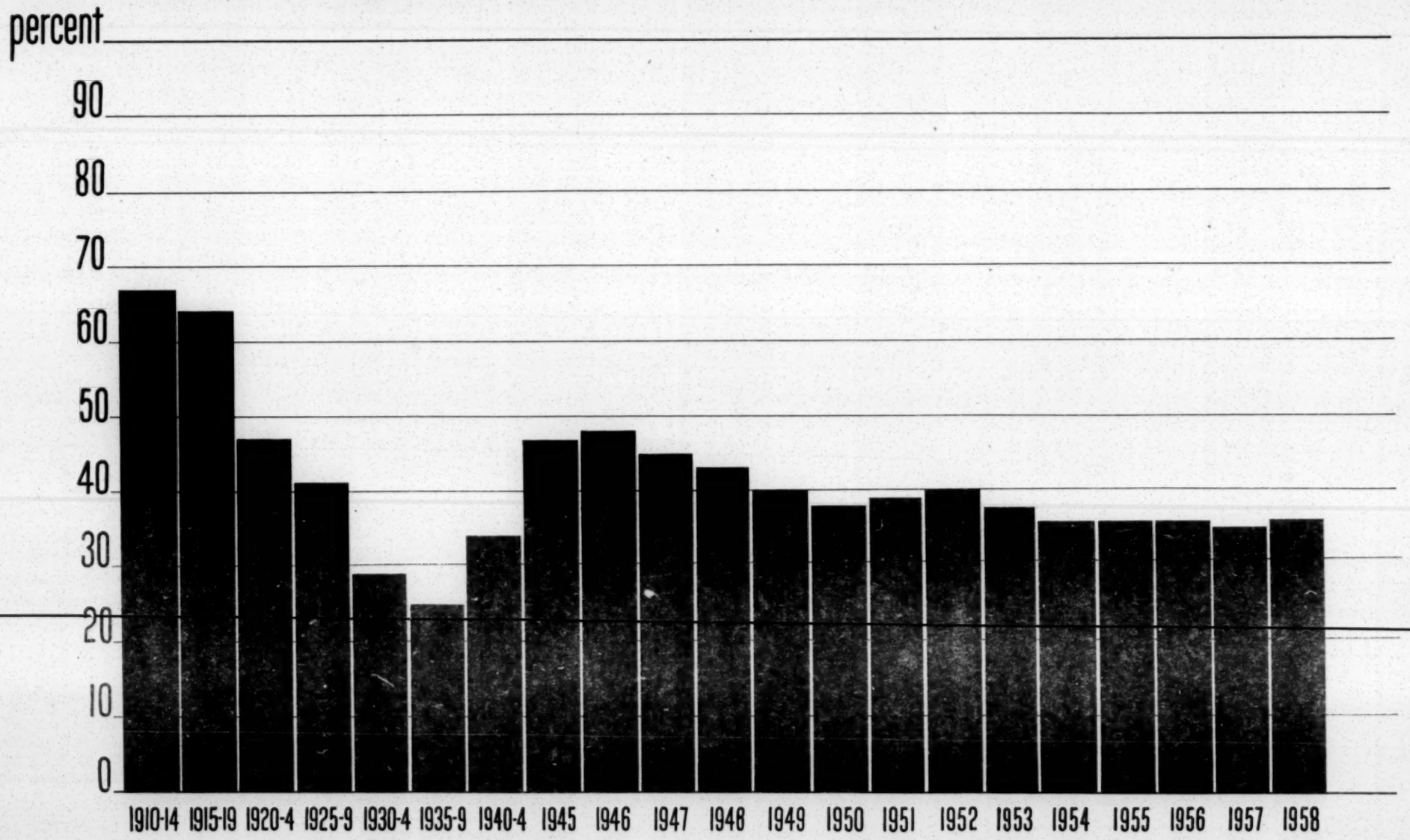


Farm output per man hour vs. real hourly wages of farm workers

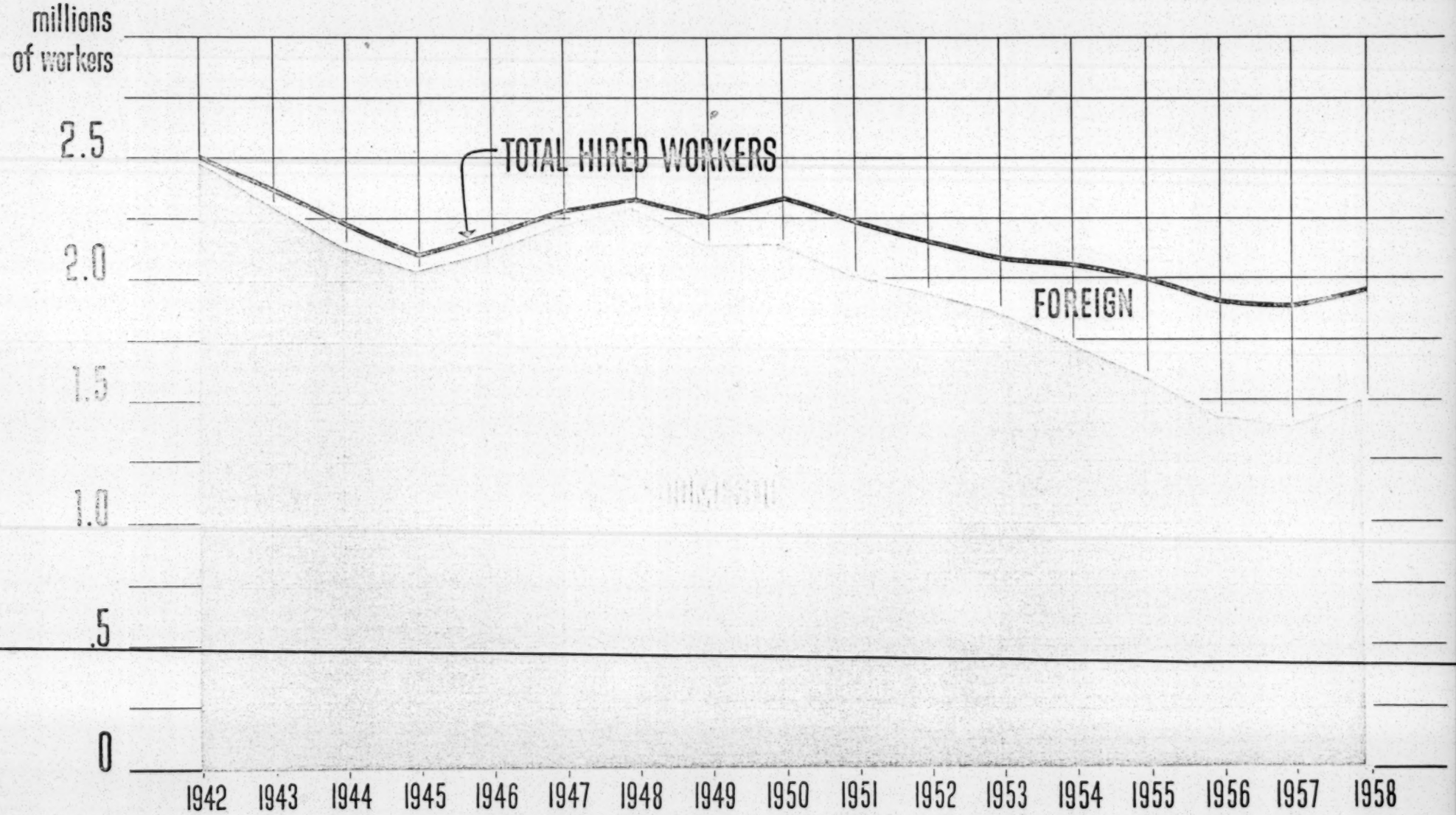
1945-57 (Index 1945=100)



Farm wages 1910-1958 as a percentage of factory wages



Total hired farm workers in U.S. 1942-1958



REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG
PRESIDENT

REV. ROY G. ROSS
GENERAL SECRETARY

CHARLES E. WILSON
TREASURER

National Council of Churches

DIVISION OF HOME MISSIONS

REV. JON REGIER, *Executive Secretary*

257 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 4-6407

REV. J. EDWARD LANTZ
Executive Director,
Southern Office
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mailing Address For
A. E. COX, *Director*
Rural Development
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

July 10, 1959

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter of June 17 has gone unanswered simply because of my inability to find the answer to your specific questions.

The Delta Foundation is a Mississippi chartered non-profit organization with limited resources. The funds that are available go into the program at Providence Farm in Holmes County, Mississippi.

I have just written to Harold Fleming concerning the need for a central agency in the South to study and give wide publicity to the problems relating to low-income farm families of the region.

Possibly there will be an opportunity for some discussion of these problems at Blue Ridge during the coming Ecumenical Institute.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Gene Cox

A. E. Cox, Director
Rural Development

July 10, 1959

Mr. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

I am reproducing below the pertinent paragraphs from a memorandum by Leslie Dunbar, our director of research. Since it deals with "fugitives" from our changing agrarian economy, I would value your judgment on the ideas advanced. I know you and Mrs. Tilly have been in touch about these problems; Les's proposals are an outgrowth of Mrs. Tilly's continuing concern.

Would you give me your views on (a) whether something of the sort described by Les is needed (and is not being done by others); and (b) do you have any ideas on the best method for accomplishing the objectives which Les sets forth?

Mrs. Tilly has discussed with me a problem which she believes deserves SRC's early and serious attention. It is that of the hardships of families displaced from the farms by technology or by the workings of agricultural policies of the federal government. I agree with Mrs. Tilly's estimate of the importance of the subject.

Briefly, it seems to me that a good study might include two large parts:

1. a presentation of the extent and nature of the plight of rural Negroes displaced from the farms and struggling to adapt to urban conditions;

2. a survey of state and federal laws and agencies, designed to show the adequacy or inadequacy of the public concern and effort for these people.

These two parts might be dealt with in the following manner:

1. The aim would be to show how difficult it is for rural Negroes to accommodate themselves (occupationally, socially, morally) to urban life, when suddenly thrust into it. Two valid methods of study would be:

   a. Commissioning of a sociologist or instructor of social work to interview social workers in several southern cities, to examine case files, and to write up the findings. Whitney Young or someone recommended by him would be a possibility;

   b. Commissioning of a professional writer to interview in one city a dozen or so families recently moved in from the country, selected for us by a welfare agency (public or private), and to write up the interview in an impressionistic, human interest fashion. Margaret Long or Wilma Dykeman might be possibilities.

Either approach would accomplish the same end: I.e., a description of how poorly prepared for city life are the great numbers of Negroes migrating from southern farms.

2. The second part would involve a study of federal and state laws and programs dealing with:

   a. financial assistance to marginal farmers

   b. vocational training in rural areas

   c. guidance and counselling in resettling

   d. welfare assistance to displaced farm families

   For this, we would have to obtain, through the best advice I could get, the services of someone already a student of agricultural policies and conditions; he could be a social scientist on one of the campuses or a staff member of an agency. This assignment could be carried out principally in libraries or through correspondence, but some travel might be required.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
~~Executive Director~~

HCF/sl

P.S. Do you hear anything from Hazel? I've had no further word since you arranged for the audit, and I live in constant anticipation of a complaining letter from Yarmolinsky.

Answered by memo 7/21/59

RECEIVED JUL 17 1959

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

July 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

After our telephone conversation of this afternoon, I went over the list of persons who are supposed to be at the Blue Ridge meeting and discovered that practically all are from the Atlanta area. In fact, a meeting to present the matter of low-imcome farm problems to a church-related group might well include many who are not to be at the meeting.

I know you have a heavy schedule of work and the trip to Blue Ridge would require at least two days away from the office. In view of the foregoing it might be wise for us to plan in terms of a meeting in the Atlanta area to discuss this matter.

If you need to get away from the office and relax for a day or two, come on to the mountains and we will arrange to kick the ball around a bit. Otherwise, forget that I ever mentioned the trip.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

A. E. Cox

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

CC TO MET

FROM: LWD

Mrs. Tilly has discussed with me a problem which she believes deserves SRC's early and serious attention. It is that of the hardships of families displaced from the farms by technology or by the workings of agricultural policies of the federal government. I agree with Mrs. Tilly's estimate of the importance of the subject.

As you know from our several conversations, I have given a great deal of thought to how SRC research and publications could be effective. I have also been mindful of the costs of an effective study. I believe that a useful contribution, consistent with SRC's purposes and program, could be made along the lines set forth in the rest of this memorandum. However, the Research budget is not large enough to carry all or even most of ~~the~~ its costs; if the project is undertaken, I hope that other SRC funds, or new funds, might be brought in.

Briefly, it seems to me that a good study might include two large parts:

1. a presentation of the extent and nature of the plight of rural Negroes displaced from the farms and struggling to adapt to urban conditions;

2. a survey of state and federal laws and agencies, designed to show the adequacy or inadequacy of the public concern and effort for these people.

These two parts might be dealt with in the following manner:

1. The aim would be to show how difficult it is for rural Negroes to ~~accommodate themselves (occupationally, socially, morally) to urban~~ life, when suddenly thrust into it. Two valid methods of study would be:

   a. Commissioning of a sociologist or instructor of social work to interview social workers in several southern cities, to examine case files, and to write up the findings. Whitney Young or someone recommended by him would be a possibility;

   b. Commissioning of a professional writer to interview in one city a dozen or so families recently moved in from the country, selected for us by a welfare agency (public or private), and to

write up the interview in an impressionistic, human interest fashion. Margaret Long or Wilma Dykeman might be possibilities.

Either approach would accomplish the same end: i. e., a description of how poorly prepared for city life are the great numbers of Negroes migrating from southern farms.

2. The second part would involve a study of federal and state laws and programs dealing with:

   a. financial assistance to marginal farmers

   b. vocational training in rural areas

   c. guidance and counselling in re-settling
   d. welfare assistance to displaced farm families

   For this, we would have to obtain, through the best advice I could get, the services of someone already a student of agricultural policies and conditions; he could be a social scientist on one of the campuses or a staff member of an agency. This assignment could be carried out principally in libraries or through correspondence, but some travel might be required.

For part 1, a fee of $250 - 350, and travel expenses of about the same, would be in order. For part 2, a similar fee and expenses of perhaps $100 - 200 would seem approximately right. If both parts were printed in the same pamphlet, and if each ran about 7,500 words, a printing charge of about $1,800 for 5,000 copies might be expected. The total estimate would then be $2,650 - 3,050; with allowance for possibly more wordage and miscellaneous expenses, a budget of $3,500 would seem needed.

If you approve, there might be some advantage of my corresponding with Mrs. Nishi, of the National Council of Churches, to ascertain if there is any interest there in joining into the study. The American Friends Service Committee or the Urban League are other possibilities.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES

August 24, 1945

(Sent to all those on attached lists)

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet entitled Farmers Look at Post-War Prospects in which I believe you might be interested. It has been made available to you through the courtesy of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

If you want additional copies we shall be glad to supply them or you can write Dr. Frank Alexander, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 312 Witt Building, 249 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Board members – to get copy of Farm pamphlet.

- Atwood
- Bond
- Dolney
- Dent
- Gillman
- Goode
- Hancock
- Jackson
- Joffe
- McNamara
- Patterson
- Pollard
- Reddix → Rogers
- Stoffler
- Stern
- Trigg
- Wesley
- Willcoxon
-

Mr. Jesse B. Adams, Editor
The Southern Star
Ozark, Alabama

Mr. Mark L. Tucker, Editor
The Chilton County News
Clanton, Alabama

Mr. O. E. Jones , Editor
The Batesville Record
Batesville, Ark.

Mr. George L. Wright, Editor
The Boone County Headlight
Harrison, Ark.

Mr. R. T. Gallemore, Editor
The Polk County Record
Bartow, Florida

Mr. Bryant Bowdon, Editor
The Okeechobee News
Okechobee, Florida

Mr. C. B. Allen, Editor
The Moultrie Observer
Moultrie Ga.

Mr. J. J. Thomasson., Editor
The Carroll County Times
Carrollton, Ga.

Mr. Wesley E. Carter, Editor
The Hardin County Tribune
Elizabethtown, Ky.

Mr. J. T. Howard, Editor
The Hickman Courier
Hickman, Ky.

Mr. A. P. Gautreau, Editor
The Franklin Banner-Tribune
Franklin, La.

Mr. Lee Lanier, Editor
The Amite News-Digest
Amite, La.

~~Mr. H. B. Sanders, Editor~~
The Aberdeen Examiner
Aberdeen, Miss.

Mr. J. L. McCorkle, Editor
The Hazlehurst Courier
Hazlahurst, Miss.

Mr. J. L. Horne, Jr., Editor
148 Howard Street
Rocky Mount, N. C.
The Rocky Mount News

Mrs. R. B. Lassiter, Editor
The Smithfield Herald
Smithfield, N. C .

Mr. D. A. Gean, Editor
The Sallisaw Democrat-American
Sallisaw, Okla.

Mr. E. L. Purcell, Editor
The Enid Events
Enid, Okla.

Mr. George R. Koester, Editor
The Greenville County Observer
Greenville, S. C.

Mr. H. H. Woodward, Editor
The Horry Herald
Conway, S. C.

Mr. David Lipscomb, Editor
The Lebanon Banner
Lebanon, Tenn.

Mr. Alison Simonton, Editor
The Covington Leader
Covington, Tenn.

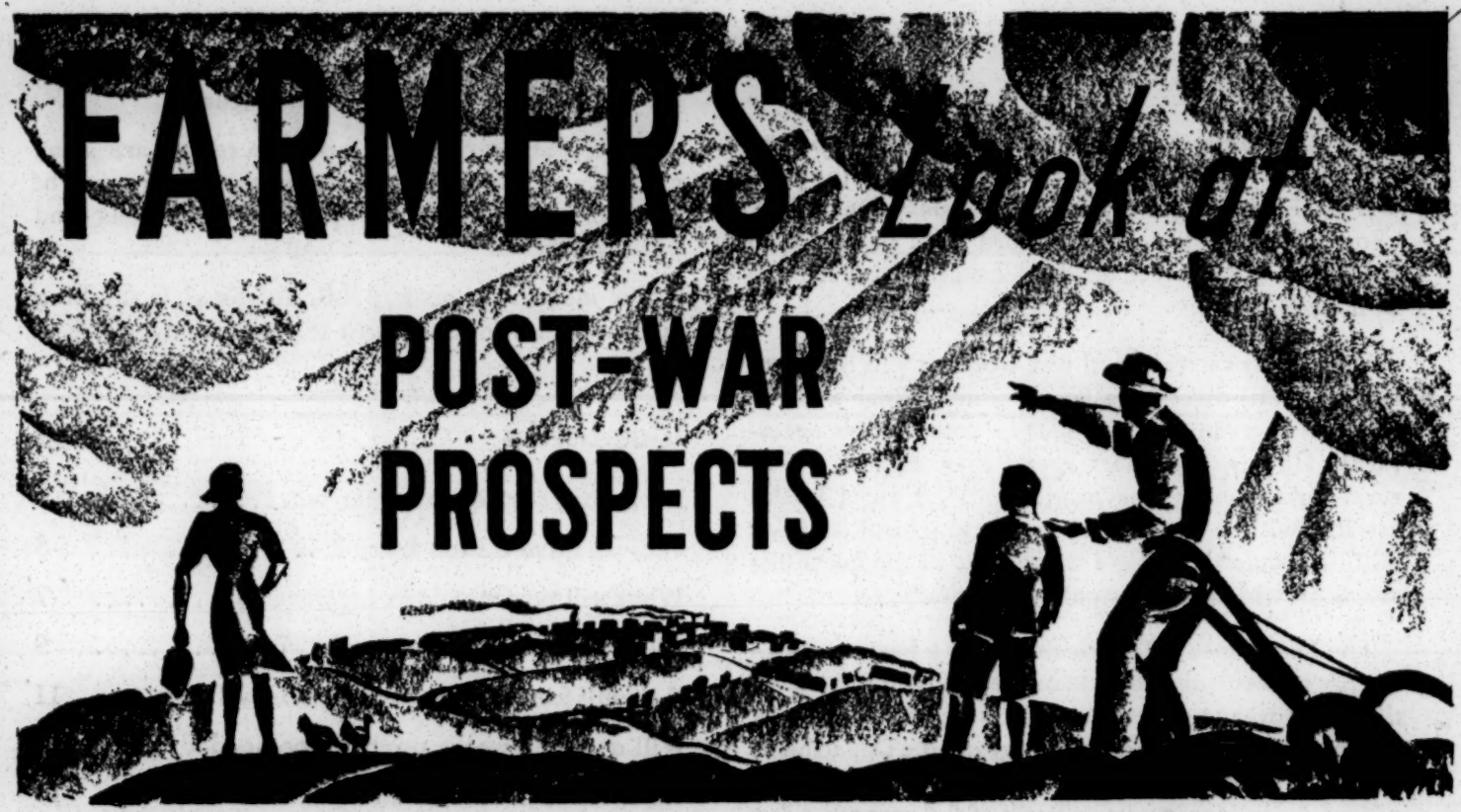
Mr. C. C. Beavers, Editor
The Buckingham Times
Dillwyn, Va.

Mr. Westmoreland Davis, Editor
The Loudoun Times-Mirror
Leesburg,Va.

Mrs. Leo Strauss , Editor
The Hallettsville New Era-Herald
Hallettsville, Texas

Mr. W. L. De Arman, Editor
The Hamilton County News
Hamilton, Texas

FARMERS Look at POST-WAR PROSPECTS



INTERBUREAU COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR PROGRAMS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

AIS-20

ISSUED MAY 1945

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON 25

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

January 6, 1947

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am pleased to enclose a copy of "Farms of Nonwhite Farm Operators, Number of Farms, Land in Farms, Cropland Harvested, and Value of Land and Buildings, by Tenure: Censuses of 1945 and 1940--Preliminary figures: Virginia."

You will note that this is the second release in the census series on farms of nonwhite farm operators.

If I can be of any further service, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

Joseph R. Houchins
Specialist, Negro Statistics

Enclosure

Dr. Guy L. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

[illegible]

January 13, 1947

Mr. Ralph R. Houchins
Specialist, Negro Statistics
Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Houchins:

Thank you for sending me a copy of "Farms of Nonwhite Farm Operators, Number of Farms, Land In Farms, Cropland Harvested, and Value of Land and Buildings, by Tenure: Censuses of 1945 and 1940 - Preliminary figures: Virginia." We are glad to have this for inclusion with other source material of this nature.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

K 5 Cleveland Hall
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia
June 28, 1947.

Dr. George Mitchell
Wesley Memorial Church Building
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia.

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1947
RACE RELATIONS DIV.
Federal Council

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia and I am writing a term paper on "Tenant Farming and Share-Cropping - a Device for Upholding White Supremacy in the Black Belt". My advisor, Mr. Walter P. Chivers, informed me that you are in the position to offer some valuable material on the subject preieusly mentioned.

I would be deeply greatful for any material or information fostered by you.

I wish to thank you in advance for a reply at your earliest convience.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs) V. H. Levister
(Mrs) V. H. Levister.

July 1, '47

Deare Mrs. Levister,

I am glad to have your letter of June 28.

Two excellent books that bear on your subjects are

Shadow of the Plantation: Chas. S. Johnson
Preface to Peasantry: Arthur Raper and Ira deA. Reid

another would be:
Tenants of the Almighty: Arthur Raper

all these would be in the Hampton Library, I feel sure.

I enclose a recent pamphlet of the Council's that will be helpful.

Also you would find of interest, though somewhat old, the Report of the President's Commission on Farm Tenancy, a U. S. Gov't document, about 1936.

Also look at Alexander and Embree: Collapse of Cotton Tenancy.

The point, to me, that fits your theme, is that under a sharecropping system the landlords will not tolerate any show of independence or strength by croppers: if they rise in the world his profits fall. Therefore he keeps them down.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Farming in the South

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 27, 1950

TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE
June 17 - 19, 1950

In accordance with the request some of you made to Mr. Lawrence J. Washington, while attending the Conference, I am attaching a copy of the chart Mr. Washington used in the discussion of the "Special Problems of the Small Farmer, Tenant, and Wage Worker."

William V. Albright
Acting Director
Farm Ownership Division

Attachment

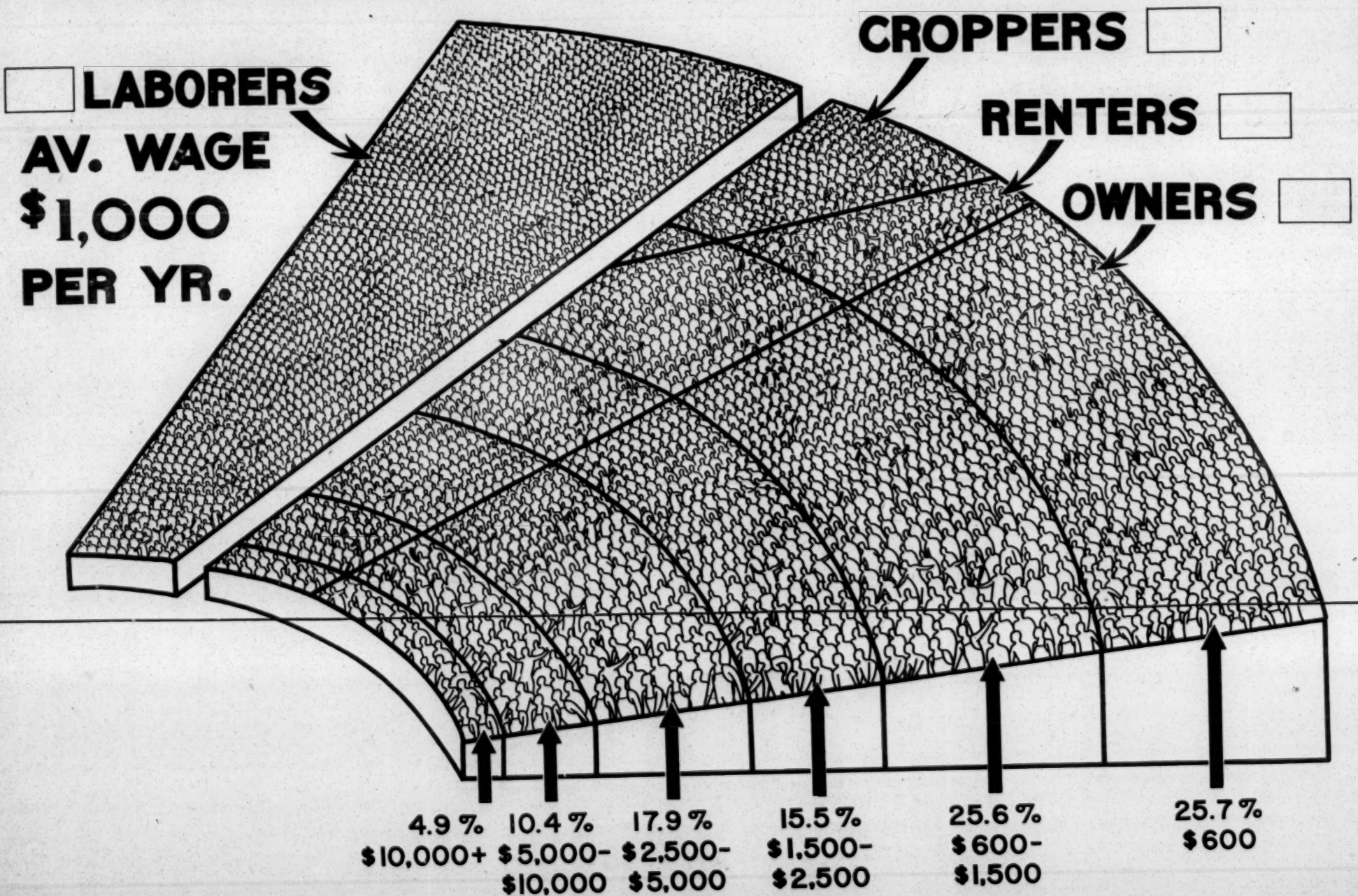
DEPARTMENT LIBRARY
JUN 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

STATEMENT

The attached chart - Farm Families by Income and Tenure Status - was designed by Paul V. Maris, Consultant, Farmers Home Administration. It will appear in his book entitled ". . . the land is mine. . ." now being printed in the Government Printing Office. Pending publication in Mr. Maris' account of the administration of the Farm Ownership program under the above title, single copies of the chart will be supplied upon request by the Farmers Home Administration.

Philip S. Brown, Chief
Information Division

FARM FAMILIES BY INCOME *and* TENURE



Explanation of Chart Entitled

FARM FAMILIES BY INCOME AND TENURE

The attached chart is designed to represent a huge coliseum in which farmers from 5,859,169 American farms are assembled and seated by income groups. In the bleachers at the left are assembled from two to three million farm laborers who are neither owners nor renters of farms. The chart is intended to convey a general picture. It is not, however, completely self-explanatory. The following information should accompany or be presented with the chart.

The 4.9 percent of all farmers who, according to the federal census of 1945, produced products in 1944 for sale or household consumption valued at more than $10,000 occupy the first few rows. Back of them are the 10.4 percent of the total whose products had values between $5,000 and $10,000. Back of this group is seated the 17.9 percent whose products were valued at between $2,500 and $5,000. Next are seated 15.5 percent falling in the $1,500 to $2,500 class.

Slightly more than half of the entire seating capacity of the coliseum is required to seat the farmers of the nation who sold or consumed from their farms less than $1,500 worth of products. The twenty-five and seven tenths percent which produced less than $600 worth of products to sell or consume in their homes are seated in the rear.

The area colored yellow and red (on enlarged drawings) outlines the portion of the coliseum in which farm tenants are seated. They represent 31.7 percent of the total farms of the nationa. More of the tenants are in the low-income groups than the high-income groups, but some of them occupy the front portions of the coliseum in which farmers are seated who produced more than $10,000 worth of goods for sale or home consumption. These are well-to-do, well-equipped tenants who occupy good farms and who probably prefer to have their capital invested in chattels and operating equipment rather than land.

Far back in the left hand corner shaded in red are seated the 446,556 southern share croppers. For the most part their incomes are $600 or less, but a few of them have incomes about that amount.

It should be understood that the foregoing figures represent gross farm incomes out of which fertilizer, feed, rent and all other farm operating expenses must be paid. The value of farm produced food and fuel used for home consumption is included in these income figures, although the rental value of farmers' dwellings and government benefit payments are not included. In addition to income derived from farm production, many farm operator families obtain supplementary income from off-farm work. These supplementary, nonfarm-derived incomes are not included in the figures used in the chart.

The incomes of the farm laborers assembled in the bleachers to the left are not comparable with those of the farm owners, farm tenants, and share croppers seated in the main coliseum because no part of the laborer's income is deducted to meet farm operating expenses.

It is not easy to determine how many persons should be classed as farm laborers because many farm owners and renters and their wives and children work varying numbers of days on farms for wages. Many students work on farms during vacation and then return to their schools. Many industrial workers do some seasonal work on farms. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics has estimated that in 1945 - 3,219,000 persons 14 years old and over and living in the civilian noninstitutional population at the end of the year worked for wages on farms at some time during the year. A little over a half million of these reported 250 days or more farm wage work during 1945, and another quarter million reported 150-249 days. These represent the regular or year-round farm hands, the remainder being seasonal workers hired for short periods mainly at harvest and cultivating time. The Bureau estimates that the average annual wage income for hired farm workers who worked 12 months, plus prerequisites furnished without charge, was just about $1,000 in 1944, with the prerequisites accounting for about $150. This is the source of the $1,000 figure shown on the chart as the average wage for farm laborers who work a full year.

Out of the half million males who worked 250 days or more at hired farm work in 1945, approximately a third received less than $600 cash (not counting prerequisites); another third received from $600 to $999, while the upper third earned between one and two thousand dollars in cash wages.

Farm wage rates, as well as farm income, have continued their upward trend. The monthly wage rates of hired farm laborers (without board) for different geographic regions in 1947 were as follows: 1/

New England	$140
Middle Atlantic	128
East North Central	120
West North Central	128
South Atlantic	73
East South Central	65
West South Central	93
Mountain	158
Pacific	191

It should be pointed out, however, that many farm laborers are not hired at monthly rates but are paid weekly, daily, hourly, and piece rates.

1/ Agricultural Statistics 1947, Table 611, Page 705.

June 29, 1950

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Rural Life Conference on The Changing Status of the Negro in Southern Agriculture

FROM: Ernest E. Neal, Director, Rural Life Council

The Conference is over and we are all back on our jobs carrying on the work that was briefly interrupted by the Conference. Even though the Conference is over, I am sure the problems we grappled with at the Conference are very much in our minds.

The Conference was a success. It was a success because you came and because you participated in it. It was a work conference, and all of you worked; worked harder, perhaps, than you have worked in a long time.

Those of us who have the task of compiling the proceedings of the Conference and studying the after effects of the Conference as reported in the press and from interested people, are still at work. Each of you will get a copy of the proceedings as soon as they are ready for distribution. With these proceedings in your hands it is hoped that the real work of the Conference will begin. That is, the fullest utilization of your abilities and resources to help those farmers who are displaced and those in the process of being displaced to make the transition to a new type of agriculture or to fit into the industrial economy as painless as possible.

The President of Tuskegee Institute and all the people connected with the Institute are grateful to you for coming and we want you to know that the resources of the Institute are always available for similar conferences.

I hope the next time we assemble to deliberate on these problems we will know enough to recommend specific action programs.

Again I say thank you for coming. Let us keep on working on this problem until the solution is in sight. Your Steering Committee is working on an action program based upon your recommendations. The success of this action program will depend on your continued support.

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1950
Southern Regional Counc

Farming in the Souls

BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

VERNON S. BROYLES, JR., *Executive Secretary*

HOME MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
NEGRO WORK
EVANGELISM
RADIO

605 Henry Grady Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

December 27, 1950

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1950

Mr. James Wood
Mr. W. T. Fillilove
Mr. W. A. Hartman
Mr. F. M. Stoley
Mr. George S. Mitchell
Mr. J. C. Adams
Mr. J. Carson Pritchard
Dr. Clarence Jordan
Rev. J. Walker Chidsey
Mr. W. R. Smith

My dear Leaders:

The enclosed mimeographed letter was recently sent to those whose names are on the enclosed list. The letter announces a meeting with Mr. Shirley E. Greene to be held at the Southeastern Intercouncil Office, Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, on Friday, January 5, at 11:00 A.M.

The purpose of this meeting is to consider the special project of the Land Tenure Committee of the Home Missions Council of North America on "The Church and the Family Farm". This project is a series of one-day interdenominational county-wide institutes on this subject.

The enclosed list was obtained from several sources. Since mailing the original letter I have heard from Mr. Greene suggesting you (named above) to be invited to this meeting. I am enclosing a copy of the folder "The Church and the Family Farm" which describes this project. I hope that you can attend this meeting on Friday, January 5.

Please note in the mimeographed letter that we have no budget available for expenses for this meeting. Each man who attends will do so because of his interest and concern for this problem.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Most sincerely yours,

James M Carr

James M. Carr, Secretary
Town and Country Church Department

JMC-e
enc.

CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

VERNON S. BROYLES, JR., *Executive Secretary*

DIVISION of HOME MISSIONS

JAMES M. CARR, *Secretary*
Town and Country Church Department
Sunday School Extension Department

605 HENRY GRADY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

HOME MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
NEGRO WORK
EVANGELISM
RADIO

We would like to have you join a small group to discuss the special project on "The Church and the Family Farm", which is a part of the program of the Land Tenure Committee of the Home Missions Section of the National Council of Churches. The enclosed folder gives the plan for holding interdenominational county-wide institutes on "The Church and the Family Farm". Already a large number of these institutes have been held in the north and mid-west.

Dr. Shirley E. Greene, a member of the Land Tenure Committee, will make a trip through several southern states in the interest of this program. He has asked us to invite a small group whose special interest in this whole matter might result in your desire to meet with him to discuss the possibility of holding such institutes in Georgia. You are one of about twenty who have been chosen because of your interest in the rural church, or soil conservation, or community development, etc. (List of those invited is enclosed.)

Please meet with us at the Southeastern Intercouncil Office, Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Time: Friday, January 5, 1951, 11:00 A.M.

We regret that there is no budget available to offer expenses for travel and lunch. Each of us will have to attend because of our interest and concern for this problem. Growing out of this meeting there may be initiated a plan for closer cooperation between the churches and various community agencies. We feel that this is highly desirable.

~~Please use the enclosed card to signify whether or not you will attend.~~

Most cordially and sincerely yours,

James M. Carr, Secretary
Town and Country Church Department
Presbyterian Church, U.S.

Earl C. Brewer, Professor
Rural Church Department
Candler School of Theology
Emory University

CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

Committee invited to discuss "The Church and the Family Farm"
January 5, 1951, at 11:00 A.M.
Southeastern Council Office
Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Cecil Thompson, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.

✓ Dr. Earl Brewer, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Ga.

Dr. James W. Sells, Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, 63 Auburn Av.N.E., Atlanta Ga

✓ Dr. James M. Carr, 605 Henry Grady Building, Atlanta, Ga.

✓ Rev. Ernest J. Arnold, Wesley Mem. Methodist Church, 63 Auburn Av.N.E.,Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. John A. Sibley, Trust Company of Georgia Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. C. F. Bohleber, 1708 Richland Road, S.W., Atlanta, Ga.

✓ Mr. E. P. McGee, 132 Herring St., Decatur, Ga. De Kalb Co Agt

Mr. J. C. Kitchens, 132 Herring St., Decatur, Ga.

Dr. H. Kerr Taylor, 111 N. Columbia St., Milledgeville, Ga.

Mr. W. A. King, Agricultural Extension Service, Athens, Ga.

Dr. J. T. Gillespie, 508 Wilton St., Greenville, S.C.

Dr. S. F. Dowis, Baptist Home Mission Board, 161 Spring St., Atlanta, Ga.

✓ Mr. Walter S. Brown, Agricultural Extension Service, Athens, Ga.

Mr. B. S. Moss, Georgia Power Company, 75 Marietta St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Arnold Alman, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, 818 Volunteer Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Sid D. Truitt, County Agent's Office, Fulton County Court House, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. R. L. Van Sant, Atlanta National Bldg., 50 Whitehall S.W., Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. D. W. Shepherd, 673 Piedmont Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Rev. C. Carl Dollar, Southern Union College, Wadley, Alabama

Mr. T. G. Walters, 227 State Office Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. T. R. Breedlove, Agricultural Extension Service, Athens, Ga.

Miss Inez Wallace, State Office Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. George I Martin, State Office Building, Atlanta, Ga.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

February 12, 1951

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Charles S. Johnson has suggested that the Council might like to have some of our excess copies of THE COLLAPSE OF COTTON TENANCY. We are planning to remainder some of this stock and can offer you copies at 20 percent of the retail list price, if you wish them. The retail price of the book is $ .35. Copies would be billed to you at $ .07; carrying charges would be additional.

If you wish any of the excess stock, please let us know and we will get it off to you immediately. Approximately 525 copies are available in this lot.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Porter Cowles

Porter Cowles
Assistant Director

pc/gs

Agric,

February 14, 1951

Miss Porter Cowles
Assistant Director
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Cowles:

Many thanks for your letter of February 12 about The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy.

I would like to have, to pass around to others, 25 copies and would be most grateful for your sending them to me and billing me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

February 19, 1951

Mr. Paul V. Maris
c/o U. S. Dept..of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

I got and have just looked through a copy of The Land Is Mine. It is a book I will read.

I rejoice in the book, but I rejoice, as you do, the more in the scores of thousands of hard hoping farm families whose most cherished desire you and your staff have helped to bring to fulfillment. I doubt whether Government has ever known an undertaking so selflessly pursued and so completely rewarding in its outcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

acknowledged 5/1/51 -
Said GSM out of town &
would be writing - BR

Agriculture -
Social action

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

April 23, 1951

RECEIVED
APR 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Geo. S. Mitchell, Director Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You may recall the correspondence and/or visit with the Reverend Shirley Greene, Agricultural Relations Secretary of the Social Action Council of the Congregational Christian Church, Merom, Indiana sometime this past year. It was in the interest of his work with the National Council of Churches Town and Country Committee.

This group is interested in promoting county wide institutes on "The Church and The Family Farm". As indicated by Mr. Greene, a good many of these institutes have been held and it was the purpose of his correspondence and visit to interest others in promoting such institutes during the coming year or so.

Growing out of my contacts with Mr. Greene, I invited him to teach a course in our TOWN AND COUNTRY SCHOOL here, as indicated by the enclosed folder. This course, while general in nature, will have as one of its special purposes the consideration of plans and preparation for these county institutes.

In addition to the courses listed in the bulletin, another course to be offered will be "An Introduction to Religious Journalism".

The scholarships, described in the bulletin, would be available for qualified laymen or ministers as long as they last.

I thought that you might be interested in knowing this, and it might be that you would be concerned to recommend certain persons who would want to attend the School for the particular purpose of knowing more about the county institutes. If so, we would be glad to have the names and addresses of such persons.

It is likely that Mr. Greene will have some contact with the Town and Country School at Gammon Theological Seminary, and negro ministers or interested persons might like to attend there on the same basis.

I will appreciate suggestions or recommendations from you, regarding this matter, I would like to have an early response in view of the fact that the applications for the School are coming in rapidly now, and the scholarship funds are definitely limited.

If you need further information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours

Earl Brewer

Earl Brewer, Director
Town and Country School

EB:hs

THE CHURCH AND THE FAMILY FARM

A Proposal and a Prospectus

for

Interdenominational

County One-day Institutes

Dealing with Land Tenure Problems

To be sponsored jointly by

State Councils of Churches

and

The Dept. of the Town and Country Church

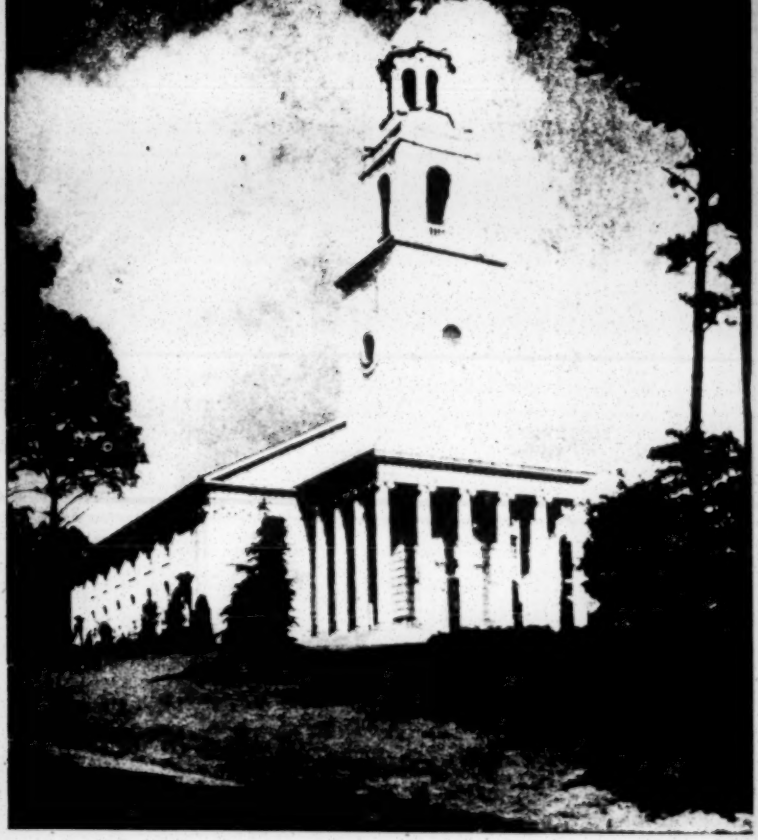
in the

Division of Home Missions of the National

Council of the Churches of Christ

in the U. S. A.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



EMORY UNIVERSITY

Atlanta, Georgia

Post Office, Emory University, Georgia

Seventh Annual

TOWN AND COUNTRY SCHOOL

Non-sectarian

August 7-23, 1951

~~Land Tenure~~ 2

Ag - Soc. Author

RALPH BUDD
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April 30, 1951

RECEIVED
MAY 2 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The purpose of this letter is to follow up our previous contacts in the matter of the county one-day institutes on The Church and the Family Farm.

(1) The Land Tenure Committee would like to know what success you are having with the sponsoring of county one-day institutes. We have a fairly complete report on institutes held last year, but we would appreciate a note from you regarding institutes held in your state since, let us say, September 1, 1950.

(2) Your attention is called to the enclosed folder which is just off the press. This is a revision of the promotional folder used last year. We are enclosing a copy of this new folder and will be happy to furnish additional copies as you need them.

(3) The program of the Land Tenure Committee calls for a major drive on county one-day institutes during 1951-52. We look to this period as the climax of this particular educational effort, and we solicit your cooperation. May we count on you, working with appropriate groups and agencies in your state, to bend all efforts toward the holding of a truly significant series of institutes during the coming fall and winter. Let us know if there is any way we of the Land Tenure Committee can help you in this program.

(4) You will be pleased to know that the U. S. Department of Agriculture is reviewing family farm policy in all of its branches for the purpose of determining how the Department can serve more effectively the needs and interests of family farms. The combined Protestant program of recent years in behalf of the family farm may have been one of the contributing factors leading to this review. The preliminary report of the review committee will soon be available. ~~You may hear from us again before long with special reference to this report.~~

Please let us hear from you as to problems, progress, and prospects with respect to the Church and Family Farm program in your state.

Cordially yours,

Shirley E. Greene

Shirley E. Greene

Joseph Ackerman

Joseph Ackerman

COUNCIL OF
SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN WORKERS

Box 2000
College Station
Berea, Ky.

Publishers of
Mountain Life & Work
MAGAZINE OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

November 1, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 2 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

You may remember me from my work at Pleasant Hill between 1942-47.

I have undertaken to attend your Regional Meeting in Louisville on November 14 representing the Council of Southern Mountain Workers. Mr. Drake could not go, and called my attention to this meeting, and I would like to establish contact with your group.

I shall be pleased to have your comment about the Council and its program as you see it from your viewpoint.

Sincerely,

P. F. Ayer
Executive Secretary

PFA/lc

Enc.

Farmington South

ADULT FESTIVAL

MEETS AT SUE BENNETT COLLEGE, LONDON, KY., NOVEMBER 10-11.

THE THIRD MOUNTAIN FOLK FESTIVAL FOR ADULTS will be held at Sue Bennett College, London, Ky., Nov. 10-11, 1951, under the sponsorship of the Council in cooperation with the Country Dance Society of America. Opening on Friday night with a folk-dance party, the Festival will continue on Saturday morning and afternoon with sessions devoted to dancing, singing and recorder playing and will reach its climax with a festival folk-dance party on Saturday night. One of the highlights of the festival will be the showing of the movie, *Wake Up and Dance*, filmed in Stratford, England during the 1950 annual festival of the English Country Dance Society. It was awarded first prize as the best documentary film made in Europe in 1950.

More detailed information, lists of the dances to be used and registration blanks may be obtained by writing directly to Mr. William Workman, 124 South Hanover, Lexington, Ky. All adults living anywhere in the region are free to attend.)))))

Annville Meeting Nov. 3

The Fall meeting of the Kentucky Regional Council will meet at Annville Institute, Annville, Ky., on November 3. The Rev. William J. Hilmert is chairman of the program committee. The conference will begin at 10 a.m. and continue until mid-afternoon.

This meeting is sponsored by the Council and all interested individuals who are working with children in the Highlands are invited to attend. It is an open meeting and it brings together leaders in the field of child care throughout the area. For more information, write The Rev. Mr. Hilmert at Annville, Ky.

New Council Office

The office of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers has been returned to Berea, Ky., after three years in Asheville, N.C. The office is now located in Room 1, Lincoln Hall, Berea College. All communications should be addressed to:

Council of Southern Mountain Workers, Box 2000, College Station, Berea, Ky.

??????????? *Have YOU renewed your membership in the Council of Southern Mountain Workers???????????*

If not, use this handy form:

---------- (CLIP AND MAIL TO ABOVE ADDRESS) ----------

CHECK ONE:

( ) *Enclosed is $3.00 or more for membership in the Council, including a subscription to* ~~*MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK.*~~

( ) *Enclosed is $1.00 for a subscription to MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK for one year.*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

November 2, 1951

Mr. P. F. Ayer
Council of Southern Mountain Workers
Box 2000
College Station
Berea, Ky.

Dear Mr. Ayer:

I am mighty glad you are going to the November 14 meeting of the Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council. I have to be off in Detroit and so can't be there, though I wish I could.

We greatly like Tydings, who is the head of the Kentucky Division.

SRC has a good many members at Berea. Julia Allen would tell you which ones are members.

I have long admired the Council of Southern Mountain Workers and, indeed, was permitted to come and make them a talk at the Gatlinburg meeting last spring.

Berea is one of the grandest places at all, and you ought to enjoy it and the job.

I will hope for some early occasion for us to talk together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Farming in the South

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

Department of Economics
and
Business Administration

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 16, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We have not as yet produced a separate study on agriculture. We have one in progress, however.

Furthermore, in our Economic Resources and Policies of the South, (by Ratchford and myself), Macmillan, 1951, you will find, I think, the most comprehensive treatment of Southern agriculture which has yet been done.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin

Calvin B. Hoover, Chairman
Department of Economics

CBH:pe

"THE PEOPLE ACT"

A National Radio Series That Shows People Working Together to Solve Their Local Problems

~~601 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.~~

Carrollton, Georgia
September 29, 1952

"THE PEOPLE ACT" CENTER
BOX 342, STATE COLLEGE, PA.

Educational Director
RAY H. SMITH

PROGRAM HEADQUARTERS
THE TV-RADIO WORKSHOP
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Director of "The People Act"
ELMORE McKEE

Story Editor
JOHN JEFFERSON

Program Research
HARRIET DAVIS DRYDEN

Field Research Associates
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Institute of Citizenship
Kansas State College

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the find contribution you made to the luncheon discussion last Monday at Emory. I have replayed the tape more than once and am more and more grateful for the fine suggestions which were made there.

It is interesting to compare responses from the three "clinics". Since seeing you I have been to Tuskegee where a similar gathering was held.

If you haven't you will want to look in on Tuskegee Industries Inc. some day. Eugene Sibley, retired Detroit lawyer and nephew of Georgia Judge Sibley, has organized a modest needlecraft industry there which uses Negro women whose family economic life had been displaced by the new agriculture. The operation was capitalized, on a shoe-string, I gather, by the community and has orders now which justifies doubling the capacity and assures work for a year in advance.

Thanks again for your help and all good wishes in your good work.

Yours sincerely,

J. Carson

J. Carson Pritchard

JCP/lm

IR
agricultural Planning (personnel)

September 30, 1952

Mr. Carson Pritchard
Carroll Service Council
Carrollton, Ga.

Dear Carson:

I've been thinking of some more people in addition to those listed herewith.

Claude Faris, farmer, R.F.D., Greenville, S. C. Trained at Clemson, extension work in Kentucky, director of resettlement projects for old Farm Security Administration in Raleigh. Later employed by Federal Land Bank in Columbia. Sound man on agricultural planning, with the milk of human kindness in his veins.

C. O. Dickey, 1736 Inverness Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. Used to be county agent in west Kentucky. Able, competent guy for agricultural planning. Has done a lot of it, and what he did paid out. Now works for FHA of USDA, I think.

H. C. Green, now farming, Capelsie Rd., Troy, N. C. Managed a resettlement project of mostly Indians for eight or ten years, and did it admirably. Quiet, effective in agricultural community leadership.

A. D. Smith, Amory, Mississippi. Formerly Mississippi director Farm Security Administration and formerly regional director Farm Security Administration at Little Rock, Ark. May have moved from Amory to another Mississippi town, but would still be reached at Amory. Sixty-five perhaps. Sympathetic, competent, wise. Knows poor people's needs.

Earl Mayhew, State director, Farmers Home Administration, USDA, Lexington, Ky. ~~Knows more about agricultural potentialities of Kentucky land and people~~ than anybody else alive.

Ocie Lee Smith, Farmers Home Administration, USDA, Little Rock, Ark. Colored guy. Knows about rural planning.

Ray Smith, Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Running Haitian development for ECA of MSA. Indiana guy. Was big man in BAE for years.

Frank Pinder. Colored guy. Co-op expert. Works for State Department. Now abroad, Liberia. Smart man, good egg.

Willis Spivey, Babson Park, Fla. Runs a rural life training center down there. Teaches poor people to put up daggone good houses for next to nothing. Odd, but smart. Any rural community could learn a lot from him. Deeply religious.

At Tuskegee, either Ernest Neal or Lewis Jones, who conduct the Tuskegee Rural Life Center. Both know their stuff in this whole field.

If you get stuck for some back community in the South, let me know, and I will see if I can dig up a name or two from thereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

August 3, 1953

Editors
Monthly Review
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

My warm congratulations on whoever did the excellent article on "Bankers Interest in Farm Tenancy" in the issue of June 30. In my opinion, one of the most significant contributions that could be made to Southern progress, both in economics and in democratic arrangements, would be the voluntary spread of a system of long-term written farm leases with compensation provisions. It will cost us nothing, and it will spread well-being.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

1133 Mill Plain Road
Fairfield, Conn.
November 12, 1956

RECEIVED
NOV 9
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

I am very much interested in the importance of the Negro in the Civil War. The writer of a book which I read recently stated that if there had been no Negro there would have been no Civil War. I am definitely not in agreement with this statement and was told that your association might be able to give me some information on this subject. I am particularly interested in the importance of the Negro at the time of the reconstruction of the South following the Civil War.

Any information which you could send me will be greatly appreciated

Thank you.

Yours truly,
Louise Feher

RECEIVED
NOV 9
Southern Regional Council

September 30, 1953

Mr. A. C. Flora, Chairman
Board of Trustees
1511 Hagood Avenue
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Flora:

At the request of Mr. William Car of NEA, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of a pamphlet we have just put out. It tries to be a temperate and balanced treatment of the current school issues before the Supreme Court.

We are in hopes that it will be widely used by local discussion groups, especially in the South, as a means of getting in as many counties as possible, at least a small body of people who understand the issues and can help the general public in avoiding confusion when the Court does finally make its ruling.

If you think well of the pamphlet and care to suggest ways in which its distribution can be furthered, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

November 10, 1953

Miss Louise Feher
1133 Mill Plain Road
Fairfield, Connecticut

Dear Miss Feher:

Dr George Mitchell is out of the city and will not be in the office until next week at which time your letter of a few days ago will have attention.

Sincerely yours

Secretary to Dr Mitchell

gsm-t

November seventeen, 1953

Miss Louise Feher
1133 Mill Plain Road
Fairfield, Connecticut

Dear Miss Feher:

Go up to that funny looking red brick library at Southport and tell Madam the Librarian that you earnestly require a book published in 1858, written by Hinton Rowan Helper, and called "The Impending Crisis in the South". It has got pretty much all the arguments. You would not have to read it all, but you could get what you wanted.

At the same time, you might make her dig up Fred Law Olmstead's "Journey in the Seaboard Slave States". He was the soundest outside observer of the prewar South.

I don't know about the Reconstruction Period. I have not read all the books a man should read, but I don't think anybody has quite found the truth yet. Certainly I don't trust Mr Howard Fast and his so-called findings. But neither was it as bad as the standard books say.

Reconstruction was something like a New Deal, but the trouble is that the history of it was written by the people who were the then equivalents of McCarthy. So by now the history is kind of blurred!

The Congregational Church did a vastly resourceful job during those Reconstruction years. It still has links with all of this through the American Missionary Association, which has headquarters with the Congregational Church at 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. You could write a good paper on the things the Congregationalists did during that period. Business about the Amistad, and so on.

If we can help any more, let us know.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure: "What Kind of South Do You Want?"

OCT 31 1955

111 Monte Vista Drive
Blacksburg, Virginia.
October 28, 1955.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter and the booklets. I had told Dr. Garnett not to bother writing for me as I would be sending for some material myself, but guess I didn't get it across to him - hence my letter probably crossed yours. Also I did not think I would bother you personally with such routine stuff as sending out printed matter.

4 cd stamps Rha

The things you sent have been very helpful and I would also like to have the four pieces of "propaganda" I have marked on the enclosed list, if someone has not already sent them in response to my letter.

enclosed list? I have list Rha

Father's book came out in August - a nicely set-up job. I will tell him you are interested.

Don is Extension Sociologist at V.P.I. If you and your family ever get up to these mountains, look us up. It would be nice to see you.

With many thanks, again,

Sincerely,

Mary R. Fessler

Mrs. Donald R. Fessler

Publications List

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Sent 10/31/55 nha

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

☑ Send me the publications indicated on this list, in the quantities shown. Enclosed is $0.40 in check, money order, or stamps. Stamps

☐ Enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year. Enclosed is my check or money order for $2.00. 10/31/55

Name Mrs. D. R. Fessler

Street 111 Monte Vista Drive

City Blacksburg, State Va.

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1 NEW SOUTH, October 1954: "The Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South," a field report by Robert G. Menefee. 10c

1 NEW SOUTH, February 1954: "We are Unnecessarily Excited," by Benjamin E. Mays. 10c

_____ NEW SOUTH, December 1953: "The Last Round of Debate" before the Supreme Court. 10c

_____ NEW SOUTH, July 1953: "The Court Takes More Time." 10c

_____ NEW SOUTH, February 1953: "South Carolina's School Amendment," by Howard G. McClain. 10c

1 WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH. 24 pages, illustrated, 1947. 10c

Mrs. Donald R. Fessler,
111, Monte Vista Drive,
Blacksburg, Va.

November 29th, 1955.

Dear Mary,

I have had your nice order, and the letter, hereabouts for a month: apologies. But the office did send the four booklets. The "Educated South" is too old to be helpful; our best job on that is "Answers for Action", which you must have (one with the map).

Blacksburg for me has a special link with a boy named Charles Burr. This young man, from Christiansburg perhaps, studied under Dr. Garnett, and learned to translate the mountains that Garnett knows into newspaper language - a valuable young man. Burr worked in Farm Security for some years, and I had the remote bossing of him, and came to know him well. He married a lanky West Virginia girl while they were with FSA in Cincinnati. Then Burr joined the army, and was on a LST heading into the beach in Sicily when a shell hit the LST and that was the end of Charlie. The girl bore a son, and she and the son and a lately-acquired husband are here in Atlanta; a pleasant couple and our good friends. And the boy named Charles, and as promising as his father. Keep your ears open for someone else who remembers Charlie; a hard man to lose.

You and hon. husband will be warmly welcome here if business or just riding bring you to Atlanta. And we'll stop if we ever get a chance.

Sincerely yours,

GSM:rl.

July 8, 1957

Mr. John Feild
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear John:

I believe the man you want to participate on a panel at the Nairo Conference would be Dr. John H. Marion, Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. His address is 100 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia.

I was through Detroit but you were not in your office, and I did not leave my name. Sorry to have missed you.

Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:lec

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan
WO 2-6680

129 Mason Building
Lansing, Michigan
IV 5-8144

ON THE JOB IN MICHIGAN

Fred:

Send me the name of one of your Council Executive Secretary's who could participate on a Panel at the Nairo Conference on any, and I mean any, of them sessions. — I want to spread the participation around — ~~[illegible]~~ this would be in addition to Harold Fleming's job

John

MF: Do we have? If so, please send. HCF

RECEIVED MAY 8 1959

Christ Episcopal Church

THE REVEREND RAYMOND T. FERRIS, RECTOR
900 Broadway
Nashville 3, Tennessee

May 7, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send to me 20 copies of your Special Report entitled "Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in The South.

Faithfully yours,

Raymond T. Ferris

Raymond T. Ferris

May 13, 1959

Reverend Raymond T. Ferris
Christ Spiscopal Church
900 Broadway
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ferris:

Our supply of "Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South" is practically exhausted and the few remaining copies in the office are out of date. We are, however, in the process of up-dating the material for further distribution. When this has been done, we shall be happy to send you 20 copies as you have requested.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

National Congress of Parents and Teachers

NATIONAL OFFICE: 700 NORTH RUSH STREET

CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

August 22, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of our National Parent-Teacher Magazine. You will find the directory of our state presidents on the inside back cover.

It would be interesting to me to know why you want to get in touch with the presidents.

If there is anything else we can do to be of service to you, please let me know.

Cordially yours,

Mary A. Ferre

Mary A. Ferre
Administrative Assistant
to the President

MAF:lmf

(Magazine sent)

August 27, 1959

Miss Mary A. Ferre
Administrative Assistant
to the President
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
700 North Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Miss Ferre:

Thank you for mailing us the addresses of presidents of state Parent-Teacher organizations.

We requested the names and addresses in order to send the presidents a copy of the enclosed pamphlet.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Enclosure:
(Private school pamphlet)

May 9, 1962

Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss
2307 Valley Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mr. Ferriss:

Thank you for the notes and clippings you sent regarding George Mitchell. They were very helpful.

The next issue of New South will include a tribute to Dr. Mitchell by Paul Williams. I will send you a copy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

May 23, 1962

Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss
2307 Valley Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mr. Ferriss:

Mr. Dunbar recently promised to have sent to you out April issue of New South which carries a tribute to Dr. George Mitchell. I'm pleased to enclose a copy for you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

ALEXIS C. FERM
Box 373
Fairhope, Ala.
36532

June 24, 1964.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
S.R.C.
5 Forsyth St.N.W.
Alanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the phrase, I am at liberty to do as I please but if I invade another person's life against that person's wishes I do not believe in freedom, illustrates the meaning of the two words as I am inclined to use them. But deffinitions change wit our outlook on life or the habits of the mass of the people.

But w hat bothers me is your writing about God. The reasoning is so different from the rest of the article "The American Adventure." "Religion is a bond which holds men to God." Some years ago the KKK invited me to join them and "be on the side of the Lord" and all the WCCs are church members and sing "Praise God from whom all blessings flow". Are we never to wake up? Why this blind faith in some kind of God? How can we think things out for the benefit of humanity while our faith is based on unreasoning beliefs?

All our religions of today, and there are many, were concieved when the people believed that our earth was the center of the universe. Now that we know that the universe is endless, eternal, that man in some form has existed on the earth millions of years ago, why do we still cling to the "old religion is good enough for me"?

And if this universe had to be made by some Creator, Who made the Creator? Or where did he come from? And if "Religion is a bond which holds men to God and to each other" why do they kill each other in Cyprus in order to live free, as they are doing elsewhere in the world? And after thousands of years of religion Gods creatures are being ruthlessly killed in Miss. and Alabama as if having a dark skin placed man outside of God's creation.

And who is responsible for the drought that we are suffering from while in other parts of the country human beings ar being drowned in floods and their work destroyed?

And who is responsible for the fact that every living thing on the earth has its enemy? Everything lives on the death of something else. This fact has nothing to do with right and wrong, it just simply is. Is it a sin to recognize things as they a re?

If folks spent as much time reading books about the universe or magazines like "Natural History", maybe we'd get some straight thinking about human relations and human life, (instead of studying the Bible)

I hope this does not merely bother you but you are in an important position in regard to our thinking and our actions.

Sincerely,

Alexis C. Ferm

Alexis C. Ferm

File
Ltr. Gen. Corresp.

July 22, 1964

Mr. Alexis C. Ferm
Box 373
Fairhope, Alabama

Dear Mr. Ferm:

In some respects I agree with your letter of June 24. We are responsible for our own problems, the dreary mess we have made of our history (as well as the gentle and beautiful and intelligent things we have made part of our history, too), and responsible for straightening it all out or, at any rate, trying to do so. We are moral bastards, I think, if we don't assume all that responsibility, whole.

On the other hand, I discovered some time ago that I can't think without using the concept "God." I know that various unflattering explanations exist for the inability, and I have faced them and considered thoughtfully the possibility, even probability, that one or all of them may be applicable to me. Given the fact, however, that my mind still requires the concept, I would suppose that the cause of that need, while interesting, is not of much importance.

Though I have not much personal concern in the theology of any faith, I do think, moreover,

that your argument against the justice and wisdom of "God" doesn't meet the issues religion raises. Neither Judaism or Christianity, for example, has ever contended that God planned the world for the satisfaction of men. Christianity, indeed, even tells us (and the Jews would not disagree with the idea) that "God so loved the world" that He sent His son into it to share in its suffering and be rejected and killed by it. We can dismiss this, of course, as monstrous nonsense, or we can ponder the mystery of it, as a profoundly compelling idea. I am not prepared to do the former.

Thank you for writing to me and do it more often.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MEMORANDUM

9 March 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Emory Via

I would be interested in any communique from Dwight Ferguson and contribution to SRC since he was my guest the day of his visit.

file

MS - please show to

EV

(Catherine Typed answer to this last week)

Letter 3/4/66 to Mr. Dwight Ferguson-HEW-Atlanta, Ga. from P. A.

re: receipt for $120 check added to mailing list

green cc and orig. ret. to P. A.

km

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EUGENE BARNETT
NOBLE Y. BEALL
WILLIAM Y. BELL
FRED L. BROWNLEE
RALPH J. BUNCHE
HENRY SLOAN COFFIN
CLARK WALKER CUMMINGS
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
MRS. CHARLES W. GILKEY
SHELBY M. HARRISON
GEORGE E. HAYNES
ALFRED HOFFMAN
PAUL B. KERN
WILLIAM C. MARTIN
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
HOWARD W. ODUM
LISTON POPE
HOMER P. RAINEY
BENTON RHOADES
J. MCDOWELL RICHARDS
WILLIAM SCARLETT
DAVID H. SIMS
THELMA STEVENS
ANSON PHELPS STOKES
OLIVIA PEARL STOKES
JOHN THOMAS
MRS. M. E. TILLY
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER
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FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON
LUTHER WEIGLE
AMY WELCHER
CHARLES H. WESLEY

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Chairman

BRADFORD S. ABERNETHY
Director

April 11, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have just received a wire from Dr. Will Alexander asking me to send you a list of the Texas ministers who met with us in Dallas on March 27th in a meeting called by this Commission to consider the general question of the Church and minority peoples. The names starred would, I think, be of the most help in developing opposition in Texas to efforts being made to invalidate the recent Supreme Court decision.

Sincerely yours,

B. S. Abernethy

B. S. Abernethy, Director

BSA:c
encl

*Dr. J. M. Dawson
First Baptist Church
Waco, Texas

*Dr. Edmund Heinsohn
University Methodist Church
Austin, Texas

Dr. Paul Root
School of Theology, S.M.U.
Dallas, Texas

*Dr. Marshall T. Steel
Highland Park Methodist Church
Hillcrest and Mockingbird Lane
Dallas, Texas

Rev. L. N. D. Wells
East Dallas Christian Church
Dallas, Texas

*Dr. Warren Johnson
First Methodist Church
Fort Worth, Texas

Dr. J. M. Connally, Dist. Supt.
Methodist Church
Paris, Texas

*Dr. Albert J. Shirkey
Travis Park Methodist Church
San Antonio, Texas

Bishop Ivan Lee Holt
1910 Main Street
Dallas, Texas

Dr. L. F. Sensabaugh
Highland Park Methodist Church
Dallas, Texas

April 18, 1944

Mr. Bradford S. Abernethy
Director
Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Abernethy:

Thank you very much for sending me at the suggestion of Dr. Will Alexander the names of Texas ministers who might be interested in helping to oppose the efforts that are being made to invalidate the Supreme Court decision on the white primary. I am sure that we shall find this list very helpful.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL"

TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475

297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

THE RT. REV. HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER
PRESIDENT

J. MCDOWELL RICHARDS
VICE-PRESIDENT

HARPER SIBLEY
TREASURER

SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
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ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARIES

WILLIAM Y. BELL
MRS. HENRY HILL PIERCE
CO-CHAIRMEN

GEORGE E. HAYNES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

May 25, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We thank you for the literature sent to Camp Kane, Kane, Pa. Later in the course of the Race Relations Institute, we plan to have some forums on organizations and policies, programs and methods in dealing with race relations, as I mentioned in my letter asking for the literature.

I wish so much that we could have a visit from either you or Doctor Reid some time. We are so limited in our funds for the Institute that we would not be able to cover expenses for such a distance as Atlanta. It occurs to me, however, that you may be coming East sometime during July or August when you may be as near to the Camp as Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. In that case we could cover expense from there to Kane and return to either of those points with entertainment while you are with us.

I am writing Dr. Reid also and would be glad if you will discuss it with him and let me know if there is any possibility of your serving us.

Yours sincerely,

George E. Haynes

George E. Haynes
Executive Secretary

H:h

May 29, 1944

Mr. George E. Haynes
Executive Secretary
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Haynes:

I am so loaded down with engagements that I am reasonably sure that it would be impossible for me to come East during July or August. It may be that Dr. Reid will be coming that way, and I am sure that he will write you about his plans.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL"

TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475

297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

THE RT. REV. HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER
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CO-CHAIRMEN

GEORGE E. HAYNES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

November 25, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of cordial invitation to join the Southern Regional Council as an associate member was received with appreciation. Before deciding on the matter I wish to inquire about the provision in your bylaws providing "for a National Advisory Committee, whose function will be the coordination of the work of the Southern Regional Council with the work of similar organizations in other parts of the nation." The Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches sustained a relationship with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Does this provision of a National Advisory Committee contemplate reestablishment of such relationship? If so I need to understand that relationship of our organization to the associate membership which I judge has been extended to me on personal rather than an official basis.

Same old Haynes!

The Administrative Committee of our Department will not meet before your Council meeting called for December 6 as we are scheduled for a meeting December 13. I would like, however, to have your answer to these points as soon as possible in order that we might know what to do with reference to having someone attend your next meeting.

Yours sincerely,

George E. Haynes

George E. Haynes
Executive Secretary

GEH mis

November 29, 1944

Mr. George E. Haynes
Executive Secretary
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Haynes:

Thank you for your letter of November 25. As for the National Advisory Committee which the Board of Directors may establish if they deem it wise, we have postponed definite action in order to work out our relation to the American Council on Race Relations. It is quite possible that the Board will decide that some kind of liaison committee working with the American Council will serve the purpose intended for the National Advisory Committee. At any rate the matter will come up for discussion at our meeting next week.

In the meantime, quite aside from the question of the National Advisory Committee, various persons in the North who were members or friends of the Interracial Commission have been invited as individuals to become associate members. We shall be glad to have you as an associate member.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
ExecutiveDirector

GBJ:j

Textile Workers Union of America

15 Union Square

New York 3, N. Y.

C O P Y

June 4, 1945

Mr. James Myers
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ
in America
297 4th Avenue
New York City

Dear James Myers:

I think you will be interested in the attached photostatic copy of a circular distributed by one of the Ministers in a recent National Labor Relations Board election that was held at a Gate City Cotton Mill, Georgia. This and other anti-union propaganda helped to defeat the union.

It is our information that Rev. McMath is a Methodist, pastor of the Gate City Methodist Church, at 230 East Mercer Avenue, College Park, Georgia. The church is located near but not in the village. We are not certain whether the mill contributes to the support of the church.

You will be particularly interested in point No. III "One boss is better than two bosses." Mr. McMath has gone a long way from the teaching of the Church that a human being is an individual.

If you have no further need of the photostat, I would appreciate it if youwould return it to me.

Sincerely yours,

LR:rg
enc.

Lawrence Rogin
Educational Director

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
INCORPORATED
CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL" TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

JAMES MYERS
INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY

101

June 6, 1945

Miss Thelma Stevens
150 Fifth Avenue
New YorkCity

Dear Miss Stevens:

I am enclosing a letter from Larry Rogin and a photostat of "a pastoral letter."

Can you not marshall the Methodist women of the South on his trail? It may be that he is just ignorant and needs to be educated.

After you are finished with the photostat, will you please return it to Mr. Rogin?

Sincerely yours,

James Myers

James Myers
Industrial Secretary

JM:if
Enc.

November 1, 1945

Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing 25 cents in stamps, for which please send us five copies of The Interracial Clinic by George Edmund Haynes.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Encl.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
INCORPORATED
CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL"
TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.
101

JAMES MYERS
INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

January 18, 1946

Dear Friend:

I hope that you and your appropriate committee and others whom you may contact will at once write to your Senators and Congressmen in favor of the Pepper-Hook Bill (S1349 and H.R.3914) amending the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wages from 40¢ an hour to 65¢ an hour, with 75¢ an hour after two years.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council at its November 1945 meeting passed the following resolution which you are at liberty to use if you wish.

"Inasmuch as for over thirty years the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has stood for 'a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that industry can afford,' and,

"Inasmuch as the current provision of 40¢ an hour or $16.00 for a 40 hour week in the Fair Labor Standards Act is wholly inadequate under present costs of living,

"Be it resolved that the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America favors an increase of the minimum wage to 65¢ an hour with 75¢ an hour after two years, in order to provide for our lowest paid workers, under present conditions, an adequate American standard of living."

Urgently yours,

James Myers

James Myers
Industrial Secretary

P.S. In addition to writing to your Senators and Congressmen it would be helpful if you would also write to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Chairman James E. Murray; House Committee on Labor, Chairman Mary T. Norton.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

There are many important bills now before Congress. Issues of INFORMATION SERVICE for September 22, 1945, and January 5, 1946, describing them may be obtained at five cents a copy from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

The Federal Council has endorsed the following legislation:

The extension of Old Age and Survivors Insurance system to agricultural workers, domestic servants, employees of non-profit organizations and the self-employed.

A sound plan of public health and disability insurance.

The inclusion of the churches in a Federal social security plan offering protection to their lay employees.

The increase of minimum wage rates from 40¢ per hour to 65¢ per hour and 75¢ after two years.

Permanent procedures for securing the objectives which have been sought by the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

Industrial Relations Division
Department of Christian Social Relations

January 19, 1946

Excerpts from an Address by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Former President of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and Bishop of The Methodist Church, New York. Topic: Protestantism Faces the Future. Springfield, Mass. March 10, 1947.

The demand for the public support of parochial schools is a deliberate attempt to undermine public education and is a serious threat to democracy. Our public educational system is a bulwark of democracy. The teaching staff is a devoted, patriotic, highly-trained group of Americans whose contribution to the nation in terms of democratic character deserves high praise. In the public schools, boys and girls from Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish homes study together and in the daily association the public schools afford, learn to live together as Americans, learn to respect each other, learn the contribution of all to the common life. This is essential to democracy. When they are divided into separate sectarian schools, particular emphases that are often prejudices are perpetuated and the bigotry that becomes intolerance is too often inculcated.

Are we to have a separate school system for each church? Are the Methodists, the Baptists, the Episcopalians and others to set up their schools and to demand that the public support them? The Roman Catholic Church insists that the parent has the God-given right to determine the education of his child. The American people, in their love of liberty, have granted the privilege of private education, provided certain standards are met. But the Roman Catholic Church now demands that the public shall support sectarian schools. The right to conduct a private school is one thing. The public support of private education is another.

If a parent has the right to determine the education of his child and if the state must support the private institution the parent thinks necessary for the education of his child, does this mean that a Communist father who wants his child trained in Marxian materialism has the right to call upon the people to support Communist schools across the nation?

To support a score of competing sectarian systems of education is to destroy the American public educational system. Protestants are unalterably opposed to the Roman Catholic insistence upon public support for parochial education. They are opposed to church control of public education, no matter what the church. They believe that control should rest in the people not in a hierarchy, and they have reason to believe that Roman Catholic laymen acquainted with education hold the same view.

Pope Pius XI in the Encyclical of January 1930 revealed the real intent of the Roman Catholic Church. He said "Education belongs pre-eminently to the Church...the Church is independent of earthly sovereignty both in origin and the exercise of its educational mission, not only with respect to its specific aim, but also with respect to the means necessary to achieve it...the Church has the independent right to judge whether any other system or method of education is helpful or harmful to Christian education...As for the scope of the Church's educative mission, it extends over all peoples without any limitation...Civic education...must not contradict the doctrine of the Church, which is the divinely constituted mistress of such rules...Attendance at non-Catholic neutral or mixed schools or of schools, that is to say, indifferently open to Catholics and non-Catholics without distinction, is forbidden to Catholic children and can only be tolerated at the discretion of Bishops in special circumstances...Neither is it admissible for Catholics to attend mixed schools (worse still if obligatory for all) where religious instruction is provided and pupils receive the rest of their teaching from non-Catholic masters, together with non-Catholic children."

What the Roman Catholic Church seeks is the complete control of the mind of youth. It demands not alone the right to educate Roman Catholic children in parochial schools but also that the public shall pay the bills. It informs the public that the Church is supreme and not subject to the control of the people as far as the educational process is concerned. Its intolerance refuses even religious instruction unless it be under the control of the Roman Catholic church. It opposes religious instruction by Christians other than Roman Catholic Christians. In lands where it has the power to do so, it does control the educational system, does deny religious liberty to other faiths, does proceed upon its totalitarian way.

Unfortunately, the Roman Catholic Church has been characterized by an insatiable appetite for power, and power corrupts. Witness the reaction that has set in in Roman Catholic lands, until the Pope must appeal publicly to the people for support and the Church must call upon government to imprison critics and suppress civil liberties. These activities must break the heart of the devoted priests and sisters, the splendid laymen and lay-women of the church, who love the Christ and would build the Kingdom of God on the earth. Let the church cease trying to be state and church. Let it give us more men like St. Francis. Let it realize that when it is close to its Lord and reveals his spirit of humility and service it possesses the power that is of great worth, but when it seeks to control governments, shackle the minds of men, lay up for itself treasures on earth and become the great tax-free land-owner of nations, that it possesses many barns but loses its soul. All that I have said here applies to every church, Protestant and Catholic alike, whenever the practice is the same.

We will resolutely strive to maintain religious liberty for Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew. We shall insist that such liberty be maintained throughout the earth. We shall work for brotherly cooperation. We shall continue to pray and labor for the union of all Christians, realizing that Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant are branches of the Church of Christ, and that in them all is heard the affirmation "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." Perhaps the day may come when Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant may kneel in penitence before Our Lord and rise to heal the divisions of the centuries and to answer Christ's prayer that they all "may be one."

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The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

DEPARTMENT OF THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE

297 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

BISHOP JOHN S. STAMM
PRESIDENT

MRS. DOUGLAS HORTON
VICE-PRESIDENT

SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT
GENERAL SECRETARY

ROSWELL P. BARNES
J. QUINTER MILLER
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARIES

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

ARTHUR S. FLEMMING
CHAIRMAN

CHARLES P. TAFT
CHAIRMAN, STUDY COMMITTEE

JAMES MYERS
EMERITUS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

CAMERON P. HALL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ELMA L. GREENWOOD
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 6, 1949

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Professor A. R. Mead of the College of Education of the University of Florida has suggested to us that your Council might be interested in cooperating with the special Study of the Department of the Church and Economic Life which is commencing a research project in the area of Church and economic life. This project is underwritten by the Rockefeller Foundation and will extend over a period of three years. Many nationally known figures in management, capital, labor, farm and other economic groups are members of the Study Committee.

We are not acquainted with the work of your Council and would therefore appreciate receiving information regarding your endeavors. I am enclosing a summary statement of the project which we are undertaking. If this suggests areas in which you might have developed material which would be of value to us in our work, we would be happy to know about it. We are not at the present time able to commit ourselves in a financial way as our study is in its infancy.

Awaiting your reply with anticipation, I am,

Very truly yours,

A. Dudley Ward

A. Dudley Ward
Director of Study

ADW/kb

Enc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A SUMMARY STATEMENT RE THE SPECIAL STUDY PROJECT

The following is an informal summary of the lbjectives and techniques of the special study project currently being undertaken by the Department of the Church and Economic Life through a grant of $100,000 over a three-year period from the Rockefeller Foundation.

In a world in which radical changes are taking place in the organization of economic life and in the quality of the human relationships involved in economic activities, thoughtful people motivated by Christian ethics are dedicated to the task of influencing the direction of economic change so that our economic institutions will conform reasonably to Christian ethical standards as these are related to freedom, justice, security, participation, creative workmanship and responsibility. To be prepared for this task, insight in necessary into several important areas basic to economic life as it is related to Christian ethics. The Study to be undertaken will attempt to develop pertinent information involved in these several areas.

Specifically, the areas to be studied are: First, the actual ethical assumptions and practices of persons who hold a variety of positions within organized economic groups according to such factors as age, sex, geographical location, occupation, corporate affiliation, race, church connection and religious attitudes. The relationship of these individual ethical assumptions and practices to the practices and policies of the groups of which these persons are a part will be investigated. Second, the ethical problems confronting organized economic groups and the individuals within these groups. These include such problems as discipline, hiring and firing, conflicting loyalties, responsibilities to other persons and economic groups involving such matters as wages, dividends, interest, return to management, and the public welfare. In this area an attempt will be made to determine those problems about which organized economic groups and their constituents should be concerned deeply, such as the problems created by policies and practices relating to tariffs and customs, unethical advertising, lobbying which is harmful to the general welfare, subtle evasions of the law, questionable financing techniques, and labor practices detrimental to the common good. Third, decisions and the decision-making process of organized economic groups and their leaders in which ethical elements are or should be a factor. The responsibility of individual members, apart from the group leaders, in regard to these ethical decisions and action will be considered. Fourth, the ethical responsibilities of organized economic groups, their leaders and members in the light of Christian ethical norms related to such matters as size and power, incentive and self-interest, the mixed community, justice and the public welfare. Fifth, the content of Christian ethical standards in the light of the Christian revelation, the changing and evolving ethical attitudes in contemporary economic life, the historical perspective and the particular contribution of Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

The techniques to be used in the Study will involve such things as the utilization of pertinent existing material and findings in these areas; the services of experts in particular fields, discussion groups, conferences of especially selected church people themselves involved in the issues and problems of the Study; pilot studies in actual, representative situations;

questionnaires; interviews; and the services of graduate students in colleges, universities and seminaries. The Study Committee responsible for this project, in addition to its supervisory activity, will think through the issues related to the Study to statements and formulations in the light of their own knowledge and experience and the material developed in the course of the Study.

Southerners Ask Kennedy To Lead Civil-Rights Drive

1-30-61

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times. P.1

ATLANTA, Jan. 20—The Southern Regional Council has urged President Kennedy to adopt a sweeping program of executive action in the civil-rights field. In a forty-eight-page report to the President, the council makes eighteen proposals for strengthening the rights of Negroes. It is thought to be the most far-reaching blueprint of its kind yet received by the new Administration.

The suggestions cover executive leadership, Federal employment, education, personal and property rights, voting, the armed services, propaganda, health and recreation, transportation, Government contracts and housing.

"The President holds power under the Constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable," the council argued.

Transmitted to President

The proposals, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," were transmitted to President Kennedy, his Cabinet and chief advisers before the inauguration. They were released today by the Atlanta headquarters of the council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Harold C. Fleming, executive director, noted that there had been indications that Mr. Kennedy would approach civil rights "with somewhat more vigor" than previous administrations.

"As a Southern organization that had worked with the problem of race relations, we felt we had a responsibility to give our thinking on the question to the new Administration," Mr. Fleming said.

The council advocated clarity

Continued on Page 16, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 1961.

SOUTHERNERS ASK DRIVE BY KENNEDY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

imaginative action and sus- of policy, "inward commitment," tained effort to achieve definite civil rights goals.

"A new Administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise," the council asserted.

The report did not discuss personal Presidential activities as contrasted with official actions. But the Council said that "their importance is in no degree minimized." It continued:

"Since the Presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of that office receive national attention and thus set an example for millions of Americans.

"A President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstrations may be worth fully as much as Executive Orders and formal pronouncements."

Appointment of a staff adviser on race relations was recommended. He would assist the President in interpreting developments to the nation, in framing and supervising Executive Orders and in providing "intimate coordination" between the Federal Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department.

The council criticized as inadequate the present executive committees on Government employment and contracts. These should be replaced with a single agency, it said. That agency would serve as a watchdog "to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all Government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination."

The importance of outspoken Presidential leadership was emphasized.

"Controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the belief and intentions of the Chief Executive," said the report.

The United States Information Agency should be candid in explaining our racial difficulties, it said.

"We should relate them frankly," the report suggested, "as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial nations themselves, to remove them."

The council asserted that Civil Service prohibitions against discrimination were being flouted. It proposed "prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in Federal offices."

The President was asked deliberately to choose competent Negroes for appointive positions.

Moreover, the council said, some Negroes should be given posts in the South, "which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition."

School Problem Put First

The most compelling unfinished business, the council asserted, is school integration.

"The basic problem," it said, "is twofold: to re-establish a climate of respect for law; and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to desegregated public education."

Mr. Kennedy was urged to affirm publicly his full support for the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision of 1954. The council also said he should direct the Attorney General to study the possibility of intervening in school desegregation cases under present laws.

While turmoil over school desegregation continues, the report declared, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes which protect personal security."

Stepped-up enforcement of voting laws was advocated along with "a national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President."

Would Integrate Guard

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Federal expenditures for health programs and aid to public schools and higher education and for recreation facilities such as beaches should be administered in accord with a basic policy of nondiscrimination, the council said.

Such a policy, the council said, would prohibit the granting of Federal funds for research to colleges or universities that restrict admission because of race, creed, color or national origin.

The council proposed "a final, decisive effort" to end segregation on common carriers. It said that large contractors on Government projects should be required to recruit Negro employes.

An end to cooperation with discrimination in Federal-state apprenticeship and employment services was advocated. The Federal Housing program, it was also suggested, should be designed to encourage integration.

Race Study Urges Use Of Executive's Power

Wash. Post Mon. 1/30/61 Sent to Fred Rotch

By Elsie Carper
Staff Reporter

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The study, prepared by the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit organization seeking ways to improve race relations in the South, was published yesterday. The Council has offices in Atlanta.

The 48-page report was issued at a time when President Kennedy's Administration is formulating policies and programs. Broad recommendations on ways the President may use his powers to combat discrimination are outlined in the report.

One of the major recommendations is a presidential staff adviser to keep the President informed on racial matters and to coordinate activities of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

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The Federal Government's own operations, the report declares, need to be a model of just race relations. The Government must hire, fire and promote with obvious regard for racial equality and eradicate segregation in its offices.

While the survey is limited to official activities of the President, the report makes it clear that the President's personal attitudes and actions also are important.

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"There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantage of race, and pledge that the Federal Government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way." the report declares.

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See RIGHTS, A7, Col. 1

RIGHTS—*From Page A1*

Race Unit Asks President's Aid

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Negroes are not the only minority at a disadvantage and discrimination exists elsewhere than in the South but the racial problems of the South are the acute test of the "American ideal of liberty and equality."

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National unity, the report states, will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly about racial problems in the South and if statements are confined to what he and the Administration are prepared to enforce.

In an obvious reference to the recent riots in New Orleans that followed desegregation of two schools, the report makes this veiled criticism of the Eisenhower Administration:

"That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible."

The report declares that within the South there are numerous whites who will give practical, effective support for reform if there is national leadership. Frequent conferences and consultations by the President with Southern economic and political leaders would broaden this base of support.

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The Administration also should consider a system of "benign quotas" in public housing projects to keep them from becoming all Negro or all white.

The Council recognizes that a strict non-discriminatory order for FHA and PHA housing will reduce the number of starts in the South and hamper or halt urban renewal but believes that Southern opposition should not be a deterrent. Benefits of participation in Federal programs have such a powerful attraction that there is every reason to believe that the slowdown will not last long, the Council states.

Other recommendations by the Council:

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- Federal grants in aid for vocational education and research funds should be withheld from schools and colleges which restrict admissions because of race. The Federal Government should insist that public schools attended by children of military personnel be non-segregated.
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- The Department of Justice should "enforce vigilantly" existing statutes and precedents to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly. Action could prevent violence, reprisal and intimidation surrounding school desegregation, sit-in controversies and Negro voting.
- The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys. Working relationships with United States District Attorneys should be so defined to permit widespread enforcement of voting provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts.
- The Federal Government should undertake a national registration drive, under sponsorship of the President. A side result would be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South.
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Send to Fred Routh

Difficulties Are Many

Long-Range View Held Best For Rights Executive Action

By James E. Clayton
Staff Reporter

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Although many of its suggestions coincide with campaign promises made by President Kennedy, the political and social difficulties involved in putting even some of those into effect are likely to be deterring factors to the President's program.

The two political factors involved are the strength of the Southern bloc in Congress and importance of the Southern electoral vote to the Democratic Party.

Any proposals which require new civil rights legislation require a weighing of the need for that as against the effect of such a legislative push on other parts of the President's program. Any proposals which rely exclusively on executive action require a weighing of what Southern Congressmen might do in reprisals.

Some of the ideas put forward by the Southern Regional Council would make deep inroads quickly into segregation practices. Action cutting off universities from Federal funds if they segregate would drive some Southern universities to the wall. Action to require desegregated conditions in Federal-supported housing programs would certainly upset some urban renewal programs and many housing developments.

How strong and how deep the political repercussions of such moves would be are certain to be carefully studied before the President takes such steps. It is quite clear that he knows there is no turning back once the step is taken.

It is interesting, however, to note how many of the Southern Regional Council's proposals overlap with President Kennedy's campaign promises. During the campaign, he made these pledges:

- To provide "moral and persuasive leadership . . . to create the conditions in which compliance with the constitutional requirements of school desegregation takes place."
- To make a major effort in 1961 to be sure "that everyone has the right to vote."
- To be prepared "to put an end to racial and religious discrimination in every field of Federal authority. . ."
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It can be expected that he will follow through, more or less immediately, on some of these.

One area where such action could come quickly is in housing. An executive order requiring no segregation in federally supported housing programs is all that is required, many legal experts believe, to initiate the program. But the political repercussions of such an order would be legion.

Another area is voting where the next year is likely to see a great increase in the attacks on discrimination at the polls. All the necessary power is already in the hands of the Attorney General

A third area likely to see immediate action is inside the Federal Government. There, the Vice President's Committee on Governmental Contracts is likely to step up its drive to keep contractors who deal with the Government from discriminating in their hiring policies.

With a push from the President, this committee could become far more effective. With the same kind of push, the use of more Negroes in Government jobs would come quickly.

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The President's objection, apparently, to a White House office for civil rights is his desire to keep his staff there as small as possible. There has been no clear indication yet as to whether this desire will outweigh the urgings of those near him who want to see such an office created.

On civil rights, as in other fields, the men around President Kennedy have been remarkably reluctant to talk since the election about what will be done in the next few months.

PRESS COVERAGE
of
THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights was released to the press January 30, 1961, after having been previously submitted to President Kennedy and members of his administration.

The press coverage has been heartening, and it seemed to the staff that members of the Council would wish to know about it. Consequently, this summary, with exhibits, has been prepared.

The New York Times gave the report front page treatment, in an article under the by-line of Claude Sitton. Several Southern papers used the Times story; these included: Chattanooga Times, Houston Chronicle, and Corpus Christi Caller. The Chattanooga Times ran the story on page one, and even added to it.

PRESIDENT PUSHED ON DESEGREGATION BY SOUTHERN BODY

Chattanooga Times

1-30-61

Regional Council Proposes Major Program in Field of Civil Rights

TO AID NEGRO STATUS

Report Touches on Jobs, Education, Voting and Armed Services

By CLAUDE SITTON
© New York Times News Service

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council has urged President Kennedy to adopt a sweeping program of executive action in the civil rights field.

In a 48-page report to the President, the council makes 18 proposals for strengthening the rights of Negroes. It is thought to be the most far-reaching blueprint of its kind yet received by the new administration.

"The presidency is the center of American energy," the council noted. "What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations."

The council also urged that President Kennedy move swiftly to give a public statement on the national goals his administration will set in the civil rights field. In contrast to past performances, the council suggested, the White House should frequently issue guiding statements "genuinely helpful to public understanding" in this area since "the nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of presidential concern and activity."

Areas Covered

The report's proposals cover executive leadership, federal employment, education, personal and property rights, voting, the armed services, propaganda, health and recreation, transportation, government contracts and housing.

"The President holds power under the constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable," the council argued.

The council called on President Kennedy to make it unmistakably clear to the South where he stands on matters of racial discrimination and to underscore specific policy statements that his administration is prepared to enforce.

It also urged the President to give consideration to holding frequent consultations, private or public, with Southern economic and political leaders to the end of wooing regional support for equal opportunities for all citizens and the abatement of sectionalism.

There are millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to "break loose from enfeebling customs and who would respond with gratitude to presidential leadership," the council declared. In consequence, it said, "an earnest, informed and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist Southern good will and cooperation."

Ideas Transmitted

The proposals, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," were transmitted to President Kennedy, his Cabinet and chief advisers before the inauguration. They were released Sunday by the Atlanta headquarters of the council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Harold C. Fleming, executive director, noted that there had been indications that President Kennedy would approach civil rights "with somewhat more vigor" than previous administrations. "As a Southern organization that had worked with the problem of race relations, we felt we had a re-

See Page Seven, Column Six

KENNEDY PUSHED ON RACE ISSUES

Regional Council Proposes Major Program in Field of Civil Rights

From Page One

sponsibility to give our thinking on the question to the new administration."

The council advocated clarity of policy, "inward commitment," imaginative action and sustained effort to achieve definite civil rights goals. "A new administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise," it asserted.

Not Minimized

Discussion of personal as opposed to official presidential activities was omitted. But the council said "their importance is in no degree minimized." It continued:

"Since the presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of that office receive national attention and thus set an example for millions of Americans."

Appointment of a staff adviser on race relations was recommended. He would assist the President in interpreting developments to the nation, in framing and supervising executive orders and providing "intimate coordination" between the federal Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department.

The council criticized as inadequate the present executive committees on government employment and contracts. These should be replaced with a single agency, it said. That agency would serve as a watchdog "to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination."

The importance of outspoken presidential leadership was emphasized. "Controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the belief and intentions of the chief executive," said the document.

Frankness Urged

The United States Information Agency should be candid in explaining our racial difficulties, it said. "We should relate them frankly, as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial nations themselves, to remove them."

The council charged that Civil Service prohibitions against discrimination were being flouted. It proposed "prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices."

The President was asked to choose deliberately competent Negroes for appointive positions. Moreover, the organization said some should be placed in the South, "which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition."

The most compelling unfinished business, asserted the council, is school integration. "The basic problem is two-fold: to reestablish a climate of respect for law, and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to desegregated public education."

President Kennedy was urged to affirm publicly his full support for the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. The council also said he should direct the attorney general to study the possibility of intervening in school desegregation cases under the present laws.

Obligation Noted

While turmoil over school desegregation continues, it declared, "the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statues which protect personal security."

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The New York Times also carried a profile of Harold Fleming as its "Man in the News" for the day; this was used in the Chattanooga Times as well.

The Washington Post and Times-Herald ran a front page story (by-line Elsie Carper) and an inside page analysis by James Clayton.

Race Study Urges Use Of Executive's Power

By Elsie Carper
Staff Reporter

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Washington Post and Times Herald 1-30-61

Difficulties Are Many

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By James E. Clayton
Staff Reporter

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One area where such action could come quickly is in housing. An executive order requiring no segregation in federally supported housing programs is all that is required, many legal experts believe, to initiate the program. But the political repercussions of such an order would be legion.

Another area is voting where the next year is likely to see a great increase in the attacks on discrimination at the polls. All the necessary power is already in the hands of the Attorney General

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That is the suggestion calling for an office in the White House to coordinate civil rights activities throughout the Government. This idea was pushed at President Kennedy by many of his advisers last spring.

The closest he came to publicly accepting it was to promise a Bureau of Intergroup Relations. But such a Bureau might require legislation and might be set up away from the White House.

The President's objection, apparently, to a White House office for civil rights is his desire to keep his staff there as small as possible. There has been no clear indication yet as to whether this desire will outweigh the urgings of those near him who want to see such an office created.

On civil rights, as in other fields, the men around President Kennedy have been remarkably reluctant to talk since the election about what will be done in the next few months.

The AP did a straightforward and long account, which cited all 18 of our proposals. Southern newspapers which have carried it in whole or in part include: Birmingham Post-Herald, Mobile Press, Mobile Register, (Ala.); Athens Banner-Herald, Augusta Chronicle, Columbus Ledger, Macon Telegraph, Macon News, Savannah News, Thomasville Times-Enterprise, Valdosta Times (Ga.); New Orleans Times-Picayune, Baton Rouge Advocate, Shreveport Times, Lake Charles American Press (La.); Tampa Times (Fla.); Charlotte News (N.C.); Louisville Courier Journal (Ky.); Oklahoma City Times (Okla.); Dallas Times-Herald, Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Texas); Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, Gulfport Biloxi Herald, McComb Enterprise-Journal, Jackson Clarion Ledger, Starkville News, Vicksburg Post (Miss.).

Atlanta Journal 1-30-61 p. I

Regional Council Urges Kennedy to Fight Race Bias

By DOUGLAS KIKER

The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council submitted a long report to President John F. Kennedy Monday, urging him to take decisive, far-reaching executive action to end racial segregation and discrimination in nearly all phases of national life.

The report, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," proposed that the President "affirm his support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his opposition to segregated schools."

It strongly suggested, additionally, that he act immediately to end segregation in federal housing, the National Guard, and in college-based Reserve Officer Training Corps units.

• • •

IT RECOMMENDED that federal funds for research be cut off to colleges and universities operated on a segregated basis.

It said that the Justice Department should be "vigilant in the prevention or control of violence and intimidation connected with sit-in demonstrations.

And it recommended that the President appoint more qualified Negroes to high level government posts "here and abroad."

The council — a biracial organization whose purpose is to "advance equal opportunity for all the South's people" — said that President Kennedy holds the power to "carry the country far toward good race relations."

"A president of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality," the report stated.

• • •

THE LISTING of areas in which the council said the President could act was a long one. In all, it made 18 different specific proposals for executive actions aimed toward ending discrimination.

"The President speaks the moral tone of America," the council said. "He has an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our policy and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done."

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IN OTHER proposals included in the report the council also said that:

1. The Department of Justice

Turn to Page 20, Column 1

COUNCIL

Continued From Page 1

should test in court its existing authority to intervene in or initiate school desegregation suits.

2. A presidential staff adviser on race relations should be appointed and a single office created to replace the current Committee on Government Employment and the Government Contract Committee. This new office would review all federal programs to see that no discrimination is practiced in governmental operations.

3. The "separate but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton hospital construction law should be examined for unconstitutionality.

4. A final, decisive effort should be made to end segregation on both interstate and intrastate trains and buses.

5. Large government contractors should be required to recruit Negro employes as a condition for contract award.

6. Special attention to racial equality should be given in federal aid for vocational training and education of children of military personnel.

7. The Civil Rights division of the Justice Department should be "adequately staffed."

8. The President should sponsor a national voter registration drive, supported by a wide distribution of information on voter qualifications and procedures in every state.

9. The U.S. overseas information programs should interpret the country's racial troubles "truthfully and candidly."

10. There should be a continual review of federal employment to insure nondiscrimination, rather than reliance on the processing of complaints.

The report was prepared by the Southern Regional Council staff and reviewed and approved by its officers.

The Atlanta Constitution had an inside page account. The early edition of the Atlanta Journal carried a front page article by Douglas Kiker, which was moved inside in later editions.

The Nashville Tennessean had a top of the page two-column spread on page 2.

The Christian Science Monitor carried a long and comprehensive article under the byline of Joseph Baird.

Senators Hart (Dem., Mich.) and Javitts (Rep., N. Y.) have each read parts of the report into the Congressional Record (January 30 and 31).

Atlanta Dateline N.Y. Times 2-5-61

The latest argument for civil rights comes from the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial group, with headquarters in Atlanta. Those responsible for this report include the council's director, Harold Curtis Fleming, who was born in Georgia of Georgian parents. The report is in the hands of the Kennedy Administration and covers such subjects as equal rights in employment, voting and schools, the desegregation of public conveyances, equal opportunities in housing, the desegregation of all Federal services and offices and the abolition of segregation in the National Guard.

These are not radical doctrines. Substantially the same things were pledged in the Democratic platform adopted at Los Angeles and the Republican platform adopted at Chicago, last July. The Republicans, who can get along without Southern votes when they absolutely have to, took a firm position, for example, in favor of integration in the schools and against discrimination in housing and in public vehicles. The Democrats, who can't get along without some Southern votes, nevertheless stated definitely that the time had come "to assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, schoolrooms, jobs, housing and public facilities."

Not all the recommendations in both platforms are likely to get through this year's Congress. In our elections both sides always promise more than they can do or even wish to do.

But the Southern Regional Council is on the right track and neither the Governor of Louisiana nor the Governor of Georgia, nor any less respectable force, can permanently prevent the carrying out of the program the council proposes.

The UPI's story has been used in the South by the Augusta Herald, Cordele Dispatch (Ga.); Jacksonville Times-Union, Miami Herald, Miami Beach Sun (Fla.); Raleigh Times, Wilmington News, Wilmington Star (N.C.); Tulsa World (Okla.); Columbia Herald, Kingsport News, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Memphis Press-Scimitar, Nashville Banner (Tenn.); Shreveport Journal (La.); Tupelo Journal, Natchez Times (Miss.); Harlingen Valley Star (Texas).

The Negro press has given wide coverage to the report, some using the wire service story of ANP, and others writing their own. Papers covering the report include: Atlanta World, St. Paul Recorder, Oklahoma City Black Dispatch, Minneapolis Spokesman, Washington Afro-American, Knoxville Independent Call, Philadelphia Afro-American, Memphis World, Chicago Daily Defender.

Roy Harris's Augusta Courier printed all the proposals, under the headline "Ralph McGill's SRC Urges 18 Point Reign of Terror on the South."

To date, we have seen nine editorials: laudatory ones in the New York Times, Washington Post and Times-Herald, Cleveland Call and Post, Atlanta Daily World, Memphis World, and Chattanooga Observer; uncomplimentary ones in the Orangeburg (S.C.) Time and Democrat, Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer, and Danville (Va.) Bee.

Rights and Leadership

Washington Post 2-2-61

Executive initiative and leadership can do much to promote sane and healthy racial relations in the United States. This appears to be the principal thesis of a study prepared for submission to the new President by the Southern Regional Council, an organization singularly qualified to proffer advice in this field. The study calls for a vigorous assault against the evils of segregation and racial discrimination on a variety of fronts and by diverse techniques.

Despite the importance of legislation in outlawing practices which run counter to public policy and in giving the sanction of law to moral principles, presidential power and influence have a place of their own. By simple executive order, the President can do much to eliminate discrimination in Government contracts, in Federally financed housing projects, in Federal employment, in allocation of Federal funds to universities. The Federal Government's own operations, the report stresses, need to be a model of just race relations.

But of even greater impact than the exercise of presidential power, the Southern Regional Council suggests, is the impact of presidential influence through attitude and example. This was a thought often expressed by President Eisenhower during his occupancy of the White House. At a news conference in 1956, for example, he said in response to a question about school desegregation:

> Well, I can say what I have said so often: it is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart. It seems to me that all of us who are so interested in this question of equality of rights regardless of religion and of race and color should do more about it. I try to miss no opportunity to urge people—I have done it; I have asked the clergy in, and I have asked them to help. I have asked educators in, I have asked them to help. Whenever I see a Governor I ask him to help.

The indubitable difficulty of changing men's hearts through force adds importance to presidential precept and example. In his casual remarks even more perhaps than in his formal utterances, in his social relations even more than in his official appointments, the President sets the tone for his countrymen. If he loses no opportunity to preach and practice democracy, he can do much to mold men's thinking. If he moves imaginatively to dramatize the issue, he can touch men's consciences. Among free men, this is the essence of leadership.

C O P Y

February 27, 1961

Dear Rev. King:

Thank you for sending me a reprint of your article entitled, "Equality Now - The President Has the Power" which appeared in the Nation Magazine for February 4, 1961.

As I read your article, I remembered that it contained many of the same statements of Daniel H. Pollitt, Associate Professor of Law, at the University of North Carolina, who wrote the article entitled, "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations: An Exploration" for the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Fleming asked me to read the Pollitt manuscript prior to its submission to President Kennedy, and I sincerely regret that you omitted reference to Pollitt's study in your article.

I have addressed the envelope "personal and confidential" because the contents of this letter should remain so.

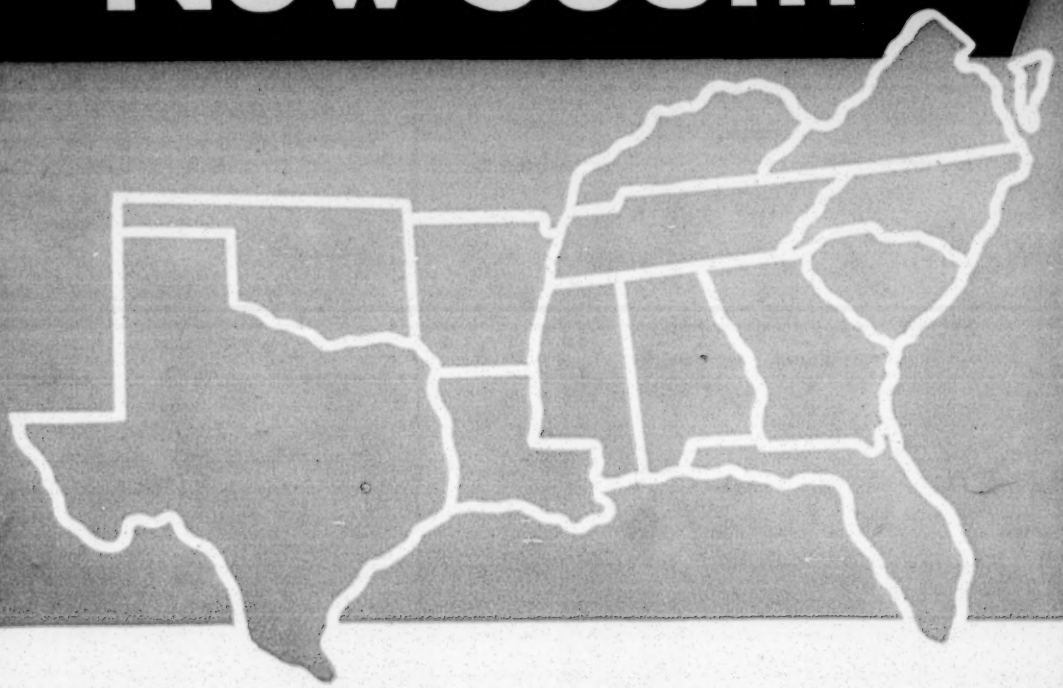
With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

R. A. Thompson,
Executive Director

Rev. Martin L. King, Jr.
413 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

New South



- New Orleans and the South
- Tulanians Dissent
- The Federal Executive and Civil Rights

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New South

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New South Notes

New Orleans continues to be the crisis center in the desegregation controversy in the South. The lead article in this month's NEW SOUTH presents an analysis of the situation in New Orleans including the effect the controversy had on Mardi Gras and is having on business in general.

Since the article was written, the United States Justice Department has filed a civil contempt action designed to compel the State of Louisiana to release federal school funds withheld from the Orleans Parish School Board. The action was directed against Shelby M. Jackson, the State Superintendent of Public Education.

Shortly following the filing of the suit, Governor Jimmie Davis' administration transferred $2 million in homestead exemption revenue to New Orleans. The action reportedly was a "compromise" arrangement with the federal government to remove contempt action against Lt. Gov. C. C. Aycock and House Speaker J. Thomas Jewell. The money is to be used to pay teachers and employees of New Orleans schools including the two desegregated ones.

NEW SOUTH also prints a statement by 95 students from Tulane University in which they give their dissent to actions taken in the State.

NEW SOUTH also presents a summary of "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," in which the Southern Regional Council outlines 18 proposals through which it believes President Kennedy can speed the civil rights program.

New Orleans Experience Is New Lesson for South

An Analysis of New Orleans Crisis

February was Mardi Gras time in New Orleans. Local businessmen made a particular effort to attract tourists and to achieve an atmosphere of gaiety and fun. There was a tinge of desperation to their efforts.

On the surface things seemed much as before. The mystic societies paraded and danced the nights away. The vieux carré was gay and boisterous. On Mardi Gras day crowds surged through the downtown streets wearing masks and colorful costumes.

For six long months New Orleans has been caught up in its school crisis. In February, for a few days, the city tried to live up to its slogan, "The City that Care Forgot."

This year a third of the city's population, the Negro community, boycotted the celebrations. The parades and dances of the Negro Krewes have always been a highlight of the Mardi Gras season. This year only one Negro society participated. Negro leaders called for a boycott of Mardi Gras. Negroes were urged to devote their time and resources to the struggle for equal rights.

Mardi Gras is an annual tourist bonanza to local business, important to the economy of the city. This year many tourists who traditionally flock to the event stayed home. For the first time since World War II there were hotel rooms available for the asking during the Mardi Gras season.

Throughout the celebrations classes continued at the city's two "desegregated" schools. One Negro and ten white students provided the entire student body at William Franz School. Three Negroes attended McDonough #19 School. Two white children attended this school briefly in late January but were driven out of the city with their parents in the face of threats and hostility. All schools were out for Mardi Gras day itself.

New Orleans, the Crescent City, has long held a special place in American life. With its colorful history, its quaint, old quarter, and its capacity for fun New Orleans has been one of the most unique and distinctive cities in the nation.

These things have been overshadowed by the developments of the last six months. For a generation to come New Orleans will be known primarily as a symbol of defiance, of disruption, of futility. The name of New Orleans is now known 'round the world beyond the

New Orleans

(Continued)

greatest hopes of its Chamber of Commerce.

New Orleans has paid a high price for the tensions of these six months. Business has fallen off, particularly the tourist business. Leading stores reported business off 10 to 50% of normal during the Christmas season. The public peace has been disturbed. Screaming mobs have tried to prevent children from attending public school. There has been harassment, intimidation and violence. At least two families have been driven from their homes and from the city. Several hundred children are apparently receiving no education at all. Such events leave permanent scars.

Futility

The greatest tragedy of the New Orleans crisis is its complete and utter futility. Three-quarters of a million dollars has been spent to keep the legislature in session virtually continuously, for five extraordinary sessions to date. The Governor and the legislative majority posture and scream defiance. Literally dozens of obviously useless "laws" have been passed and as quickly nullified by the federal judiciary.

All of this expense and effort has accomplished nothing. The situation in New Orleans is almost exactly as it was a few days after the schools were opened to a handful of Negro students. The schools remain open. The boycott by white extremists continues. The courageous majority of the local school board remains in firm control of the schools of the city. All of the expense, all of the ranting, all of the "lawmaking" has changed nothing. Its only effect has been to expose a great city to the ridicule and the sympathy of the nation and the world.

The present situation is not of the city's making. New Orleans has been the victim of a power struggle between the federal law and the state government. Under federal court order to desegregate, the city school board is applying the state pupil placement law and following the grade-a-year plan beginning with the first grade this year. The school board exhausted every legal effort to avoid any desegregation. Faced with a final court order the board has complied to the minimum degree acceptable to the courts. As a result of board policies the schools of New Orleans remain open and four Negro children are attending formerly white schools.

For its efforts to reconcile federal law with local custom the school board majority has been reviled, excoriated, and denounced as radical and integrationist by the legislative majority supporting Governor Jimmie (You Are My Sunshine) Davis. Four times the Louisiana legislature has tried to remove the New Orleans school board from office. The legislature has attempted to run the city schools through a legislative committee, then as a committee of the whole. The lawmakers then appointed a new school board. The city now has two "school boards," one recognized by the legislature, the other, elected board, recognized by the federal courts and the city government. All of these moves in violation of the local home rule principle were taken in support of the theory of "states rights" against federal "domination."

Louisiana today is a never-never land. There is an air of fantasy and unreality

about the maneuverings of the Governor and his followers. The legislature has passed resolutions urging teachers to leave the schools and asking for an investigation of those white parents who send their children to public schools operated in compliance with national law. Even former President Eisenhower was denounced by one lawmaker as being under Communist influence because he did not take a public stand against the federal courts.

At its fifth special session last month the legislature passed a new series of laws relating to the school issue. Among these were a local option bill which permits communities to close their schools by referendum but provides no alternative, and a law making it a crime to "directly or indirectly" encourage, influence, prompt, reward or compensate persons to send their children to desegregated schools. The fines imposed for violation of this act would be used to pay informers who give information resulting in conviction.

No Program

The actions of the political leadership of Louisiana have been taken in complete disregard of reality. The authority of the federal government is not recognized, nor is it effectively defied. The Governor and the extreme segregationists seem to have no program, no long range plans for resolving the present impasse. They simply oppose, denounce and pretend.

If the City of New Orleans is primarily a pawn in a power struggle, it must also be noted that the leadership of the city made little effort to prepare for the crisis or to forestall it. The public and civic leadership of New Orleans has been indecisive, quiescent and unwilling to buck the extremist forces head on. This is becoming less true daily in this, the seventh month of crisis.

Downtown Riot

For several days following the implementation of desegregation at the two schools, crowds were permitted to gather and to demonstrate. Mayor "Shep" Morrison commented that demonstrations were an American tradition. On the third day the demonstrations turned into a downtown riot and exploded into spasmodic incidents of personal violence throughout the night. This time the police acted with firmness. Since then, crowds have not been permitted to gather within two blocks of the schools and overt demonstrations have faded away. The police have made every effort to protect life and property, but there has only been one arrest in the area of the schools. Persons jeering or shouting obscenities are restrained or reprimanded, never arrested. Mayor Morrison points out that he is maintaining order, not enforcing integration.

Prior to desegregation, television station WDSU presented a weekly series on the school crisis. Programs featured a review of events in Little Rock, Norfolk, and Prince Edward County, Virginia. The newspapers, however, gave little editorial attention to the situation. They finally did speak out, against violence and in favor of open schools, too little and too late to be of much effect.

Two white groups did organize, in advance of the crisis, in the hope of preventing disturbances and saving the public school system. These were the Save Our Schools group and the Committee for Public Education. Modeled

New Orleans

(Continued)

somewhat after the pro-public schools groups that were active in Little Rock and in Virginia these groups worked intensively to awaken the city and to encourage planning and preparation. These groups were small and included little representation from the top leadership strata. They did, however, have access to leadership.

These groups worked to encourage statements from the mayor, from business leaders, from civic and religious groups. Few such statements were forthcoming until the city was already torn by tension. A ministers group issued an early statement in support of the schools. The Central Trades Council of the AFL-CIO went on record, as did the Independent Women's Organization, a potent, non-partisan group. A number of P.T.A. units spoke out in support of the school board, not including those at Franz or McDonough #19 Schools. Several religious denominational groups added their voices.

Business Leadership

Following the usual pattern, the group of greatest potential influence, business leadership, was slow to move. The Junior Chamber of Commerce spoke for public education. The board of directors of the Young Men's Business Club proposed a statement, but this position was repudiated by the membership. Somewhat later the club did take an open schools position. It is probable that several of the city's leading business figures counseled privately with the Governor. He had received significant business support within the city during the election campaign. But efforts to enlist the support of leading businessmen for a public appeal were unavailing.

Leadership Mobilized

The day after general rioting a number of business and civic leaders met with the mayor and a mild statement was issued deploring the disturbances. Finally, in January, over a hundred businessmen did speak out, clearly and firmly, in a full page ad in the city's two newspapers. This was four months into the school crisis.

At the present time the political, business, civic, and religious leadership of New Orleans seems to be finally mobilized in support of the school board and in opposition to the disruptive policies of the legislature. The city council expressed its opposition to some legislative actions. Mayor Morrison appeared at one of the legislative sessions to plead for a greater degree of local option for the city and was booed on the floor.

On January 31, 1961, some 1,500 citizens of New Orleans gathered at the Roosevelt Hotel to honor and support the four majority members of the New Orleans parish school board and School Superintendent Dr. James F. Redmond. An overflow audience necessitated the use of closed circuit television and two dining areas. Some 1,650 tickets were sold for the event at $5 a plate. Responding to the tribute, Louis G. Riecke, new chairman of the board, stated that the members of the board were elected to improve and perpetuate public education in New Orleans, adding, "And so help me, as long as a breath of air or a drop of blood is in us, we are going to do exactly that, come hell or high water."

No early solution to the New Orleans

school deadlock is in sight. Order has been reestablished and federal court rulings have been obeyed by local officials. The city has so far been spared the upheaval of school closures. Most of the bitterness and pressure has been directed, not at the Negro students, but at the handful of white children who courageously assert their right to attend their neighborhood public school, the William Franz School. At least several dozen parents in the community would like to send their children back to the two schools affected, but they hesitate. Several of the parents of white children now in school have lost their jobs, and it is hard for law enforcement officials to stop telephone threats directed at small children and at the mothers of these children.

Presidential Support

Moderate elements in the city were heartened by President Kennedy's recent expressions of concern, particularly his telegram to the third annual conference of the Civil Right Commission meeting in Williamsburg, Va., February 25, in which he praised the "quiet intelligence and true courage" of teachers and school officials trying to carry out desegregation in New Orleans. Several groups had previously petitioned former President Eisenhower for support and aid. His only public action was to write a letter to the *Gabrielle* family *after* the family had moved to New Jersey. Dispairing of solving the impasse locally many civic leaders now look to Washington for the support and action that the new President suggested would be forthcoming.

The South is learning by experience. Little Rock, Clinton, Nashville, the events in Virginia and North Carolina, and now New Orleans are part of this learning experience. It is possible that the agony of New Orleans will help to save other communities from similar experiences. If so it will not have been in vain. The clear lesson of New Orleans is the futility of complete resistance. To defy the authority of the federal courts is to invite chaos and to encourage direct federal intervention.

Lesson Noted

There are indications that the lesson is already being noted throughout the region. The spectre of New Orleans was frequently raised during the recent Georgia legislative session. In all probability the General Assembly of Georgia would not have been willing to repeal Georgia's massive resistance laws but for the negative example of New Orleans.

Precedents have been set in New Orleans that will strongly affect future situations. In Norfolk, Virginia, when the public schools were closed, a group of white parents successfully brought action in federal courts for the reopening of the schools on the basis of the 14th amendment. In New Orleans, for the first time, a group of white parents were successful in securing injunctions against the Governor and other state officials restraining them from applying school closing laws before the fact. This precedent may protect other Southern communities from the hardships of closed schools. The use of an interposition statute by the Louisiana legislature resulted in an unanimous U. S. Supreme Court ruling finally eliminating this outmoded doctrine as a factor in future desegregation litigation.

New Orleans also saw an expanded

New Orleans

(Continued)

use of federal legal powers that may point a direction for the future. Federal District Judge Skelly Wright requested the United States Attorney to act as a friend of the court and to initiate any action that might serve to achieve the purposes of the original desegregation ruling. For the first time, acting under this request, a U.S. attorney has brought actions in federal court dealing with such matters as the enjoinment of officials from enforcing state laws on the grounds of unconstitutionality. Also, for the first time, federal marshals have escorted white as well as Negro students to and from the schools.

There are more specific lessons for the consideration of Atlanta, Dallas and other communities facing similar court rulings next fall. If state officials had kept out of the New Orleans situation much of the recent turmoil might have been avoided. If the mayor, the media, civic and business leadership had given early and firm community leadership there might have been less disruption of law and order. If the first desegregation had occurred in middle or upper economic level neighborhoods there might have been more cooperation. The two schools to which these four Negro children were assigned are placed in somewhat economically depressed areas, neighborhoods in transition.

On the other hand where would New Orleans be today without the firm and decisive rulings of Judge Skelly Wright, the courage and leadership of the four majority members of the parish school board, the personal courage and integrity of a local minister and a meter reader, and those who joined them?

Because of the experience of New Orleans the area of maneuver for those hoping to evade the force of constitutional law has been permanently narrowed. It may well be that progress will move ahead more rapidly in the South because of this time of troubles in the Crescent City.

Tulanians Dissent

Signed by 95 Tulane Students

One sets out with some misgivings to write about current political conditions in Louisiana. The public affairs of the state have taken on, in the past two months, an aura of unreality which, by comparison, makes Alice in Wonderland appear stark realism. The governor and the legislature reveal themselves masters of Orwellian doublespeak—to hate the Negro is to love him; to discriminate against the Negro is to accord him equality; peaceful protest includes

the hurling of rocks and eggs, telephone harassment, rioting in the streets and constant threats of violence; both major political parties, both presidential candidates and the federal judiciary are communist-inspired and the national capitol is seething with subversion; teachers who obey federal court orders are to be investigated for subversion and disloyalty; the people of Louisiana who elected Kennedy electors did not really do so and the vote of the electors should be changed; the press call peaceful protest criminal mischief and rampant vandalism peaceful protest. In such an atmosphere one feels impelled to succumb to the general irrationalism and lash out with the same intemperate, unconsidered, epithet-hurling one sees and hears on every side. Yet, what does this accomplish?

Does it help to assert that the legislators are ignorant bigots with one eye to quieting their own inadequacies by persecuting the Negro and the other to any modicum of political or economic advantage which the melee may bring within reach? Does it help to notice that the state judiciary abandons all semblance of judicial decorum and lends itself to the patently farcical segregation struggle? Is it of any use to recount the idiocies of the chief executive who engages in debate with a newsman, asking him if he would want his four-year-old daughter to marry a Negro? Can it be believed that the mayor of a city of 600,000-odd souls asserts in a news conference that telephone campaigns of organized vilification and intimidation are within the rights of "peaceful dissent?" Is it credible that packs of marauding jackals destroy property and inflict bodily injury with impunity, while college students are arrested for distributing protesting but non-inflammatory literature opposing segregation? Assuredly, to state these things is to labor the obvious; yet perhaps the mere putting them on paper relieves the inner tension and makes possible a sober analysis of the situation.

What, in substance, has led Louisiana to this pass? In 1954 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the ancient "separate and equal" doctrine of racial segregation in public education, derived from but not explicitly stated in, the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision of 1896, was not any longer acceptable as the basis for constitutional state legislation relative to public education. The 1954 decision took judicial cognizance of the findings of psychology, i.e., that separate schools for Negroes, regardless of equality of facilities, induced in the Negro children attitudes of inferiority in violation of their constitutional rights. The court did not consider, explicitly, whether there was any basis for the obvious implication of Negro inferiority in such segregation legislation. Presumably the justices were aware that theories of racial inferiority had long since lost the last vestige of scientific and intellectual respectability. However they reckoned without, or, perhaps in spite of, the persistence of racial prejudice in the South.

It is, possibly, difficult for one who has not lived in the South to appreciate the facility with which the southerner can toss aside the accumulated findings of fifty years of social science and assert, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that the Negro is "obviously" inferior, but, withal, a happy creature—"see how they sing and dance!" It is quite common to hear

Tulanians

(Continued)

white men and women state that they would prefer their children dead to seeing them going to integrated schools. And the tragic fact is that these attitudes are most prevalent in the very areas where education has made the slightest inroads; those with the fewest educational advantages are the most insistent that closed schools are preferable to integrated schools. Of course, in the city of New Orleans a considerable body of moderate opinion persists; opposition to school closure and willingness to accept "token" integration. But these moderate groups are, like their counterparts the world over, the most insistent upon the forms of "democracy" and the processes of law; they lack the organization and numbers of the frenzied segregationists (though one group of white mothers voluntarily transports eight white children to the integrated school and receives, for its trouble, constant telephone harassment). Where one such group contributes to pay the salaries of the teachers in the integrated schools, its segregationist counterparts contribute to the cost of mass rallies, hate literature and all the accoutrement of rabid violence. And at the center of the discord are the politicos, at once the instigators and the beneficiaries of the public convulsions.

The legislature sits in continuous special session at an estimated cost of $14,000 per day. The sessions are almost wholly occupied by a parade of politicians before the microphones, denouncing all moderation as subversion, castigating reason as communism, and vowing undying devotion to our "southern way of life"—including open and mandatory racial discrimination and the accompanying exploitation of poor-white and Negro alike. And most ironical of all, it is now proposed that the state sales tax be increased by one percent to finance the continued opposition to the inevitable. The people of the state are asked to subject themselves to a painfully regressive tax measure in order to enable the politicians to completely destroy the education system which holds the only hope of enlightenment for the great mass of those people.

Does history record a more bitter satire?

This is the dilemma which Louisiana faces—the impossible conflict of reason and unreason. The U. S. Supreme Court has, in effect, declared that ignorance, prejudice, bigotry and venality will no longer be acceptable as the basis of state legislation relative to public education. Yet these four horsemen of the modern racist apocalypse presently hold sway in Louisiana. The issue, at this writing, remains in doubt, but the gloom is virtually unrelieved.

"The Independent Women's Organization warns the New Orleans public that there is danger ahead. Despite the action taken by the Louisiana School Board Association, in its ouster of four members of our school board, we repeat that no governmental agency ordered to desegregate can operate segregated schools. This is something which the Louisiana School Board Association, the governor and the Legislature will have to learn before many days have passed."

Independent Women's Organization of New Orleans.
Quoted in *Times-Picayune*, January 4, 1961

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights

The Southern Regional Council has submitted to President Kennedy and his administration a 48-page report proposing actions by the executive department to strengthen civil rights and improve race relations.

The report, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," states that the President holds power under the Constitution and existing statutes which, if used, "could carry the country far toward good race relations."

It further declares: "Presidential action should not be so emphasized as to blunt the drive for remedial legislation. But the existing powers of the office should be used, and every governmental program administered in such ways as to move expeditiously to end discrimination and to open all careers to talent.

"The federal government's own operations need to be a model of just race relations, or else the credentials of the government to lead others are weak."

The 18 proposals made by the Council are summarized as follows:

1. That the President appoint a staff adviser on race relations and that he also create a single office to replace the present Committee on Government Employment and Government Contract Committee. The function of this office would be to review all federal programs to insure nondiscrimination in the government's own operations.
2. That the President use the influence of his office to broaden Southern support for civil rights.

"The South should be informed where the President stands . . . ," the Council said, and ". . . an earnest, informed, and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist a maximum of Southern good will and cooperation."

"Controversy and conflict are only worsened," the Council noted, "when there is any arguable doubt of the beliefs and intentions of the Chief Executive, when heated strife is followed by only slight and ambiguous victories for civil rights, or when the federal government and its agencies proclaim policies which are not enforced."

3. That the President announce as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources.

"The President speaks the moral tone of America," the Council said. "He has an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our polity and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done."

4. That our overseas information programs interpret our racial strife and change truthfully and candidly.

"The U. S. Information Agency should, of course, tell the story of Negro Americans' progress," the Council said. "But it and other officials who depict abroad American racial problems should do so with honesty, realism, and an explicit awareness of American involvement in a world-wide revolutionary movement. The peoples of Africa

Executives

(Continued)

and Asia can understand our problems, which are very close to their own experience."

5. That there be continual review of federal employment to insure nondiscrimination, rather than reliance as at present on the processing of complaints.

"While channels for receiving and investigating complaints are needful," the Council said, "the main enforcement effort ought to be shifted from the processing of complaints and focused on a continuing review of agency practices."

"Another concern . . . would be the prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices. Local custom cannot regulate federal conduct."

6. That there be frequent appointment of qualified Negroes to high level administrative posts in government service here and abroad.

"To project Negroes into public office will be good for the race, because it will strengthen morale and sense of identification with America and will sharpen Negro incentive. It will be good for the South, which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition. It will be good for the nation's world reputation," the Council said.

7. That the President affirm his support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his opposition to segregated schools; and that the Department of Justice test in court its existing authority to intervene in or initiate school desegregation suits.

The Council noted, that, in education, "the most compelling unfinished business is school integration."

"The basic problem," it added, "is two-fold: to reestablish a climate of respect for law; and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to segregated public education."

8. That special attention to racial equality be given in federal aid for vocational training and the schooling of children of military personnel.
9. That no federal research funds be granted to colleges and universities that restrict admission because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

" . . . with the huge sums distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and grants the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument but that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students," the Council said.

10. That the Department of Justice be vigilant in the prevention or control of violence and intimidation connected with school desegregation or sit-ins.

On this point, the Council noted:

" . . . The signs of the times are not so difficult to read that an alert government could not anticipate the likelihood of disorder in a school desegregation controversy and be armed in advance to forestall it.

"Similarly, the reaction to sit-ins has led to serious breakdowns in the public peace. The Department of Justice should

observe local situations with the utmost vigilance for evidence of unlawful arrest," and acts of violence over which the federal government has jurisdiction.

11. That the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice be adequately staffed.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 "can be enforced no more vigorously than the staffing of the Department's Civil Rights Division permits," the Council observed.

"In addition to giving immediate attention to the strengthening of this Division, the Attorney-General should look closely into the working relations between it and the U. S. District Attorneys, to the end that there be the fullest cooperation between them and the Division."

12. That the President sponsor a national voter registration drive, supported by wide distribution of information on voter qualifications and procedures in every state.

"The government might well undertake a national campaign to educate people in their voting rights and to encourage them to vote," the report noted. "If this were done with vigor and sustained attention," a side result would almost certainly be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South, as well as a clear revelation of those areas where the cause of non-voting by Negroes is intimidation, either private or official.

13. That the President require all National Guard units to drop racial bars.

Segregation in the armed services has been virtually eliminated since the 1948 Executive Order 8891. The Report noted: "The President can in the same way end discrimination in the National Guard, and the logic for doing so is compelling. The Guard is a part of the United States Army, and composition and organization of its units are required to be 'the same as those prescribed for the Army.' "

And, the Council added, "the President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise terminate them. There would seem to be no legitimate grounds for operating an ROTC at universities, public or private, which refuse admission on racial grounds."

14. That the "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton hospital construction law be examined for unconstitutionality.

The report noted that "most of the health and recreational activities are covered by seemingly adequate regulations against racial discrimination, although there have been instances of lack of enforcement. This is not true of the grant-in-aid programs, and especially not of the huge Hill-Burton construction program . . . "

15 That a final, decisive effort be made to end segregation on common carriers in interstate or intrastate traffic.

16. That large contractors of the government be required to recruit Negro employees as a condition for contract award.

"In the absence of a fair employment act," the Council said, "the executive department might well give serious exploration to other means as well as punitive sanctions for preventing discrimination."

The Council recommended that the executive department make a firm dec-

Executives

(Continued)

laration of policy and give special attention to the employment practices of the large contractors. It suggested that "the method of attaining this goal could be certification . . . that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination."

The Council pointed out that the Bureau of Labcr Statistics and the Bureau of Employment security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and "can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force."

These statistics, it said, should be taken into account in certifying contractors.

17. That federal cooperation with discrimination be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.
18. That federal housing programs be guided by a policy of encouraging integration.

"Present housing trends," the report noted, "are injurious not only to the dwellers in the vast city areas which it becomes increasingly accurate to call ghettoes," but too many middle class white families "are separated from normal contacts with persons of other races and economic station," and municipal government and the cultural life of the cities "are being weakened by shrinkage of revenue base and population imbalance."

"The question for the federal government to face," the Council said, "is that of how it will direct the tremendous influence it has through its huge involvement in the housing market. Will it use this influence, as it has in the past and as it still largely does, to strengthen and spread housing segregation?"

The Council stated its belief that the President should take note of the sociological and psychological handicaps of housing segregation and issue an Executive Order which stated that the national housing policy is to encourage integration.

"This," the Council said, "would be the strongest possible directive to the several housing agencies to examine meticulously the laws which they administer for opportunities to reverse present trends."

In conclusion, the Council noted that "civil rights and liberties are the dignities of free men and the essential condition of a free country."

"In working for their enlargement," the Council said, "the government and we as a people do that which is closest to the core of our national purpose . . .

"The Presidency is the center of American energy. What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations."

The report was prepared by the staff and reviewed by the officers of the Southern Regional Council.

Single copies of the full report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council for 50¢, quantity rate 35¢ each for 50 or more.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"I hope that all of the people of New Orleans realize that the state administration is slowly but surely doing everything it can to hamper and harm our school system. There are even some who say that their real purpose is to close our schools. We hope not."

Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison
of New Orleans.
Quoted in *Times-Picayune*,
January 23, 1961

• • •

"My little boy is unhappy and wants to go back to McDonough. And I'd almost put him back if I wasn't scared of some of these women."

New Orleans woman in group trying to enforce complete boycott of New Orleans school which has one Negro student. Quoted by Associated Press, January 28, 1961

• • •

"There is a distinct possibility that state officials inciting private persons to defy constitutional authority, to harass and intimidate private individuals, and thereby to deprive them of legal rights, is directly violative of the equal protections clause of the [federal] Constitution."

Louisiana Advisory Committee,
U. S. Civil Rights Commission.
Quoted in *Times-Picayune*
January 4, 1961

"Because four brave little Negro girls have entered two schools in New Orleans, the educational processes of a major city have been stalled and the school board has been harassed, plagued, and intimidated by a ranting Legislature. What a tragic distortion of values!"

Msgr. L. T. Mattiesen,
Editor, *West Texas Register*.
Quoted in *Work*,
January, 1961

• • •

"Your public schools are open. The new semester of the school year is just beginning. All public schools in the parish of Orleans are open and staffed with competent teachers and administrators. The teachers are sure to welcome back any students who may have missed some time. These are your schools, paid for with your tax money to educate your children in their own neighborhood. We are faced with many new emergencies. We must train scientists, diplomats and businessmen to meet the pressing needs of the future. There is no more democratic training institution than the public school system of our country."

Mrs. N. H. Sand,
President, Save Our Schools,
of New Orleans.
Quoted in *Times-Picayune*,
January 27, 1961

The Changing South in Print!

Executive initiative and leadership can do much to promote sane and healthy racial relations in the United States. This appears to be the principal thesis of a study prepared for submission to the new President by the Southern Regional Council, an organization singularly qualified to proffer advice in this field. The study calls for a vigorous assault against the evils of segregation and racial discrimination on a variety of fronts and by diverse techniques. —*The Washington Post and Times Herald*, February 2, 1961.

May 10, 1961

Dear Charlie:

Thank you for your note of April fourth concerning the interesting and constructive Southern Regional Council study on The Federal Executive and Civil Rights.

We are considering all of their recommendations. You may be interested to know that we have distributed copies of the study to the appropriate department and agency offices for their consideration and possible action.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
13TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

DETROIT OFFICE:
671 MACK AVENUE
TEMPLE 3-4211

MISS DOROTHY QUARKER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1015 NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

CAPITOL 4-3121
EXTENSION 2261

May 18, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from President Kennedy regarding your report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress
United States of America

Enclosure

2E1CR

May 24, 1961

The Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman Diggs:

Thank you so much for your letter of May 18, enclosing a copy of President Kennedy's letter to you. I need not tell you that we read the latter with real pleasure. We have been gratified by the interest which the departments and agencies of the new administration have taken in our report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, and even more gratified by the executive actions which have occurred since January 20.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764
Leslie W. Dunbar, executive Director
HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
New address: 5 Forsyth St. N.W.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMO TO ALL BOARD MEMBERS:

The following paragraph is from a letter to us of May 25, 1961, from Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union:

> I am enclosing the text of a public letter to President Kennedy issued by the Union urging him to support civil rights legislation in the Congress. I was glad to point out to him the excellent report prepared by the Council on "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." It is a comprehensive blueprint for meaningful executive action and we will do all we can to further its study.

The ACLU's letter to the President to which Mr. Malin has referred, includes the following paragraph:

> We do not minimize the difficulties of the Executive Department in this situation, nor the importance of patient, educational efforts such as the excellent work of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's January 1961 report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," contains many valuable suggestions, which we endorese in principle and commend to you and the Attorney General for your special attention. We are pleased that several points advanced in that study have already been implemented by the Administration.

The staff thought you would be interested in these comments.

FROM: LWD
June 19, 1961

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE

1431 BROWN ST., PHILA. 30, PA.

PO 5-0283

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE FARM

RD 3, POTTSTOWN, PA., POTTSTOWN 9151

May 3, 1955.

"New South",
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., North East,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

We are very interested in keeping ourselves well informed of the processes of de-segregation. Although the movement of Fellowship House began in Philadelphia in 1931 and is concerned with the local community, other towns and cities, including some bordering or below the Mason - Dixon Line have grown up based on the Philadelphia pattern. We would be interested in getting information from your group, both for our own use with our membership and for use in the other communities across the country.

I am enclosing material about Fellowship House so that you may further understand its purpose and program. I would appreciate receiving from you any data relevant to your organization or publications, and being placed on your mailing list for future materials.

Very sincerely yours,

Mitzi Jacoby

Mitzi R. Jacoby, Staff.

MRJ:AM
Enc.

Invited to subscribe & sent pub list 5/17/55

"We, the Members of Fellowship House, pledge ourselves to help develop communities where prejudice and discrimination give way to opportunity and equal rights for all."

October 11, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Lowell L. Giffen
Chairman, Program Committee
Fellowship House of Knoxville
2308 Highland Drive
Fountain City, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Giffen:

Greatly wish I could, but I'm tied down. Can send you a better guy in the person of Fred Routh, known already to many of your people. But it will cost his travel and a bed for him to sleep on; he's a moderate man when it comes to running pup travel bills.

December 4th Fred will be there. I've given him your letter. If you need further contact with him, telephone here is WAlnut 1821.

I greatly praise what Fellowship House is doing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc + incoming to FBR

bc: PA - for appropriate notation

March 15, 1957

Mrs. J. C. Swidler
Corresponding Secretary
Fellowship House of Knoxville, Inc.
Box 725
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Swidler:

Mr. Wright has asked me to acknowledge your good letter of March 12th.

Nothing could be more pleasing to us than to learn that Fellowship House is planning to establish a George Mitchell Scholarship Fund for its summer camp. This is a generous and fitting tribute, far exceeding in service to our common aims a one-time contribution to the Fund which we have established.

I know that Dr. Mitchell will be grateful for this action.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

HC7

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF KNOXVILLE, INC.

BOX 725 ... KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

. . . AN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS AMONG ALL RACES AND CREEDS

AFFILIATED WITH THE FELLOWSHIP HOUSES OF
BALTIMORE, MD.
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
CHESTER, PA.
CINCINNATI, OHIO
KANSAS CITY, MO.
MEDIA, PA.
MORRISTOWN, N. J.
NEW YORK, N. Y.
PATTERSON, N. J.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
READING, PA.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
WEST CHESTER, PA.

March 12, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 14 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright

The Board of Directors of Fellowship House of Knoxville has asked me to reply to your letter announcing the establishment of the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund and soliciting contributions to that Fund.

After careful consideration, it was decided by the Board that the way in which Fellowship House could pay tribute to George Mitchell which would be most satisfying to its membership would be by the establishment of a George Mitchell Scholarship Fund to provide camping experiences for children at the interracial camp which is operated by Fellowship House each year during two weeks of the summer.

We regret that because of our limited financial resources it will not also be possible to make a contribution to the Tribute Fund. We hope that the Fund grows quickly and know that it will be put to good use by the Council.

Sincerely yours

Gretchen Swidler

(Mrs. J. C. Swidler)
Corresponding Secretary

September 29, 1958

Mr. Paul E. Ertel, Jr.
Executive Director
Fellowship House
937 Lexington Avenue
Cincinnati 29, Ohio

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note of September 25th containing the information that you are now executive director of Fellowship House in Cincinnati.

We know of the Circuit Riders. They are an outgrowth of dissatisfied Methodists. I am enclosing a copy of the clips about the money paid to M. G. Lowman of your city. In return, we would much appreciate all the information you can dig up on Mr. Lowman. I suggest you check with Marsh Bragdon in the ADL office, and any other source you might have.

See you at the NAIRO meeting.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosures: Thermofaxed copies - Atl. Const. Aug. 2, 1958 "Cloak-And-Dagger Investigation... $4,500 from State...Harris"

"Atl.-Const.-Journal - "Griffin Endorses Hiring of GCE Investigator" - Aug. 3, 1958

● CApital 1-4261

Fellowship House

937 Lexington Avenue ● Cincinnati 29, Ohio

Achtung HCF

September 25, 1958

Dear Fred,

As you can see I am with Fellowship House rather then with the Chicago Commission. I will explain at the NAIHO Conference. The enclosed materials will give you some idea of the operation.

A 100% American organization knowen as the Circuit Riders has its office in Cincinnati. I have been told that it recently received a sum of money from the Georgia State Education Commission. Reportedly the news was carried in an United Press wire from Atlanta dated August 2 or 3. The Cincinnati papers did not carry any mention of the story nor do they mantain alog which I could check.

It would be much appreciated if the SRC could provide verification for us on this.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Ertel

Paul E. Ertel, Jr.
Executive Director

Get dope on Lowman

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 78th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

What Are Our Peace Aims?

An Appeal for an Enduring Peace

SPEECH

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 23, 1944

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, the issues of the present mortal struggle, which has engulfed the whole world, are yielding to the irresistible and merciless might of the United Nations. The long night of agonizing uncertainty is streaked with the first faint gleam of the dawn of victory. This is the day for which the suffering peoples of the earth have waited, toward which they have labored with unmeasured courage and determination. This is the day which promised liberation from the hand of tyranny, freedom from fear and freedom from want. This is the day that promised peace.

All of this was envisaged by President Roosevelt in his inspiring speech on the "four freedoms" of January 6, 1941, from which I quote:

> In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way. The third is freedom from want. The fourth is freedom from fear.

And he went on to say:

> That is no vision of a distant millenium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly and civilized society. This Nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

But, Mr. President, there must be some mistake. Even in the earliest morning hours of this day, which promised peace, there are ominous clouds of suspicion, misunderstanding hatred, greed, and confusion scudding across the horizon. A military victory is assured. That issue is no longer in doubt, but even before the final victory of arms is won, it appears, Mr. President, that the prospects of an enduring peace are more uncertain than ever. If a military victory is to be the only issue settled by this terrible ordeal of fire and sword, then quite obviously this was not and is not our war. The American people have not entered the lists merely for the sake of tilting lances. Even now, we are not fighting merely for the sake of fighting. We are not involved in this terrible struggle merely for the sake of bringing our knowledge of modern warfare up to date. The American people entered this war under the leadership of President Roosevelt, not just to save our own skins, nor to pull a few chestnuts out of this world conflagration for a few favored friends. If, ultimately, these prove to be the only reasons why we have girded ourselves through the past few years for the showdown of strength which is so imminent, if these are the only reasons why we have sacrificed our fortunes and our youth, then we have been tragically advised or misled.

Mr. President, because the matter which I am presenting is so urgent, from this point on, I shall address myself directly to the President of the United States.

President Roosevelt, the American people are not going to be content with a military victory only. We, as a people, are utterly in sympathy with your own sentiments which you expressed in a radio talk on May 27, 1941, wherein you said:

> Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom—between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal. We choose human freedom—which is the Christian ideal.
>
> We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression—freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—freedom from want—and freedom from terrorism.

This means that the American people are not going to rest content with any issue out of this present struggle which results merely in a reshuffled game of balance-of-power politics, either in Europe or in Asia. We are not going to welcome any new-fangled sort of imperialism and, well you know, the people, whose highest representative you are, will never acclaim any outcome of this present conflict which merely sows the seeds of another and more horribly devastating war in the predictable future.

These are the anxieties and concerns which weigh heavily upon us as the world awaits with bated breath, the opening of the costliest and bloodiest clash of flame, flesh, and steel ever visited upon mankind; for, if this struggle ends only in a military victory we shall have won nothing but an armed truce and we shall have proven recreant to our duty. Surely you, President Roosevelt, are fully aware that such will be our fate and such will be the fate of the distraught peoples of the earth, except the whole venture upon which we have launched becomes the instrument of a high and noble purpose.

The late Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Frank Knox, warned us of the folly of unprincipled policies in 1941 when he said in an Armistice Day address:

> War breeds vengeance. Vengeance breeds hatred. Hatred breeds revenge. Revenge breeds war. The circle must be broken if peace is ever to come either to Europe or to any other part of the world. The whole weight of the United States must be thrown upon the side of making a peace, not of revenge, but of justice and righteousness.

The world has looked to you for reassurance and leadership. The faith of millions of your fellowmen has been grounded in the high ideals and the integrity of purpose which you have constantly woven into your dealings with other nations. There has been no lack of such noble purposes. The air has been filled with the majestic flight of ideals which have flown from your tongue and pen. But now, for some mysterious reason, that flight is lost to view. President Roosevelt, the truth of the matter is that for the first time in American history millions of American boys, girls, men, and women are being called upon to make the supreme sacrifice for the sake of an ideal which has lost its shape, its sound, and its content. In olden days, men went into conflict with a battle cry ringing in their hearts and on their lips—a battle cry fashioned for them by those into whose hands they had entrusted everything worth living, fighting, and dying for. Wrought into those battle cries were the honor and integrity of that state or

nation which warriors of every age have so gallantly served.

President Roosevelt, it is not right that a free people, the freest people on earth, should be called upon to sacrifice their all while neither they themselves nor their loved ones on the battlefield nor even their highest legislative representatives know what the sacrifice is for. As of today, all of your former ideals and principles have taken cover beneath the empty slogans of "defeat Hitler," "destroy fascism." But surely you, our President, would not have us believe that these are adequate ideals or aims. With these phrases too much popular thinking has been content to stop, when actually, it is at this point where every high and noble purpose should begin. We have not gone to war merely to defeat Hitler, nor to win a test of strength by force of arms. Surely there must be something above and beyond all this for which and toward which we are striving. President Roosevelt, the whole world is breathlessly waiting on your every word for a renewal of the promises, the ideals, and the purposes which your spirit has so often envisaged and expressed. But there must be some mistake for the world waits in vain.

In this realm, your fellow men have a right to expect such a great hope from you, for your ideals and principles and purposes have long since been written into a record for all the world to read. For instance, on December 29, 1940, just a little more than 3 years ago, you interpreted the sentiments of the American people concerning tyranny and dictatorship, whether of the right or of the left, when you said:

> No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a new order in the world, but what they have in mind is but a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, and no hope.

At that time you made no distinction between dictatorships in your utter condemnation of them. You, yourself, have declared a Communist dictatorship to be the epitome of ruthlessness by which to judge the Nazi regime, when on May 27, 1941, you said in a radio address:

> The Nazi world does not recognize any god except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul, in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and fifth columnists.

You were speaking as a champion of the inalienable rights of your fellow men when you uttered these words. Yet since Tehran all these things have changed. President Roosevelt, the American people have a great admiration for any people who resist any and every aggressor, and our great and powerful ally, Russia, has superbly defended her soil and her very life. But again let me remind you that the American people have not changed their minds concerning dictatorships. Great as is their admiration for the military prowess and stoical determination of the Russian people, they still prefer, above all else, the American way of life, and they openly disavow communism or a Communist nationalism. They are justly apprehensive of the policies and practices which such a way of life provides for securing a just and peaceful settlement of international problems and disputes.

Certainly the American people have not gone into this struggle for the purpose of turning over Europe to the control of any nation or group of nations, much less to substitute the terrors of one dictatorship for another. It is not and it has not been our intention to divide, actually or in effect, the war-torn European nations into special spheres of influence or to reduce this or that section of Europe under the control of any nation no matter how benevolently inclined such a nation might profess to be. In your silence on the prospects of establishing peaceful relations among free nations in Europe, let me remind you that only through a genuinely international organization which is all inclusive, wherein "all nations, great or small, victor or vanquished," may have equal opportunity to collaborate, can the highest purposes of the American people be realized. We have no desire to be a party to the establishing of any post-war organization which is to be dominated by one, two, three, or four nations.

Much less have we entered into our present military alliances in order that our own American ideals and principles shall be conditioned, if not altogether dictated, by either a prime minister or a dictator, or both. With great dismay we have observed the unilateral attacks upon the Atlantic Charter, the bold denials of this and that principle, the reservations and exceptions heaped one on the other.

Mr. Stalin, immediately following the Moscow Conference, launched upon a series of independent acts, every one of which was a violation of the principle of collaboration upon which we had agreed. First came the mutual assistance pact with the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile, then the Kharkov trials, then, in rapid succession, the entry of Russian troops into Poland without any statement that they came as liberators and not as conquerors; Pravda's rebuff of Mr. Willkie; the rejection of our good offices in settling the Polish dispute; the Pravda report of a separate peace negotiation between Britain and Germany; the unprovoked attack on the Vatican; the change in the Russian Constitution which established 16 constituent republics including the Baltic States; the recognition of Badoglio; and the demand for units of the Italian Fleet; with every act straining the relations between the Big Four.

Then, on February 22, Mr. Churchill announced complete accord with Mr. Stalin's views on Poland when he said:

> I cannot feel that Russia's demand for reassurances about her western frontiers goes beyond the limit of what is reasonable and just. Marshal Stalin and I also spoke and agreed upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany both in the north and in the west. Here may I point out that the term "unconditional surrender" does not mean that the German people will be enslaved or destroyed. It means, however, that the Allies will not be bound to them at the moment of surrender by any pact or obligation. There will be no question, for instance, of the Atlantic Charter applying to Germany as a matter of right and barring territorial transferences or adjustments in enemy countries.

On April 9 Mr. Hull announced to the world that—

> There has been discussion recently of the Atlantic Charter and its application to various situations. It points the direction in which solutions are to be sought; it does not give solutions. It charts the course upon which we are embarked and shall continue. That course includes the prevention of aggression and the establishment of world security. The charter certainly does not prevent any steps including those relating to enemy states, necessary to achieve these objectives.

Does this mean, President Roosevelt, that you have lost the initiative in Europe? Is this why you have permitted these attacks upon the very document which you helped to create to go unchallenged? Is this why you no longer talk about a peace which shall endure? Is this why the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of December 18, 1943, both quoted you as saying in your press conference—

> The Allied conferees were motivated by the general thought that they did not want another war in the lifetime of the present generation.

I quote from the Christian Century of January 5 to remind you of the reaction of the American people to such a compromise, if compromise it was:

> There was a time when the President talked of a lasting peace, a peace which would mean that never again would the sacrifices of war be required. Now, if this report is correct, in the informal intimacy of his press conference he says that what he and Stalin hope for is a peace that will last a generation. We do not believe that such a peace will satisfy the men who are doing the fighting or those at home who pray for them day and night. Peace for a generation is just another long armistice. Mankind demands something better than that.

Does this mean that already, at this stage of the struggle, you, the President of the mightiest and most glorious nation ever to grace the earth, have been compelled to compromise the ideal of an enduring peace? There must be some mistake. Surely you have not surrendered your hope that we shall be able to bring peace, a just and enduring peace, to this stricken family of nations. This is the ultimate problem we confront, and we respectfully urge you to reassure a waiting world. Let us hear you proclaim again that our highest motives, our noblest designs, are all for a peaceful world, where the "four freedoms" shall be secured to each and every nation. These are our peace aims; are they not? There is nothing to be ashamed of in them. We have no ulterior motives, no specially favored friends among the suffering peoples of the earth. We urge you to proclaim to them that all our resources, our good will, and our concern are directed

toward the establishment of a society of nations wherein law and order, mutual helpfulness and understanding, shall prevail, and that we are opposed to every form of dictatorship now as before.

President Roosevelt, your continuing silence will give substance to our deepening fears that you have already surrendered our right to speak for ourselves, that you are no longer free to herald our ideals, our own American ideals and purposes, to our fellow men. Has it happened that because we are now bound together through an Allied military command we are no longer free even to reassure ourselves of the high resolves that move us? Must we, as a free people, as a sovereign nation, wait upon the rulers of empires and totalitarian states for the opportunity and the occasion to reiterate our own ideals? Are we no longer free to speak for ourselves in moral matters?

I assure you that we entered this war as a free people, and we shall emerge a free people. But in order that this may be accomplished we must continue to conduct our relations among ourselves and between our Nation and other nations in a manner worthy of a free people. To this end the American people are determined we shall not be a party to blind and brute forces of destruction, nor to the creation of means for the settlement of international disputes which, by their very nature, partake of the forces we despise. We are not free to act without restraint, in defiance of the moral precepts of decency and justice. We are not free to become accomplices of tyranny and oppression, unrestrained by a noble purpose. The whole wide world is waiting for assurance that we have not deserted membership in the moral universe.

President Roosevelt, your silence in our behalf is precipitating greater and greater uneasiness and misgiving. Your silence has become embarrassing and humiliating. Mr. Stalin speaks and you are silent. Mr. Churchill speaks and you are silent. General Smuts speaks and you are silent. Mr. Fraser and Mr. Curtin speak and you are silent.

These men are speaking in such a manner that with every passing day the prospects of an enduring peace become more and more remote. Are you acquiescing in these rampaging demands, which will surely scuttle any peace if left unchallenged?

You can well understand that only the sincerest concern prompts these questions which are thronging our minds, and you must be aware that we cannot help but discover more and more ground for our fears as each day brings to light more of your policies in the fruit they bear.

For instance, we know that Mr. Hull's announcement of American foreign policy will never secure the kind of peace we seek if it rests upon unity at any price with any nation, or clique of nations.

We know that your risking our whole future and the future of the post-war world on the good will of Mr. Stalin, as Forrest Davis tells us you have done, in his two articles in the Saturday Evening Post for May 13 and 20, will never be accepted by the American people as their only safeguard against war and the threat of war.

Our misgivings increase not a little when we are further told by Mr. Davis that "Stripped to the bare essentials we fought in 1917 and we are fighting now, to prevent the mastery of Europe by one aggressive power. Should Russia, as the sole European power, display tendencies toward world conquest, our vital interests would again be called into account."

What does this mean? Does it not mean that World War No. 3 hangs on the slender thread of Mr. Stalin's future disposition and good will?

We are amazed to read in the same article that you, our President, have learned thus far in this war:

> That hereafter only countries with an abundance of manpower and resources plus huge industrial plants can engage in the business of war.

Do you wonder that the American people are uneasy over the prospects of peace in the future? If such a lesson is put into practice or such policies are continued much longer, with agitation for securing American bases all over the world, with a demand to make the Pacific an American lake, it is little wonder that increasingly shall we feel ourselves being drawn into a post-war world where no man or nation will be safe unless guns are carried on the hip.

The Washington Post of May 10 also carried a story of the three peacetime plans which the Navy has formulated in anticipation of almost any kind of situation to emerge from this war. As our President, which of these plans do you contemplate will most nearly suit our needs in the months and years to come?

In all this welter of uncertainty the people of these United States are convinced that any attempt to corner control of the international organization, about which we have heard so much talk, is doomed to failure at the outset if appeasement of a totalitarian state is made the cornerstone of such a policy.

President Roosevelt, we cannot see what kind of a peace you are planning after the military victory is won. On what basis will an organization for peace rest—on good will and understanding, or on a continuance of armed might and the balance of power?

Every indication is that in order to maintain any semblance of peace in the post-war world we must become a military people, with a military economy, ready to strike at any moment, armed to the teeth, suspicious, arrogant, coercing where we cannot win, condescending where we cannot dare to be magnanimous.

And, Mr. President, what are you going to do about all the promises that have been made as to how we shall feed and reconstruct and rehabilitate the world when the fighting stops? If we are going to be compelled to continue to put our resources into armies and navies, our manpower under conscription, our industry under the strain of producing armaments, we shall never be able to fulfill even a small part of our promises, and the "four freedoms" about which we have talked so much will become sheer phantasies.

Again, may I quote from the wisdom of the late able Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox:

> There comes a time in the life of every man and every nation when principles cannot be sacrificed and when vital and essential rights can no longer be ignored, a time when to go further would mean that our own liberality and forebearance would be misunderstood.

What are our peace aims, Mr. President, and do they bode good or ill? Do they promise hope to a suffering and grief-stricken world? Do they seek to inspire confidence in the future? Are they universal in application, binding upon us all, permitting of no exceptions or reservations, tainted with no selfish or ulterior motives? Or, are they a patchwork of unprecedented and unpredicted necessities which will merely postpone the final issue of war itself to the not too far distant future? Why do you not take us, your own people, into your confidence, Mr. President? Is it because you wish to overwhelm us with joy when you suddenly pull a patchwork peace settlement out of your hat, or is it because the monster which you have helped to breed has broken its leash and is now at large?

There is no need for me to remind you that the questions I am raising are born of a deep devotion to our great America. From the first days when I saw the dark clouds of war gathering over our heads I warned our people of the danger that threatened and I have sought to do everything in my power to support and hasten preparations for our own adequate defense. From that day in March 1937 when I, together with five of my colleagues, voted against the enactment of the Neutrality Act, down through to the present hour I have vigorously supported every measure which would guarantee the safety of American ideals and the American way of life.

President Roosevelt, it is on this record that I stand when I now respectfully urge you to proclaim to the world the ideals for which you have thus far labored. Now is the time to reach an effective understanding with our allies concerning the ultimate peace aims which guide our common efforts toward the winning of this war. Now is the time to reach such a common goal. When the last blistering bomb has burst, there is little hope that what we could not attain and effect under the strain and incentive of a common fellowship in a common cause, could ever be realized through the cold and calculating concern of nations turned in upon themselves, brooding while they lick their wounds.

I urge you to proclaim to the world a statement of peace aims which are in keeping with the universal principles of the Atlantic Charter, and expressed in its plain and unmistakable language.

On a hundred battle fronts our young men and young women, the flower of our manhood and womanhood, are joined in battle with the foe. Surely no nation ever has had more cause than ours to be proud of the splendid record of heroic achievement or of the untiring and self-

less sacrifice of its people. Stretched over the face of the earth the mighty arm of our joint military command has wrought valiantly. From the foxholes of the New Guinea jungles, through the desert African wastes, on to the jagged mountains of Italy, strong hearts and hands have borne our Stars and Stripes on to victory.

Now, while millions of our own men and women crouch in tense anticipation of the word which will plunge the human race into the most titanic and brutal battle of all time; now, when every nerve is strained to catch the first syllable of what will be for many of our men the last command they shall ever obey; now, President Roosevelt, while the American people, whose servant and leader you profess to be, are gathering themselves against the mighty shock of such a battle—lift up your voice in a clarion call proclaiming to the world that America has taken the moral leadership of humanity into its heart and hands.

Now is the time. This is the hour. Tomorrow may be too late. Let our fighting men the world around find new meaning in their sacrifice and a deeper inspiration in their striving. Lift them up above the filth and grime of empty hopes and dreams and spur them on to victory. President Roosevelt, give the word, and these men and women will give their lives to make your highest dreams come true.

Let America speak. You are our leader, President Roosevelt; speak the word which will set American ideals burning in every heart, lift up our beacon of liberty before the weary eyes of men. Proclaim to the ends of the earth that we seek to preserve American ideals and the American way of life, that we seek to restore the birthright of every human being as a creature of God, that we seek a reconstituted Europe which is free from terrorism, want, and despotism, that all peoples, so far as lies within our power, shall have an equal opportunity to enjoy the blessings and riches of this life secure from the designing greed of any and every nation. Surely President Roosevelt, we have no other peace aims and we shall never be a party to the attainment of any others. Again I respectfully urge you to speak in the name of the American people the hopes and dreams which have so richly blessed this land we love.

590111—7302

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

Fellowship of Reconciliation

Southern Regional Conference 1944

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

October 6 - 8

Headquarters:

Fellowship House, 1804 Grand Avenue

Friday and Saturday Evening Meetings
Scarritt College Chapel

Sunday Morning Worship
Fisk University Chapel

PROGRAM

●

Friday Evening, October 6

7:30 p. m.—Scarritt College Chapel

H. D. Bollinger presiding

Worship led by Harold Ehrensperger

Address by John Swomley on "The Task Ahead"

Address by James Farmer on "Techniques in Working Out the Task Ahead"

Saturday Morning, October 7

9:00 a. m.—Fellowship House

John Swomley presiding

Worship, A Voice Speaking Choir on Brotherhood, directed by Lennie Frisby

Orientation of FOR work in the future, John Swomley

Discussion

The Task Ahead in the South, Charles Lawrence

Discussion

The Task Ahead with Japanese Americans, Kenji Okuda

Discussion

Saturday Afternoon

2:00 p. m.—From Fellowship House, Action Projects for all conferees under able leadership. Projects will include interviews, visits, reconciliation tours

5:30 p. m.—Reports of Action Projects

Saturday Evening

7:30 p. m.—Scarritt College Chapel

Alfred Moore presiding

Worship led by James Farmer

Address by Dr. Georgia Harkness, on "The Task Ahead in Building a Christian World Order"

Address by Norman Thomas, on "Foreign Policy and Reconstruction"

Sunday Morning, October 8

9:00 a. m.—Social Science Hall, Fisk University

Round Table Sessions on conscription, problems of CPS, Forerunners, programs for local FOR groups, questions they ask about pacifism

11:00 a m.—The Fellowship will worship with the Fisk University Church, Dean W. J. Faulkner, pastor; selections by the Fisk Choir

Sermon by Dr. Georgia Harkness

ARRANGEMENTS

Conference Fee $1.25; students 75c; individual sessions 35c. Registration may be made at Fellowship House upon arrival in the city. Rooms are being secured for out-of-town guests in the homes of local FOR members and friends. It is important that requests for reservations be sent in as early as possible. There will be a token charge of 25c per room in order to have a fund to pay for rooms in tourist homes if necessary. Lunch and supper will be served at Fellowship House on Saturday at minimum prices. On Friday evening at Fellowship House at 6:00 p. m., sandwiches, fruit and drinks will be served at cost to those desiring them.

WHO'S WHO ON THE PROGRAM

H. D. Bollinger, Secretary Youth Section, Methodist Board of Education

Harold Ehrensperger, Editor "Motive," organ of the National Council of Methodist Youth

James Farmer, Race Relations Secretary Fellowship of Reconciliation

W. J. Faulkner, Dean of Men, Fisk University, Pastor Fisk University Church

Lennie Mae Frisby, Student, Fisk University

Georgia Harkness, Professor, Garrett Biblical Institute

Charles Lawrence, Instructor, Fisk University, Department of Social Science

Alfred Moore, Editor, "Classmate," Methodist Board of Education

Kenji Okuda, President, Student Council, Oberlin University

John M. Swomley, Jr., Associate Secretary of the FOR

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party Presidential Nominee

Send requests for reservations to

CONSTANCE RUMBOUGH
1804 Grand Avenue
Nashville 4, Tenn.

FOR

April 26, 1946

Miss Constance Rumbough
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
1804 Grand Avenue
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Miss Rumbough:

In Dr. Johnson's absence from the office, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 25.

We are glad that you are planning to use some of our material on your literature table at the FOR Conference in Richmond. We are sending to Rev. Ensign six copies of each of the following

The Southern Regional Council, Its Origin and Purpose
America's Tenth Man
Understanding Our Neighbors
Economic Value of the Negro to the South
The South - America's Opportunity Number One
Wanted--The South's Future for the Nation
Brothers in Black
January, February, and March New South

In addition, we have included several copies of the leaflets, It Seems Queer, Unhealthy Roots, and The South Is Yours, which may be distributed free. We are also sending several price lists and subscription blanks for New South.

Enclosed is a statement for the price of the pamphlets. If you have any expense in disposing of the pamphlets, we, of course, will want to reimburse you. You may deduct any such expense when you send your check.

Best wishes for a successful conference!

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Encl.

Bill in Miss Clay's file #4.85

NATIONAL OFFICE
2929 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
A. J. MUSTE JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

SOUTHERN HEADQUARTERS
FELLOWSHIP HOUSE
1804 GRAND AVENUE NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE
TELEPHONE 5-7257

CONSTANCE H. RUMBOUGH, SECRETARY

April 25, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr Guy B Johnson,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr Johnson,

I have been reading the material you gave me the other day in Atlanta with interest and profit.

If you would be willing to send about half a dozen copies of each of the pamphlets on consignment to our Richmond, Virginia F.O.R. conference, I would be glad to put them on our literature table and explain about them.

The conference is to be on May 10 - 11. Material should go to Rev. David Ensign, Route 14, Richmond, Virginia, but I will be responsible for the bill.

Sincerely,

Constance Rumbough

Constance Rumbough

✓6 - Brothers in black
✓6 - South as we I
✓6 - N.S. Jan Feb Mar - Pronouncements
6 - #1, #2, #3, #4
6 - packets
10 - 250
10 - Unhealthy Roots.
50 - SSY
10 - Pub lists

C.H.
4/29/46

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LOUISE YOUNG, *Nashville, Tenn.*

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

NEW SOUTH - issued monthly (Mailing list service, covering New South and all pamphlets issued during the year. Subscription $2.00 a year).	Subscription $1.00 a year

Pamphlets

The Southern Regional Council: Its Origin and Purpose Statements of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond Conferences, which resulted in the organization of the Council, are included in the appendix.	Free on request
America's Tenth Man A brief survey of the Negro's part in American History. Revised June 1944.	1 copy - 10¢ 1 doz. $1.00 100 $7.50
Understanding Our Neighbors A Factual Survey of America's major race problem.	1 copy - 10¢ 1 doz. $1.00 100 $7.50
Economic Value of the Negro to the South - Past Present and Potential. By E. Hardin Hughes.	1 copy - 5¢ 1 doz. 50¢ 100 $4.00
Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Ga. Contains a slip sheet to be used as a guide in compiling helpful information for Negro Veterans in any community.	1 copy - 5¢ (Quantity price on request.)
The South - America's Opportunity Number One Addresses delivered at a Conference on The South's Post-War Economy. Atlanta, Ga. April 11-12, 1945.	1 copy - 25¢ 4 copies $1.00
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation By Rupert B. Vance. New South, March, 1946.	1 copy - 25¢ 5 copies $1.00 25 copies $4.00 100 copies $15.00
Brothers in Black by J. McDowell Richards Sermon preached as retiring Moderator before the Presbytery of Atlanta	Single copy free 1 doz. 50¢ 100 copies $3.50
Packet -- contains assorted leaflets	1 packet - 10¢

April 2, 1946

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

March 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Attached is a copy of a letter we recently received from John M. Swomley, Jr. of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack, New York.

Mr. Eagle requested that I send this on to you and ask you if you would be good enough to let him know if you are acquainted with these people and what you think of the work they are doing.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Jeanne Hunt

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

Enclosure

RECEIVED MAR 20 1957

HCF - I believe the FOR is helping on a land project we should report and is worthy of support
FBR

FELLOWSHIP A MONTHLY MAGAZINE PUBLISHED BY THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

NYACK, NEW YORK • NYACK 7-4601 (in New York City, dial LOrraine 8-8200)

ALFRED HASSLER, EDITOR
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, ASST. EDITOR

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., SECRETARY
GLENN E. SMILEY, FIELD SECRETARY

March 10, 1957

New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago, Ill.

Attention: Mrs. Annie Blaine Harrison

Dear Sirs:

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is helping the non-violence movements in the deep South - in Montgomery, Tallahassee, Orangeburg, S.C. and elsewhere, to achieve democratic integration of the races.

Beginning in 1942 we pioneered in applying the Gandhian technique of non-violence to the racial scene in such cities as Denver, Washington, D. C., Dayton, Ohio. In downtown Denver, for example, we opened every theatre and restaurant on a basis of complete equality within a period of six months.

As a result of such experience and the fact that we are a religious organization with several thousand ministers and religious workers among our members, it was natural for us to be of some help to the Negro ministers and churches who are the center of the struggle in Montgomery, Tallahassee, etc.

We have had a white southern member of our staff, Rev. Glenn Smiley, helping Montgomery and Tallahassee boycott leaders with ideas and techniques of non-violence. With their cooperation we have held workshops on non-violence to which Negro leaders from many deep southern communities have come to learn the new techniques. We have organized white ministers and inter-racial church support for the Montgomery project.

A seventeen-minute film, "Walk to Freedom" has been produced which tells the Montgomery story and describes the non-violent approach. The film uses the Gandhain movement as well as other illustrations of the non-violent power people may use in achieving social change.

As a result of this activity, the Rev. Glenn Smiley of our staff was invited to deliver the series of lectures on Non-violence and Social Change at the first anniversary meetings of the Montgomery Improvement Association, attended by more than 15,000 people. He was the white minister who accompanied Rev. Martin Luther King in riding the buses the day the Negroes went back onto the buses.

In the upper South another staff member, Rev. Robert Cannon, organized teams of ministers and professors to call on ministers and other community leaders in Clinton, Tenn. and Sturges, Ky., at the time of the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

mob action there. Their visits at the time did not seem to bear fruit, but later one of the ministers upon whom they called, Rev. Paul Turner, was beaten up for escorting Negro children to school. This beating turned the tide in Clinton.

A program of having largely white northern colleges and Negro colleges in the South adopt each other with cultural and student exchanges taking place is being organized as are workshops on non-violence in Negro colleges and theological schools.

We believe these pilot projects in non-violence are a key to mobilizing Negroes to effect far-reaching social changes. Because the leadership in these projects comes from the Negro church it is not easily vulnerable to attack from extremist groups. At the same time, white as well as Negro church members are being stirred by the Christian validity of a non-violent strike or boycott which is concerned not only for those who are being exploited but for those who are doing the exploiting. This should mean a great deal in terms of Southern attitudes in general and indirectly will make a tremendous difference in the political climate in the South.

So far as I know, we are the only group at work in this field on an organized programmatic basis. As a small religious group of ministers and laymen, drawn from all denominations, we have already gone about $20,000 beyond our financial depth in putting organizers into the South, financing more than 25 workshops, the distribution of thousands of books and pamphlets, the preparation of a motion picture, etc.

A year's salary of about $5,000. for a minister-organizer and about $2,500. for workshops, travel, distribution of books, etc., is, we believe, a reasonable budget for one such organizer.

I feel confident you will agree this is necessary work which in sense "runs interference" for all liberal movements in their efforts to organize the South. Are you in a position to lend us some help in this venture?

I shall appreciate hearing from you and receiving any help and advice you feel you can give.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.

JMS/jh

RECEIVED MAY 31 1957

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

NYACK, NEW YORK • NYACK 7-4601 (in New York City, dial LOrraine 8-8200)

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., SECRETARY
ALFRED HASSLER, EDITOR

CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR., CHAIRMAN

A. J. MUSTE, SECRETARY EMERITUS
GLENN E. SMILEY, FIELD SECRETARY

Minutes mailed 7/10/57

May 29, 1957

Harold C. Fleming
Exec. Dir. Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold Fleming:

Thanks for your letter of May 16, inviting me to the get-together on May 28 and 29. I am sorry that I was not able to attend, but I am in Tallahassee for their first annual celebration of their bus boycott. Best of luck to your group, and would like to hear what the conclusions are. I will be with Ed Lantz next week, at Lake Junaluska.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn E. Smiley

Glenn E. Smiley

GES/hs

July 26, 1957

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271
Nyack, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one hundred copies of the comic-book, The Montgomery Story. Bill us for cost.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

RECEIVED JUL 24 1957

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, Inc.

530-C SOUTH UNION STREET

PHONES AM 5-3364 — AM 4-3327

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

THE REV. M. L. KING, JR., President
THE REV. R. D. ABERNATHY, 1st Vice President
DR. M. W. JONES, 2nd Vice President
THE REV. R. J. GLASCO, Executive Assistant

THE REV. W. J. POWELL, Secretary
THE REV. E. N. FRENCH, Corresponding Secretary
MRS. ERNA A. DUNGEE, Financial Secretary
MR. E. D. NIXON, Treasurer

Dear Friend,

I am very happy about the publication of The Montgomery Story in comic-book form and hope that it has a very wide distribution among both Negroes and whites. We Negroes, particularly in the South, have a special opportunity to demonstrate the power of love to reconcile racial differences. This book will help to spread the word around.

Sincerely,

M. L. King Jr.

M.L. King Jr.

To - H. C. Fleming
From - H. W. Rohrer

Coming—

DRAMATIC—EXCITING—VISUAL

A 16-page, four-color, comic-book style
story of one of the most important
events of our times

Lo. Reg.
70-7-8764

July 15, 1959

Mr. John M. Swomley Jr.
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271
Nyack, New York

Dear Mr. Swomley:

To the best of our knowledge, no social science investigation of the Montgomery boycott has been published. At one time, some interviewing was done there by personnel under the direction, I believe, of the Fisk University Department of Sociology. I don't know whether there is to be any publication of the results, but Anna Holden, of the Race Relations Department at Fisk, was one of the interviewers and could give you more information.

We know of nothing else, aside from journalistic or narrative accounts of the Montgomery situation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
Box 271, Nyack, New York · NYACK 7-4601 · *Direct New York City wire:* LOrraine 8-8200
BOSTON CHICAGO LOS ANGELES NASHVILLE PHILADELPHIA

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SECRETARY EMERITUS
A. J. Muste
NATIONAL FIELD SECRETARY
Glenn E. Smiley
AUDIO-VISUAL CONSULTANT
DeLayne Hudspeth

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

July 9, 1959

Mr. H. C. Flemming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I am writing you at the suggestion of Frank Loescher of the African-American Institute of New York. I was talking with Frank the other day in an effort to find out whether a competent social science analysis has been made of the Montgomery boycott. He thought that you would know if any university or social scientist had tackled this. If you have any information about this or anyone's plans to do a case study I would very much appreciate your letting me know.

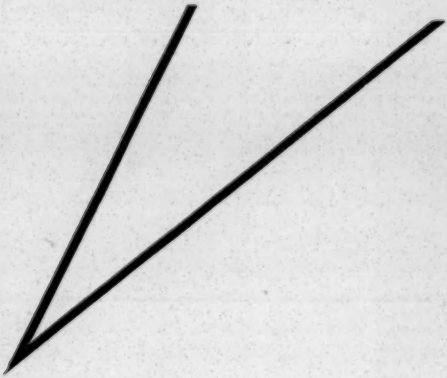
Sincerely yours,

John Swomley

JMS/lnt

John M. Swomley Jr.

That Men May Live



STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

of the

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Antidote for Aggression

By

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

PACIFISM, in the strict sense of the word, differs from other programs of peace by holding to methods which completely renounce all death-dealing violence. At the same time it seeks an antidote for violence which acts to cure the causes of violence and the impulse to aggression out of which violence springs.

This, you say, is a fine ideal but hardly practical in our rough and tumble world. How, for instance, is it possible to get along without a police force?

That is a good question which should be answered at once. Most pacifists admit the necessity of police and of some coercion at various points in life. But they note certain sharp differences between the functioning of police and of armies. For instance, policemen are the agents of law and in their relations with criminals they are expected (a) to use a minimum of violence and see that the criminal gets his day in court; (b) to take life only in cases of extreme necessity; (c) always to protect innocent citizens even when in hot pursuit of criminals; (d) never to arm and fight against the police forces of other cities; (e) never to operate in foreign lands where the sentiment of national patriotism will naturally regard them as invaders. Furthermore, in a civilized society the true aim of police and related agencies is, besides reducing violence, to bring reforming and redemptive influences to bear upon the criminal.

In contrast, armies are bound by few, if any, restrictions like the above. Military necessity requires soldiers (a) to kill the enemy with little regard to the innocence or guilt of persons; (b) on many occasions to starve, bomb, torpedo, or otherwise destroy neutrals; (c) in peace, as in war, to engage in armament competition against other armies running up frightful costs of taxation; (d) to operate generally in foreign lands where almost every man's hand is against the attacking army; and, finally, (e) to do what an army does as judge, jury, and executioner in a national fight, subject to no restraint or review by legal or impartial authority. In the face of such striking differences between "force" as used by armies and by police, pacifists can hardly be held to be illogical when they withhold from armies a coöperation which most of them give to police.

EK -
mailing list, please.
IBT

March 26, 1946

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Norton:

Dear Miss Morton:

Thank you for your letter of March 22. We are indeed interested in an exchange of publications. We value the materials which are issued by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and we are glad to put you on our exchange mailing list.

With highest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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CHARLES JONES, *Finance*

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
BENJAMIN MAYS, *Christian Fellowship*
VLADIMIR HARTMAN, *Rural Reconstruction*
DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*

March 22, 1946
Dict. March 21

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Don't you think we should be put on each other's mailing list to receive all material sent out from the two offices? We like your NEW SOUTH and other pamphlet materials.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of PROPHETIC RELIGION, a quarterly journal, a copy of a Newsletter which goes out bi-monthly, a Statement of Principles, and a folder describing some of the activities of the Fellowship.

Do let me know if you are interested in this exchange.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

nm/et

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*

April 16, 1946
Dict. April 15

RECEIVED
APR 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for writing me about the Columbia tragedy and giving the suggestion that I get in touch with Dr. Odum. He has been good enough to loan me the copies of the two reports you have sent him. They were very good, especially the one unsigned. It gave a sane and seemingly honest account of the tragedy. The other report, by Twitty, was evidently from a white person's point of view, as he refers so often to "the Negro" and "the Negro woman".

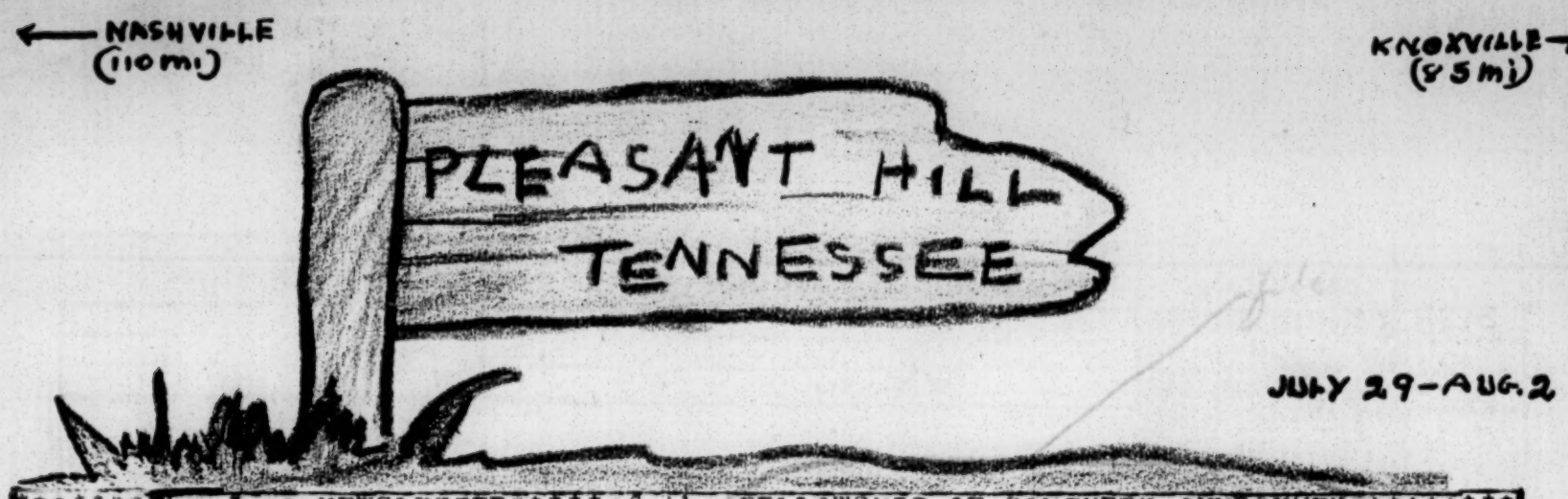
I too am very much concerned over the emotionally loaded words used in the reports issued by some of the other agencies.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

nm/et



JULY 29-AUG. 2

*******The June NEWSLETTER*****of the FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN ********

THE ATOMIC AGE HAS NO USE FOR ATOMIZED FELLOWSHIPS NOR FOR EXALTED STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPLES IN A CIVILIZATION THAT IS A NIGHTMARE OF PRIDE, HATE AND INJUSTICE. THE TIME HAS COME WHEN IT IS PROPHETIC CHRISTIANITY OR ELSE...AMID THE TORNADO OF DESTRUCTION SWEEPING OUR WORLD THE WORD MUST BECOME STRATEGY AND ACTION. THE CALL TO THE FORTHCOMING MEETING AT PLEASANT HILL MAY HAVE BEEN DISMISSED AT OTHER TIMES AS "ANOTHER MEETING", AND ANY EXCUSE MIGHT HAVE BEEN MANUFACTURED FOR NOT ATTENDING, OR FOR DROPPING BY FOR A DAY OR TWO AND LEAVING BEFORE THE END THAT IS THE BEGINNING. BUT THE LOGIC OF EVENTS, THE SAVING JUDGMENTS OF GOD MADE MANIFEST IN OUR DAY GIVE A LIFE OR DEATH URGENCY TO A MEETING OF THOSE COMMITTED TO HIS WAY AND WILL FOR THEMSELVES AND ALL MEN. A SOUTH, A NATION, A WORLD IN TORMENT CRY OUT FOR THE LIVING GOD WHOSE MESSAGE IS SEEN AND HEARD AS THE OVERFLOW OF FELLOWSHIP AND FAITH IN ACTION.

Let spiritual selfishness and parish isolationism be done to death by a meeting of those who have not bowed the knee to Baal. Let Christian Love bring us together in the Spirit of Christ for His glory and for the salvation of men, women and children from every evil that destroys their kinship with him and each other. Thus meeting in His name we may by the Grace of God leave Pleasant Hill with lives renewed and revolutionized by the power of His spirit which has enabled the prophets of other days and ours to dare everything and to count scorn, opposition and failure as dross for the sake of Christ. Only in Fellowship can we learn with gratitude and humility what it means to be the bearers of the Word that smites as it saves.

T. B. COWAN, Chairman of the Fellowship
and Director of the Conference.

The summer conference--Pleasant Hill, Tenn., July 28-Aug. 2 will be a LOOK-SEE

IS YOUR INTEREST LABOR?

The dual CIO and AFL drive to organize labor in the South with the 1946 elections as a sub issue will be major issue.

DAVID BURGESS, of East Prairie, Mo., Chairman of the Commission on Labor, will be on hand, with LUCY RANDOLPH MASON, Public Relations Director, CIO Southern Region, WILLARD UPHAUS, National Religion and Labor Foundation, BROADUS MITCHELL, Research Director, International LGWU, AFL and GEORGE GOOGE, Southern representative AFL, John Ramsay.

ARE YOU INTERESTED IN RURAL RECONSTRUCTION?

In the transition from a hand to a mechanized economy what is happening to people and what can be done to enrich life in southern communities?

VLADIMIR HARTMAN, of Asheville, N. C., chairman of the Rural Reconstruction Commission, will be on hand with W. M. LANDESS, of T.V.A., AUBREY WILLIAMS, editor of Southern Farmer, EUGENE SMATHERS, Big Lick Community, and S.P. DEAN, Field Representative of N. C. Associates.

IS YOUR CONCERN RACE AND RELIGIOUS TENSIONS?

Motivations and techniques must be carefully worked out to make the most of the recent Supreme Court ruling on Interstate travel, and to deal with such intimidating groups as the KKK.

CHARLES LAWRENCE of Nashville, Tenn. will substitute for Dr. Benjamin Mays (in India for the Federal Council of Churches) as Chairman of the Commission on Christian Fellowship, in cooperation with JAMES FARMER of Washington, GEORGE HARRISON of the Anti-Defamation League, and CHARLES JONES of Chapel Hill, N. C.

THE SCHEDULE is flexible to allow for entire group to meet together or separately as various issues arise.

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30		breakfast			
10:00		WORSHIP			
10:30		Commissions - meeting separately or Together -			
1:00		lunch			
		Free - for rest, play, reading, bull sessions - or if necessary commissions.			
6:00	supper				
8:00	"Analysis of current issues in the South" James Dombrowski	"Crisis of Christian Fellowship" Jones, Farmer, Harrison	"The South and Labor" Mason and Mitchell	"God, Man and the Land" W.M. Landess	

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1946
Southern Regional Council

SPECIAL FEATURES

BOOKS! BOOKS! James Rietmulder of the Association Press is providing an exhibit of books on labor, race, minorities, world order, prophetic religion, democracy and rural life for browsing and sale.

TRIPS The Rural Reconstruction Commission has planned field trips to Big Lick, Ravenscroft, Scarrit Rural Center, Cumberland Homesteads, Crab Orchard Forest and Agricultural Experiment Station.

RESEARCH Howard McClain, Professor of Sociology at Campbell College, asked by the Executive Committee to explore the need for research by the Fellowship, will present the results of his correspondence and conference with more than 100 people.

WORK CAMPERS The Big Lick work campers will visit the conference and let us hear first hand what they are doing.

CATTLEBOAT If the cattleboat for which FSC has recruited a special interracial crew returns from Poland in time, representatives will report at the conference.

CHILDREN An opportunity will be made for children to form natural friendships across racial and cultural lines. A skilled leader will be on hand with books and games to help parents. Let us know soon if you plan to bring your children.

COMING ?

Be there Monday night for 6:00 o'clock supper and plan to stay through Friday lunch.
Cost for board and room for the entire time is $6.00. No reduction for shorter time.
~~(Make checks payable to Pleasant Hill Academy.)~~

Registration fee $2.00. (Make check payable to Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.)

Pleasant Hill is on the Greyhound bus line about halfway between Nashville and Knoxville--or if you drive it is on Highway 70s 11 miles west of Crossville.

Send enclosed registration TODAY

Dr. Johnson:

What literature did you want to send to this conference? 1 each of

1-2-3-4-5

Many N.S

Packet jtm

Bros in Bl.

A Year's Subscription

to

The Southern Frontier

is presented to you with the compliments of

_____

_____

June 27, 1946

Miss Nelle Morton
General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

Thank you for your letter about the conference which the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is holding at Pleasant Hill, Tennessee, in July. We are sending a package of SRC materials to Rev. Charles Drake at Pleasant Hill Academy.

I wish I could attend the conference, but I am very busily engaged at that time.

With best wishes for a successful conference,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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VLADIMIR HARTMAN, *Rural Reconstruction*
DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*

June 21, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is holding its membership conference July 29-August 2 at Pleasant Hill, Tennessee, and we should like to have some of your materials for display. Such material should be sent in care of Rev. Charles Drake, Pleasant Hill Academy, Pleasant Hill, Tennessee.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

nm/et

And why do you not plan to come to the conference!

Guy Johnson

Minutes

Committee called by: The Christian Fellowship Commission of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

Meeting: Morehouse College, September 11, 1946.

Present: Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College; V.A. Edwards, Fort Valley, Ga.; Archer Torrey, Darien, Ga.; Emmett Johnson, Emory University; Earl Brewer, Emory University; Maynard Catchings, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Don West, Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Ga.; Guy Johnson, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.; George Harrison, Anti-Defamation League, Atlanta, Ga.; and Nelle Morton, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

Regrets: Mrs. M.E. Tilly, Atlanta, Ga.; Arthur Raper, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.; and Clarence Jordan, Americus, Ga.

Presiding: Chairman-elect, Christian Fellowship Commission, Maynard Catchings.

Purpose: The Christian Fellowship Commission at the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen summer conference decided to experiment for three months by sending a minister into one of the rural counties of Georgia. They invited persons listed above to think together of how to reach the grass roots ministers and people by direct and personal contact in an effort to help them reinterpret the Bible and basic religious symbols in terms of today's social living. The committee was asked to assist in selecting an appropriate county in Georgia for the experiment and advise on methods and techniques to be used in the project.

Duration: After much discussion of purpose, ways of getting into a county, and methods of working, it was decided to recommend to the Fellowship Commission that the experiment be conducted for a year rather than three months with a view to making it permanent. And that a free lance evangelist be sent into one rural area.

Place: Hall County in North Georgia was chosen as the county in which the experiment should begin. Because: the tensions are tightening, shown by several Klan cross burnings; the rural population is greater than the urban; the ratio of white and Negro is in favor of white (while the minister will work with both groups, the problem is largely with the white group); friendly contacts are there; a start in interracial cooperation has already been made through the Farmers Union.

Method: Through the friendly contacts which members of the committee, commission, and Fellowship have in the county an invitation will be secured for an evangelist to go into the county to assist churches already established, to hold institutes with rural ministers, conferences with church leaders, and to set up a tent if necessary to touch the masses of rural people. In a free lance method the evangelist will seek to apply the Bible to social injustices.

Personnel: Rev. T.B. Cowan was chosen as the evangelist because of his love for and knowledge of the common people, his skill at evangelism, and dedication to the cause of Christian social justice.

Advisory Group: A permanent advisory committee has been established to develop the project and to be responsible to the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

A local advisory committee consisting of some ministers and others in Hall County will be formed to advise directly with the developing program.

Finances: Benjamin Mays, Charles Johnson, Maynard Catchings, George Harrison, and Nelle Morton were appointed to draft specification of the project to be presented to the Rosenwald Foundation for one year's financing. This should be in final form for action by the Executive Committee of the Fellowship in October.

September 27, 1946

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

Thank you very much for sending me the minutes of the meeting which I attended at Morehouse College on September 11. I was glad to have the opportunity of sitting with your Committee.

I believe I promised to let you know when Dr. Charles Johnson might be here for one of our committee meetings. He plans to be here on October 8 for an Executive Committee meeting. As a rule, we are through by late noon. Of course, I do not know what his plans are for the rest of the day.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
BENJAMIN MAYS, *Christian Fellowship*
VLADIMIR HARTMAN, *Rural Reconstruction*
DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*

September 17, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We appreciate your attendance at the meeting of last Wednesday at Morehouse College to discuss a possible venture of the Fellowship among grass roots people of a county in Georgia. At the request of Chairman Maynard Catchings I am enclosing minutes of the actions of the committee.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton
Nelle Morton
General Secretary

NM/cbl
Enclosure

Let her know when date for our Exec. Com. is set so that she can try to arrange a meeting here when she can catch C.S.J.

GBJ.

November 21, 1946

Prof. Howard G. McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Howard:

I was very sorry not to be able to get to your meetin here in Atlanta on October 19. Your letter reached m that morning but I could not have attended anyway because of some other very pressing duties. However, i was good to talk to you a little while about the meet on the telephone when you were here.

We are very much interested in the project which is being worked out by the Fellowship of Southern Churcl men for the the translation of research materials. We want to cooperate in any way we can. It may be that occasionally we can publish something which wil be useful to the FSC and which could be made availab to them at very little cost, for distribution to the mailing list. Please let us know how the project is shaping up.

It was a pleasure to see you and Barbara here last week. We were very pleased with the Fellows Confere and we think that the Fellows were, too.

Highest regards and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 16, 1946

Talked to him on phone here Oct. 19. Also saw him later in Atlanta GBJ

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen has requested a report for their consideration of their Executive Committee, meeting the latter part of this month, on the possibility of their undertaking the project of initiating a movement to provide in usable form through the churches the available and v luable research materials on the South. As you so well know, this job of "Research-Translation" has been a matter of growing interest among southern educators for several years.

The F.S.C. is wondering, therefore, if it is not time for churchmen to become more specifically interested in adapting for and distributing through the churches the results of the great amoung of excellent research that has been made in recent years. A further problem is the way in which the F.S.C. can cooperate with the established denominations, to prepare as well as to distribute and use such materials after they are prepared.

For the discussion of these matters you are invited to meet together with other interested persons in Atlanta on Saturday morning, October 19, in Professor Earl Brewer's office (Room 210) in the Theology Building of Emory University. I am sorry that such a hastily arranged meeting is necessary, but for various reasons it is. If at all possible, however, we would greatly appreciate your presence. Enclosed is a brief memorandum to start our thinking together.

Rec'd this 10 a.m. Oct. 19! can't be there GBJ

Very sincerely yours,

Howard

Howard G. McClain

P.S. Also please invite Mr. Warwick to come. Mrs. Tilly, too.
I hope I can see you on Saturday H—

MEMORANDUM ON RESEARCH-TRANSLATION FOR THE CHURCH

Series of statements giving background of Research-Translation for the Church.

1. Research for the discovery of relationships in and for the more accurate understanding of society, has been increasingly recognized as a necessary procedure for social institutions.

2. The results of research should be significant for constructive social change because it provides the foundation for a more adequate understanding of the relationships within the society.

3. Much of the basic research on society, of which there is a large amount for the South, however, is written up usually in such a way as to be almost impossible of understanding except by the expert.

4. Research-translation--for the purpose of popularizing and making more understandable for the layman the results of social research--is the process of preparing and distributing materials that interpret, from an unbiased viewpoint, the basic factors and relationships of society that are important for man's group-life.

A Series of statements giving the need for Research-translation by the Church.

5. The Churches, being important and influential institutions of our society, should be lead by men who are aware and conscious of the fundamental interrelationships of society.

6. However, either because of lack of time, or training many ministers and influential laymen have ~~just~~ not studied and learned of the many factors of society, or at least have not thoroughly thought through the relation of these factors to the purpose and program of the Church.

~~Research-Translation for Church~~.

7. It seems, therefore, that the process of Research-translation is an important area for consideration by churchmen.

A series of statements about procedure for the churches in the field of Research-Translation.

~~8. The purpose of research-translation by the churches should be~~ the adaptation of research materials,

1. For the use of the churches, and
2. With the specific relevance of these materials in their effect upon the work of the churches.

9. Steps that perhaps can be useful in developing Research-Translation for the churches.
   (1) Analysis of existing church publications as to their effectiveness in using the materials of research.
   (2) Study of existing materials that are relevant and could be used in church materials.
   (3) Process of cooperative thought and action which would enable the maximum cooperation ~~of cooperative~~ with the different denominational groups.
   (4) Development of some medium to coordinate efforts at research-translation in various fields and to promote the use of resulting materials in church publications.
   (5) Preparation of sample materials.

10. What would be the best subjects for sample materials?

December 11, 1946

Miss Cornelia Lively
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Miss Lively:

Thank you for your letter which arrived yesterday.

I am awfully sorry about sending the wrong document in my recent letter; however, I do not recall having the mimeographed copy which you mention and I can't find it anywhere in my files.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
BENJAMIN MAYS, *Christian Fellowship*
VLADIMIR HARTMAN, *Rural Reconstruction*
DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*

December 6, 1946

Rec'd - 12-10-46

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am returning the minutes of the meeting in Atlanta September 11, which you sent in answer to a letter from us several weeks ago. It was the mimeographed copy of the proposals for the Hall County project which we needed, rather than the minutes. Thank you, however, for sending these; I am returning them for your files, as we do not need extra copies of them.

Sincerely yours,

Cornelia Lively
Cornelia Lively
Secretary to Nelle Morton

Enc.

January 17, 1947

Miss Emma Felsenthal
Special Resources Librarian
State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Miss Felsenthal:

Thank you for your letter of January 14 ordering a copy of "Brothers in Black." The pamphlet is being sent under separate cover to the Pamphlet Collection.

MB 1-17-47

We are sending you the enclosed publications list of the Southern Regional Council, thinking that we might have other material which you would like to include in the Pamphlet Collection.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price

mp

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

January 14, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We should appreciate receiving a copy of the following item, in payment for which we enclose $.05 in stamps:

"Brothers in Black" (Rev. ed.)
by J. M. Richards

Sincerely yours,

Emma Felsenthal

Emma Felsenthal
Special Resources Librarian

EF:pl

Please address correspondence to the writer of this letter.

Please address all materials to:
Pamphlet Collection
State University of Iowa Library
Iowa City, Iowa

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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WARREN ASHBY, *Treasurer*
NELLE MORTON, *General Secretary*
FRANCIS DRAKE, *Administrative Secretary of Friends of the Soil*
COLLIS BLAIR
T. B. COWAN
CHARLES LAWRENCE
BENJAMIN MAYS
RICHARD MCKINNEY
MRS. ALVA TAYLOR

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
WALTER SIKES, *Publications*
CHARLES JONES, *Finance*

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
MAYNARD CATCHINGS, *Christian Fellowship*
DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*
HOWARD MCCLAIN, *Research*
EUGENE SMATHERS, *Rural Reconstruction*

April 28, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of a brand-new pamphlet prepared by the Labor Commission of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and printed by courtesy of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Can you use copies of this pamphlet to distribute to labor and church persons? If so, they may be ordered from this office, or from the Religion and Labor Foundation, 106 Carmel Street, New Haven, Conn., for:

1 copy	-	$ .10
50 copies	-	4.75
100 copies	-	9.00

You will be interested to know how this pamphlet came into being. More than a year ago David Burgess called an enlarged meeting of his Labor Commission, with southern churchmen and labor leaders meeting at Fisk University in Nashville for two days to delve into the labor-church situation as it exists in the South today. Out of that meeting came a factual study showing the history of the labor movement in the South in an effort to discover church attitudes toward labor and labor attitudes toward church.

This study was written and rewritten after being criticized by members of the Labor Commission, who felt it had value but would be used only by those people who were already convinced. It was then proposed that the basic principles in the study be included in a dramatic story laid in a southern textile community. The result is "Trade Unions and Preachers".

May we have your order today?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

FELLOWSHIP STUDENT NEWS

May, 1947

Published by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Box 577, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Believing that groups of students need to keep in touch with what other students are doing, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen this month launches a STUDENT NEWSLETTER with an initial circulation of more than 1,000 students in 171 colleges and universities throughout the nation. Additional names will be added to the list, for it will be the policy of the Fellowship to put this Newsletter i n the hands of every student who wishes to receive it. There will be real expense involved in publishing this bi-monthly report, and the Fellowship will therefore welcome contributions from students or groups of students who find the Newsletter worthwhile and wish to encourage it.

What are you doing this summer? May we suggest

THE FELLOWSHIP STUDENT WORK CAMPS

In Tyrrell County, North Carolina
June 27-August 22

In Columbia, N.C., where the Light of Tyrrell Credit Union was begun as the ancestor of many Little Lights of Tyrrell, where Credit Union members own and operate cooperatively a saw mill which is being used at present to build a new home for every person in the county who needs one, 10 students will live this summer as members of the community, building a co-op store to meet the needs of rising prices and the coming summer harvest. The campers will hold daily discussion and meditation meetings, will visit co-op stores and credit unions, will exchange resource leaders and ideas with participants in a Veterans' School in Columbia during the term of the camp.

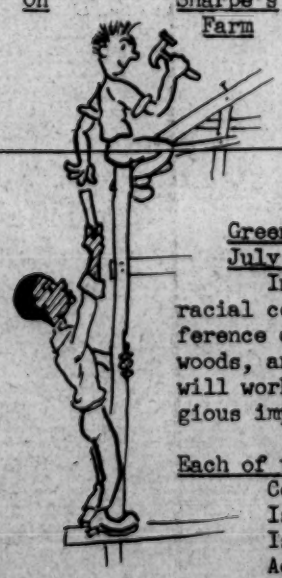
In Memphis, Tennessee
July 1-August 31

Five students will work with the National Farm Labor Union learning of labor from the inside. First will come seven days of intensive training by Barney Taylor, field director for N.F.L.U., followed by seven weeks of work in the field among sharecroppers and tenant farmers in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi. Special emphasis will be given to work with young farm laborers, largely unorganized at present. Two directors will live and work with the group.

In Phoebus, Virginia
June 27-August 22

In a community where Negro and white families live side by side, 12 campers and two directors will go this summer to help renovate an old store building for use as a recreation center for Negro children. The project, in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee, will also include working with the community recreation organization in planning and carrying out a program of recreation for Phoebus. The campers will live at Hampton Institute, a brief walk from Phoebus, and will work closely with members of the community at Phoebus.

On Sharpe's Farm



Greensboro, North Carolina (tentative)
July 4-August 29

In this project 10 campers will live and work together to prepare the site for use as interracial conference grounds by many groups in the South. Buildings will be equipped for housing conference delegates; a tearoom accomodating 100 persons will be prepared for future conferences; lake, woods, and farmhouse will be gotten ready for groups to use beginning in the fall. Two directors will work with the campers, leading their activities, and helping them to see the social and religious implications of the work they are doing with their hands.

Each of these four camps:

Costs $75 for two months (scholarship help available).
Is to be held in a southern community.
Is interracial.
Accepts campers who are in college or have graduated, regardless of age.
Is an experience YOU should have THIS summer.

A PROPHET IS BORN

Once upon a time there was a man who took all of himself to worship God. He brought his ideas, his distinctive education, his inheritance of faith and history, a sense of the troubled times in which he lived, his weaknesses, hopes, and fears. As he waited with heart and mind awake, he had a soul-searing vision of God. He beheld God as the moral Judge of the world sifting and searching the hearts of men and nations, and beyond all he glimpsed the infinitude of God in His love, power, wisdom, and holiness.

Despair and prostration came to his soul in the presence of this vision of God, and he cried out, "Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips and I dwell in the midst of a people with unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts." The despair was not unto death, but creative despair that throws the life on the side of purity, justice, and peace. Out of his personal vision of God's holiness came his social passion for justice. In the divine fire of personal purification a prophet was born who "under the eyes and by the help and strength of God," fought to establish the kingdom of justice.

The articles and events recorded in this Newsletter can never be seen in all their horror and their hope until by a radical about-face they are seen as the prophet saw his world, from God's point of view. Try it and SEE!

T.B. Cowan

L.S.U. STUDENTS FAVOR INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE 2-to-1

The Conference of Southern and Southwestern Schools held April 17-19 on the Louisiana State University campus in Baton Rouge has an interesting—and encouraging—story behind it. Two concurrent conferences were scheduled when this Newsletter went to press—one of Negro colleges and one of white colleges in the Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi region.

The two conferences idea came as a compromise between the almost 2-to-1 vote of the student body at L.S.U. to hold a joint Negro-white conference, and the 7-to-5 vote of the governing student council to exclude Negro students. The concurrent conferences, while not expressing the opinion of the student body vote, still do not quite regress to the decision of the student council.

It is encouraging to remember the 2,494 students who voted to hold a joint meeting, and the five out of 12 student council members who did likewise. But though the interracial conference was voted down by the close majority of 7 to 5, at least Negro college representatives were not excluded from the meeting, and the seed of the idea for an interracial Conference of Southern and Southwestern Schools has reached the voting stage, with an impressive percentage of popular approval and a not too disheartening disapproval from the student council.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES are two news stories from the campus world:

In December, for the first time in its 10-year history, the North Carolina Student Legislature seated delegates from Negro colleges of the state at the annual meeting in the capitol building, in Raleigh. The endto discrimination in the Student Legislature and the beginning of a new interracial policy came after heated debate at the 1945 meeting when students won out over conservative opponents, including several prominent state officials.

In February, the University of Missouri quarterly literary magazine, Towertime, met with suspension on the orders of a faculty committee which objected to an article in the magazine calling for admission of Negroes to the University, which the article termed a "Jim-Crow institution".

AUBURN STUDENTS on the MARCH

State legislators in Alabama are well aware these days that college students no longer reside in ivory towers and turn their backs on current happenings. For on March 4th the Legislature, meeting at the state capitol in Montgomery, received a surprise visit it will not soon forget from more than 900 students at Alabama Polytechnic Institute in Auburn.

From the Auburn News Bureau comes word of how the motorcade of students was organized in support of Governor James E. ("Big Jim") Folsom's attack on the Farm Bureau political control of the Alabama Extension Service, with headquarters in Auburn.

When it looked as if Folsom's attempt to correct the situation with the appointment of four new trustees for Auburn was going to be unsanctioned by the Legislature, students drew up a petition approving Folsom's action. But the petition was overlooked, by one senator "not considered worth the paper it was written on."

Senators, however, didn't know the Auburn students. A mass meeting of 4,000 at the college stadium voted to make a pilgrimage to the state capital, with the resulting march on the Legislature of 900 students in protest against reactionary Farm Bureau control of the Extension Service. Though the students—and Folsom—were unsuccessful in their attempts to get more liberal trustees on the Auburn board, Alabama legislators will not again discount students in their calculations.

AT:

The University of Texas
The University of South Carolina

"EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL" IS TESTED BY VETERANS

The above motto is being tested at present at two universities in the South—Texas and South Carolina. The two Negro veterans, both seeking law training—Heman Marion Sweatt at Texas and John H. Wrighten at South Carolina—have not been admitted to the schools of their choice. They probably will not be admitted in 1947, but their suits against the trustees and officials of the two universities will, it is hoped, have long-term effect on equal education opportunities for Negroes in the southern states, a legal promise not at present carried out in practice.

In both cases suits are being handled by the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Both men claim the states are violating the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In South Carolina, graduate departments in law and medicine have been authorized for the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College (Negro) at Orangeburg, but have not yet been established. In Texas the first trial of the Sweatt Case resulted in the appropriation by the State Legislature of three million dollars to create a state university at Houston and to establish in the meantime a Negro law school as an adjunct to the University of Texas in Austin. In South Carolina appropriation of $6,000 was made for the current year to send Negro medical students to medical colleges outside the state, but none was made for graduate students in other fields, such as law.

But these provisions of the state legislatures for those seeking equal educational opportunities will not end the fight for equality. On the University of Texas campus 17 university organizations are backing Mr. Sweatt in his attempt to enter the law school, and his case was due to come up for re-trial April 28th. The State will probably use the promise of a state university at Houston for argument, but Mr. Sweatt will have more on his side—his lawyers will talk not of future promises, but of the facts of past and present. Promises of more funds for South Carolina Negro education do not answer the challenge of Mr. Wrighten as he asks a permanent injunction to stop the University from barring students "solely because of color".

These would-be law students are speaking for millions throughout the country. Even if the actual suits are lost, Negro education is expected to gain much from these test cases. And the campus organizations at the University of Texas which are backing Mr. Sweatt in his request for admission are a symbol of what the fight for "equal educational opportunities for all" is meaning to education as a whole.

June 19, 1947

Miss Nelle Morton
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

I very much appreciate the invitation to be at Pleasant Hill, July 28 to August 1. In looking at the program, it seems to me Wednesday and Thursday, July 30 and 31 would be my best days.

If I bring my family, I'll plan to stay somewhere close by - say Crossville.

Yours sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:k

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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EUGENE SMATHERS, *Rural Reconstruction*

June 10, 1947

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

We should like very much to have you come to the Fellowship summer conference which will be at Pleasant Hill, Tennessee, July 28-August 1.

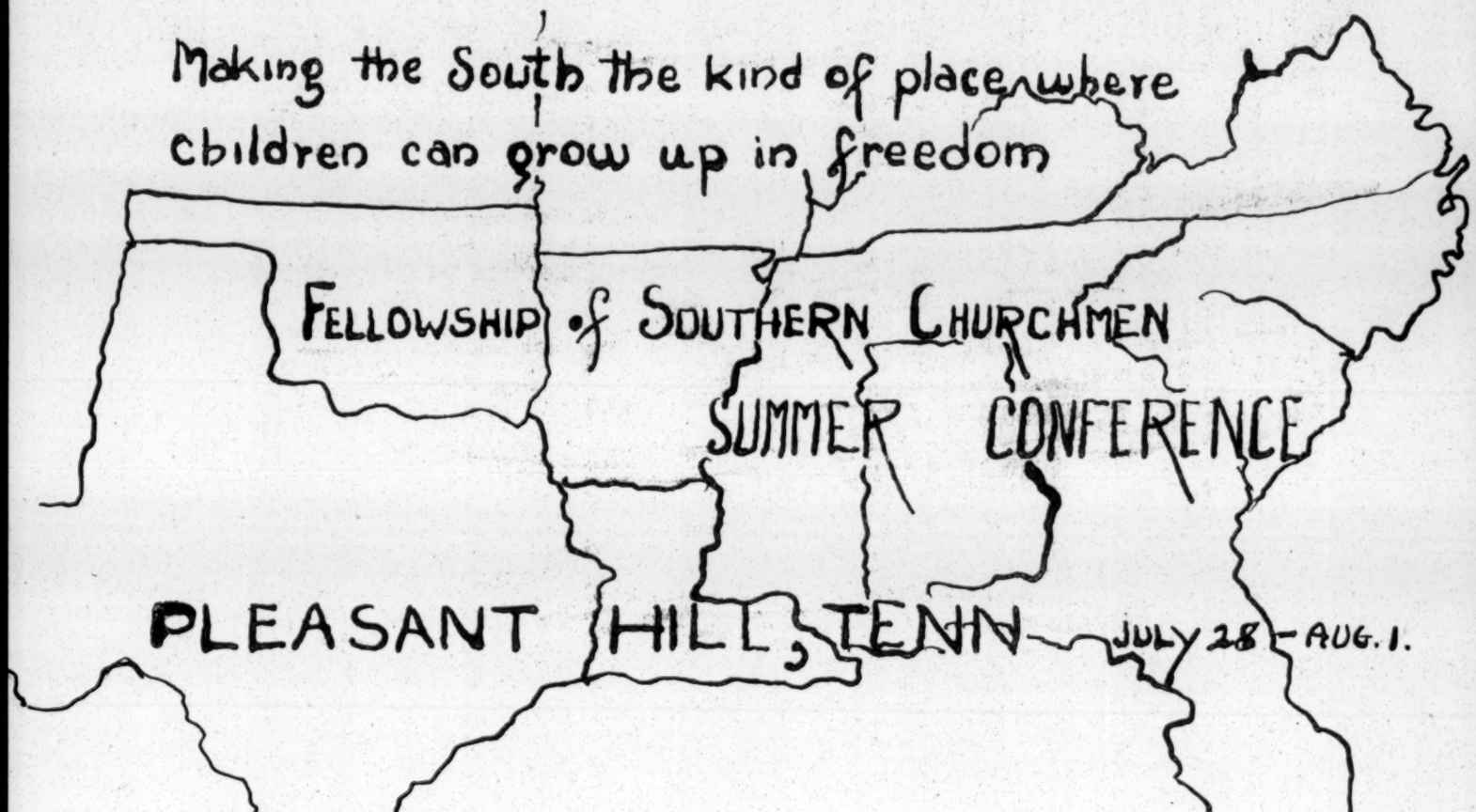
As you can see from the enclosed notice, we want to deal the entire time with some of the issues and conditions in the South which make it impossible for all our children to grow up in freedom. We feel you can make a good contribution to this.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

NM/cbl
Enc.



Dear Fellowship Member and Friend:

The moral robustness of a society may be gauged by the expressed concern of its people and their institutions for the welfare of its children. THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN believes that one way of coming to terms with life in the South is to examine it in the light of its effect on our children. Are we, as Southerners, satisfied with the opportunities for growth and fruitful living afforded the children of the region? What can we do in our life time to achieve the discipline, freedom, security, and love of comrade so necessary for the restoration of sanity in our world?

Thus the Fellowship plans its annual summer conference in the name of those, who, more speedily than we wish to acknowledge, will assume the vast dignity and perilous responsibility of citizenship in the backyard of the world's most powerful state.

Were I a circus barker, I would have plenty to shout about, but since I am not, your own careful examination of the program will convince you of the necessity for making plans now to attend this important conference.

As at last summer's conference, there will be a minimum of platform speaking and a maximum of thoughtful searching in commissions and small groups.

The place is Pleasant Hill, Tennessee. The time is July 28-August 1. The theme is MAKING THE SOUTH THE KIND OF PLACE WHERE CHILDREN CAN GROW UP IN FREEDOM.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Kester

Howard Kester, Chairman
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

Fill out and mail to the Fellowship Office, P.O. Box 577, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Throughout worship, discussion, and fellowship the Conference will seek to examine in the light of the Christian faith some of the basic freedoms (or lack of them) in the South through their effect on the growing personalities of children.

The genius of the Fellowship summer conference lies in thinking together and sharing on the part of all the delegates, rather than a monopoly of platform by one or two persons.

However, among the many leaders and consultants in the fields of Christian ethics, rural work, labor, and race will be:

MAYNARD CATCHINGS, American Missionary Association, Nashville, Tenn.; EUGENE SMATHERS, minister, Big Lick, Tenn.; FRANZ DANIEL, CIO state director, Spartanburg, S.C.; DAVID BURGESS, minister, Delmo Homes, East Prairie, Mo.; KENNETH DOUTY, T.W.U.A., Atlanta, Ga.; T.B. COWAN, minister, Everybody's Church, Lexington, Ky.; GEORGE HARRISON, Anti-Defamation League, Atlanta, Ga.; HOWARD McCLAIN, sociology professor, Mercer University, Macon, Ga.; CHARLES JONES, minister, Chapel Hill, N.C.; BAYARD RUSTIN, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York; MRS. MARIA KEYS, Planned Parenthood Federation, Washington, D.C.; DR. ROBERT METCALFE, physician, Pleasant Hill, Tenn.; HOWARD KESTER, Penn School, Frogmore, S.C.; DR. WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS, minister, Atlanta, Ga.; MRS. ANNIE LEE DAVIS, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Administration, Washington, D.C.; P. ALSTON WARING, co-author of "Soil and Steel" and "Roots in the Earth", Bucks County, Pa.; F.R. BETTON, vice-president, National Farm Labor Union, Cotton Plant, Ark.; DR. O.E. BAKER, population expert, University of Maryland; CLAUDIA LEWIS, author of "Children of the Cumberland"; DR. WILLIAM J. FAULKNER, dean of the chapel, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; and DR. WILLIAM E. COLE, sociologist, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

To Guide Your Day:

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9:00		Prophetic Mission of the Church			
9:45-12:15		Labor, Rural Reconstruction, Research, Christian Fellowship Commissions planning separately			Meeting the responsibility in schools, churches, and communities.
12:30		Lunch			
		Afternoons free for fellowship, relaxation, browsing through books and pamphlets, and recreation.			
6:30		Supper			
8:00	Can children in the South grow up free persons?	Commission Hearings			
		Christian Fellowship	Rural Reconstruction	Labor	Research
9:00		Worship			Communion

A special feature of the conference will be guided activities each morning for all children who come with their parents. Parents are asked to pay registration fee of $2.00 each for children in order to cover supplies for use in activities.

Be there Monday night for 6:30 supper and plan to stay through Friday evening. Cost for board and room Monday through Saturday, breakfast, is $12.00. Registration fee is $2.00.

Pleasant Hill is on the Greyhound bus line about halfway between Nashville and Knoxville---or if you drive it is on Highway 70s, 11 miles west of Crossville.

~~F-misc.~~ FSC

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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EUGENE SMATHERS, *Rural Reconstruction*

October 21, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 23 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

This is the first opportunity since Pleasant Hill that I have had to sit down and do an unhurried bit of catching up on summer activities. You have no idea how much we appreciated your coming to our conference at Pleasant Hill, and what a great contribution you made. Your vigorous and to-the-point discussions have made members of the Fellowship much more hopeful for the Southern Regional Council.

You slipped away without our telling you how very much we appreciate your getting us into your summer schedule. As you were at Monteagle on the same trip, we should like to share with Highlander Folk School your travel expenses. Can you let us know how much this was?

It was good to meet Mrs. Mitchell, and to have both of you with us.

We are sending you a new pamphlet just off the press which we have been working on for some time, since Dr. Benjamin Mays was chairman of our Christian Fellowship Commission. The title is "Segregation on Common Carriers", and it deals largely with discrimination in bus and train travel in the South. We would appreciate your listing this with any materials on southern problems, and if you find you can sell any copies of the pamphlet, we will take your order immediately.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

NM/cbl

FSC

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October 28, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1947
ATLANTA
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are sending you 60 copies of our pamphlet, "Segregation on Common Carriers", which would be a more even swap than 50.

It meant a great deal to have you at the Fellowship conference, and we hope you can stay the entire time at its next session.

We should like to have you in the Fellowship also.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl
Enclosure

FSC

February 6, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Nelle Morton:

I do hope you will have success in establishing somewhere in Western North Carolina a conference ground available for interracial meetings.

So far as I know the facilities that have been used for meetings of this kind in the last few years they are without exception burdened with hindrances and complexities. They were developed for other purposes. They are ordinarily committed to the needs of the institutions or programs which own them. They can, therefore, accommodate meetings of this kind only in limited numbers, at intervals which can be squeezed into their own busy schedules, and usually with a generosity greatly to be praised, but which must of necessity be tempered by anxiety for the smooth working of their own institutions.

Four now quite considerable groups in the South increasingly need a place for meetings of this kind. They are the labor movement, the rising organizations of small farmers, church groups, and the adult education movement. I am satisfied that the time will come when organizations of teachers in the South will wish facilities of this kind in order that they may work out closer cooperation between white and Negro teachers. In addition, signs are numerous that student groups will use a conference place where students from both races can be together without embarrassment.

Our own Council has in the past contented itself with one-day meetings, which obviated the need for residence accommodations. We do have a group of forty-odd Fellows of the Council who are of both races, and if a suitable place of meeting were available, we would earnestly consider arranging every year or every other year a several days' meeting of them.

I think Western North Carolina is the best location for a place of this kind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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W. L. GREENE, *Research*
RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

February 2, 1948

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen for some time has been seeking a location for an interracial conference ground, a vacation center for its members' families, and a later development as a practical training center for ministers anticipating rural parishes. This does not mean in any sense that we are pulling out of Macedonia. But we have discovered a farm near Asheville, North Carolina, suitable for a conference center, with possibilities for later development into a training center.

We have a possible donor for most, if not all, of the original purchase price of the farm. One of this donor's stipulations is that we have expressions from other groups of the need for such a place in the South at this time, and whether they might be able to use the center for their conferences, retreats, or committee meetings.

Would you be willing to write a letter to me in which you very briefly state, from your point of view, the need for an interracial conference center in the South which would be open to all groups. Second, would you state in this letter whether, as you look at your developing program, you feel you might be able to use such a place at some time for small or large conferences, for institutes, planning meetings, or retreats.

As time is at a premium, may we hear from you immediately?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

NM/cbl

11- Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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W. L. GREENE, *Research*
RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

March 1, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Congratulations! I was in Atlanta last week following your workshop on civil rights, and got the finest kind of reports from participants. You did an excellent job, and I shall be interested in detailed reports. Please keep us on your list to receive any information and resolutions which grew out of these workshops.

The Fellowship is setting up a student summer service project in Atlanta limited to about ten mature and carefully selected men who will go into the ministry or who have some concern with social improvements in the South. This has grown out of our cooperation with the Georgia Workers Education Service last summer, and they have asked for two students again this year. Now it looks as if several groups are interested in using on a subsistence basis one or more students for a couple of months this summer. The remainder of the ten will get jobs in mills near Atlanta and join labor unions.

The major purpose of this project will be to give the students directed and guided experiences in understanding some of the southern problems, and a chance to make contributions in solving them. Would you be in a position to use one or more students at the Southern Regional Council office this summer? You may want to call Frank McCallister about his experiences last summer and details of this summer's project.

The group will live at Bethlehem Center on the Gammon campus, will be under the direction of a man and his wife who will live with them. They will cook and eat together, and have discussions in the evenings on the religious and social implications of the work they are doing as they discuss each day's experiences. We feel this will not only be of value to the organizations, but of real value to the students themselves and to the campuses as the students go back in the fall.

If you think you can use one or more students, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

Nelle Morton

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

March 9, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

You wrote March 5 for the results of the February 27 Conference. Here they are.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure : Workshop Findings

GSM:eb

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

March 3, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

The Social Action Secretaries of various denominations are coming together soon and I should like to have a copy of the resolutions coming out of your civil rights workshop of last week. I heard good reports of what you did. Things are moving.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

pres copy

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HOWARD KESTER, *Chairman*
WARREN ASHBY, *Treasurer*
NELLE MORTON, *General Secretary*
CHARLES JONES, WARREN ASHBY, CHARLES MCCOY } *Finance Chairmen*
T. B. COWAN, *Publications Chmn.*
BENJAMIN MAYS
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ALVA TAYLOR

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FRANCIS DRAKE, *Field Secretary*

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ROSALIE OAKES AND DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*
W. L. GREENE, *Research*
RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

April 19, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

As soon as Hibbard Thatcher fills out an application blank for the Georgia project, we will be glad to send it to you so you can see if he is the kind of person you can use during two months this summer. The work itself is on a volunteer basis, which means you would be responsible only for his expenses. As the group will live as a group at Bethlehem Center on the Gammon Theological Seminary campus, paying only $6.00 a month for rooms and sharing in cooking expenses, the living expenses should be at a minimum.

I had thought of the possibility, and Ed has written about it: having Ed Burrows live with the group and be the second camper assigned to the Southern Regional Council. Would you be willing to do this?

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

11-Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

April 8, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Nelle Morton:

It took me until today to check with Frank McCallister about the student internes.

Yes, we should be very glad indeed to have one or two. We always have a couple of pamphlets needing to be worked on (either in research or in editing), and the normal office routine keeps us always behind.

Frank spoke cordially of Mr. Thatcher.

We will be greatly helped by having this additional staff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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April 2, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I wrote you some time back about the Fellowship having a small group of students working in Atlanta for two months this summer. Also, I believe Frank McCallister talked with you about his experience of last year with a group of students. One student---incidentally, Hibbard Thatcher, one of the fellows who worked with Frank McCallister last summer---came in today to learn of the possibilities for working with the Southern Regional Council this summer. He is here at the University of North Carolina this year.

Are you in a position to take one or two mature students, beginning the latter part of June and going through the middle of August? The students will be very mature ones with varied skills---some office skills. Hibbard, for instance, has done some labor education, is excellent in recreation, visual aids, and discussion. They would be interested in doing the most menial jobs you may have in order to have the contact with your group and learn the way it works from the inside. They will be going back on campuses in the Fall, and we feel the summer's experience will mean something not only to the students themselves, but also to your work after the summer is over.

The students in the Atlanta project will be men only. They will live on the Gammon Theological Seminary campus. May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

Ed Burnham wrote us about the possibility of being in the work Fellowship believes working with you.

Fellowship of S. Churchmen
(See Form Requests
Apr. 26, for further
correspondence)

April 26, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

Before Dr. Mitchell went out of town several days ago he asked me to send the enclosed correspondence with Miss Judith Austin to you.

I am sure you will hear from Dr. Mitchell in answer to your letter of April 19 as soon as he returns to Atlanta tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Secretary

Enclosures: ltr from Judith Austin,
301 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn.,
dtd 18Apr48;
cy ltr to Miss Austin from GSMitchel.
dtd 26Apr48.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fellowship of S.C.

May 6, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

I am sorry for the delay in sending the pamphlet requested in your letter of April 29, but I have been absent from the office for more than a week and returned only this morning.

I enclose three copies of the digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The price of the digest is ten cents a copy. There is no charge, however, for these copies I am sending today.

In addition to the digest, we have issued and exhausted a mimeographed edition of a study guide to the Report, called "The Condition of Our Rights--From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South." This, too, sells for ten cents a copy, and the digest and study guide fit together. As soon as more copies are available in printed form--and we hope this will be soon--I shall send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Secretary to
George S. Mitchell

Enclosures

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

April 29, 1948

Miss Elizabeth Britton
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Britton:

Thank you for your letter of the 26th. We have been in touch with Judith Austin for some time on this matter.

I understand the Southern Regional Council has recently published a pamphlet summarizing the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Will you send us a sample copy of this as soon as possible, and let us know the rates?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton
General Secretary

NM/cbl

F of S.C.

May 11, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Nelle Morton:

Atlanta is short on co-ops. We have a newish consumer cooperative store serving a Negro community, and there is also a tiny white co-op purchasing group. The store is having a difficult time, as are all consumer cooperative stores now.

Morris has just been made Secretary, as I understand it, of the Southeastern Cooperative League. His address is Macedonia Co-op Community, R.F.D., Clarkesville, Habersham County, Georgia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
~~Executive Director~~

GSM:eb

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CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

May 7, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Hibbard Thatcher is very much interested in cooperatives. I am wondering if there is any recent co-op development in Atlanta in which he could get placed while he is a part of the Fellowship work camp this summer. I told him about the workshops conducted by Morris. Could you give me more information on these---the ones he conducted for the Southeastern Cooperative League. Also, can you send me Morris' address?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

FELLOWSHIP

STUDENT NEWS

May, 1948

Published by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Box 577, Chapel Hill, N.C.

A FELLOWSHIP IS BORN

A seed sown in Atlanta seventeen years ago came to fruition last month in another Georgia town where, for the first time, representatives of twenty-one southern centers came together to mull over the common potentialities and problems of the interracial intercollegiate councils which have mushroomed throughout the South since the sowing of that first seed in 1931.

The buses and trains and automobiles that pulled into Augusta, Georgia, last April 9 brought students from Charlotte (where a council sprang up in 1933) and from Greensboro (1937); from Nashville (1938), from Richmond (1941), from the Durham-Chapel Hill area (1944). From Columbia and from Lexington, from Jacksonville and Lynchburg they came to reach beyond their own communities to other inter-college communities with the same needs which had brought their own groups into being. They came to discover, beneath the variations in their councils, the feeling of kinship and the community of concern; they came to know each other, to share purposes, activities, programs. They came as representatives of councils that were growing and developing, of councils that wanted to grow, of councils that had been temporarily stymied.

Independent and often ignorant of each other, the twenty-one councils already existent in the South came together at Paine College in Augusta under the impetus of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, and there last month were welded into a group prepared to think together about who they were, why they were there, where they were going.

Primary in two days together was fellowship. Thinking together with Charles Jones about the purposes and work of such a conference; meditating with Clyde Flannery each morning; singing and folk-dancing with Hibbard Thatcher as leader; digging into the specific practical problems of the South with Dr. B.R. Brazeal and with the workshop leaders; summarizing the findings of the conference with Russell Jones——the 81 delegates became crystallized as a group out of which came, not 81 individual opinions and conclusions, but an entirely new spirit, molded of many points of view.

They pledged they would come together again in the Fall and made plans to meet in mid-November. The Fellowship must be extended until students everywhere could know and be a part of this healing which comes in a fellowship of meditation, action, and struggle to free people in every community in every southern state.

PURPOSING OF THE CONFERENCE

The two hours of recreation broke reserves and prepared the delegates to feel at home with each other. Charles Jones then informally shared with the group plans which had brought such a conference into being. The idea of a conference was developed when representatives from the Richmond, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill-Durham group met for a weekend in Chapel Hill early last Fall, and actually outlined the conference program. Mr. Jones emphasized that the councils were formed primarily not to reform the communities in which they exist, but to provide students a framework in which to become human beings. He continued with the idea that the hope of the world is to give people a chance to create, to love, to forgive, to allow ourselves to be loved, all in order to grow as human personalities.

COUNCIL REPORTS

Saturday morning a representative from each intercollegiate interracial council reported on purposes, program, and activities of their groups. Some of the distinguishing characteristics of the groups reported are:

Atlanta, Ga. - This oldest council was formed in 1931 as an activity of the YMCA with seven Negro and five white schools participating. Survey of the needs in Atlanta, interracial teams visiting churches on Brotherhood Sunday, exchange of chapel speakers, supporting a Southwide interracial conference, promoting and conducting a student industry conference, and conducting neighborhood tours are activities of the developing program.

Columbia, S.C. - Allen University, Benedict College, and the University of South Carolina students have been meeting twice each month for fellowship, worship, and discussion. Recently their meeting with the Social Planning Committee of Columbia is resulting in assistance in making a housing survey.

Nashville, Tenn. - Growing from a religious group under Dr. Canby Jones, the Nashville Council has conducted a weekly fellowship forum and worship, a work camp to renovate the 18th Avenue Youth Center, and an interracial Sunday School at Fisk.

Knoxville, Tenn. - Composed of Knoxville College, University of Tennessee, and Maryville students, this council is beginning its activities through discussion meetings. Efforts to reorganize will include facing specific community problems and organizing to meet them.

Morristown, Tenn. - Main efforts at cooperation have been through the International Relations Club on the campus, which has cooperated with groups from U.T., Maryville, and Carson Newman. It has been working on segregation in buses. Further exploration for cooperation will be made with Tusculum, Milligan, King, Virginia Intermont, and Sullins.

Lynchburg, Va. - Major efforts have been made for interracial cooperation on the Lynchburg college campus through surveys, visiting groups, discussion and study groups. Moves toward intercollegiate fellowship have been made with Virginia Seminary, Randolph-Macon, and Sweet Briar through informal planning meetings and get-togethers.

Lexington, Ky. - Primarily a church group, the Lexington Council meets in the churches on Sunday afternoons. They have taken polls of some of the schools on the admittance of Negro delegates (College of the Bible unanimous except one in vote to admit Negroes), have conducted work projects in several of the churches on Saturdays.

Macon, Ga. - The council, composed of students from Georgia Baptist, Wesleyan, G.S.C.W., and Mercer started on the level of becoming mature in approach toward race. Interracial contacts have been made through tours and visitors.

Bridgewater, Va. - An effort is being made to get Negro students admitted to Bridgewater College. Interracial cooperation, though not on the same basis as in other councils, is carried on with Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va., in the form of an intensive summer work project and less often through the winter months with speakers and discussion.

Fredericksburg, Va. - Because of no other intercollegiate group nearby them, Mary Washington College has started

interracial work among the high school students in Fredericksburg, a work which includes sewing, choir, social and discussion activities.

Durham-Chapel Hill, N.C. - Started in 1944 with worship, discussion, and social meetings, the council has supported the Journey of Reconciliation, visited churches in Chapel Hill and Durham interracially, painted the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen office, and other shorter term projects.

Augusta, Ga. - Paine College students collaborate every year with Emory in setting up a conference on international relations. Last summer they sent a representative to one of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen work camps. It was suggested in the group that perhaps Paine could start negotiations with the medical unit of the University of Georgia housed in Augusta with the view to starting an interracial council.

Greensboro, N.C. - Begun in 1937, the Greensboro Council gradually became a social and meeting group to discuss common problems with some outside speaker. Two years ago it was reorganized to tackle non-segregation problems, to make an interracial choir available, and to break down reserves on the various campuses of the participating groups. The Interracial Commission of Greensboro is considered big brother to the group.

Richmond, Va. - Since the beginning Richmond has had a large student participation with much faculty support. Distinctive feature in addition to community activities has been the organization of a joint sociology seminar for which credit is given by the participating colleges. The Richmond Council has active choir, dramatics, literature, and religious program. Survey of domestic workers' needs led to establishment of community class. The purpose is to provide a common ground for fellowship, study, and democratic group work among all college students in the area.

Charlotte, N.C. - The Council is a revival of one started before the war, and in more ways than one has been a "revival" in that the meetings have developed strong bonds and created new and wholesome friendships among the participants. Recently it has included Barber-Scotia College in Concord.

Berea, Ky. - Berea is making an effort to establish an interracial faculty. Not able to have a council in the regular sense of the word, the Berea group has begun to bring interracial groups and conferences to the campus so the students can have interracial experiences. Now they are looking for someone to qualify for admittance into the nursing school as the Kentucky law is not applicable to professional schools.

University of Florida - Starting more or less as a political group, the students are striving for more academic freedom on college campuses.

Montevallo, Ala. - Students are joining the Civil Rights Council with Tuskegee Institute, the University of Alabama, Talladega College, and Birmingham-Southern College.

Raleigh, N.C. - The Shaw-Meredith-Peace-State-St. Augustine group is still in such a nebulous state that no positive report can be made except to say there is a group and several meetings have been held in an effort to explore needs and areas in which to work.

ESSENTIALS FOR DEMOCRACY

Considering the Intercollegiate councils as working laboratories in democracy, Dr. Brazeal dealt with basics for democracy for the South. "There is no pain like the pain of a new idea," said Dr. Brazeal as he stressed the importance of searching for truth and adapting new patterns for the search as over against acceptance of values and patterns imposed by civilization so long and to which too many people have identified themselves without thinking. In no sense a theoretical approach to democracy, Dr. Brazeal's discussion included wage differentials, the white primary and poll tax, discrimination in health and education. Thus he gave impetus and facts for the workshops which followed.

WORKSHOP GROUPS

The heart of conference sessions was

the discussion groups in which delegates considered together building study and action projects, the problems of forming councils, working through and around laws and administrative blocks, and council organization and function.

Group One preceded its description of specific action programs by some thought on evolving a program from existing conditions and needs. Since these differ, programs growing up in them differ. Some types of action that come naturally before councils are: joint classes and seminars, group attendance at campus chapel and town church services, studies of campus nity problems such as housing and employment, efforts to get colleges opened to all groups, on both student and faculty levels.

The second workshop group treated common problems encountered in each school and community, such as legal barriers and hesitant administrations. Its findings might be summarized in a phrase: Be forthright. This open attitude seems best in dealing with the law, with reluctant school officials, with parents, too. Law is not a permanent block in any state, we learned, since Jim Crow laws do not apply to meetings in private places. Community opposition and efforts to brand a council as "radical" are best met by directness and frankness; a clear statement on what the council is and an invitation to visit it help.

In Group Three purpose of organization drew attention first, and it was noted that councils should periodically redefine their purposes. Membership should be focussed on, though not limited to, persons vitally interested, and councils must seek advisors who will give stability and breadth through variety of viewpoints. Organization should be functional with officers acting as a cell, and committees created and dissolved as they perform specific tasks. Council organization should grow out of community needs, and members should be continually sensitive to needs appearing.

EVALUATION

"Fellowship is of primary importance and we should plan for that at another such meeting."

"We like recreation at the beginning. It makes possible more creative thinking, more serious planning, and real worship."

"We suggest a check list of problems to be sent to schools before conferences so delegates can participate more intelligently....Much thought should be on how work shops can be planned for, carried through, and reports presented to the entire group....Plenery sessions should be informal so people will feel free enough to express themselves....Materials should be sent ahead for study so that more intelligent participation in the conference can take place, and so that work and study may be done by members of the local group who do not attend the conference."

"We should strengthen the religious emphasis rather than eliminating it."

"How can we make the conference grow and give others a chance to experience with us this fellowship? I have never been to an interracial conference before...but want this for more and more students."

FOLLOW-UP

To ensure future conferences, the group appointed an interim committee, of students from the Durham-Chapel Hill Council, to work with the Fellowship office in sending out this Newsletter, in planning a future conference, and in acting as a clearing-house for closer integration of councils. The interim committee will meet in Chapel Hill at the Presbyterian Church at 2 p.m. Saturday, May 22. It is important to have as many councils as possible represented. Delegates will pay their own expenses. If unable to send a delegate, send your ideas for the Fall conference to the Fellowship office.

WORSHIP

In a spirit of deep searching, the conference delegates gathered for a half hour before breakfast each morning, using periods of quiet interspersed with readings from the Bible, The Hand of God, and The Prophet. Clyde Flannery directed the meditation which came to permeate the days together until out of the welter of sharings, a thread of the deeper meanings of existence and eternal purposes of God bound lesser purposes and activities into one great imperative. Said Russell Jones in the closing service Sunday, "We have come together to lay hold on a deeper dedication. We are bound together forever in a new and moving imperative born of the Christian faith, and as we leave this fellowship it will be entering the struggle to free ourselves for deeper living."

11-7 Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

July 12, 1948

Miss Nelle Norton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Norton:

On May 6 I promised to send you some copies of our new pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," as soon as they were available.

Here are three copies, as well as a copy of our latest pamphlet, this time on the subject of voting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : 3 copies "Condition of Our Rights"
~~1 copy June-July '48 New South~~

GSM:eb

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

September 2, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

As an outgrowth of the conference of intercollegiate interracial councils held in April and described in the enclosed newsletter, a second such conference is now being planned for October 15-16-17, probably in Atlanta. This will include representatives from intercollegiate councils throughout the South who will come together for discussion of their common problems and goals, and for the formation of techniques for more effective functioning, particularly in regard to the admission of Negro students to southern colleges.

The student planning committee meeting at the Fellowship conference last week at Kings Mountain, voted to invite you to attend this October meeting, and to participate in a symposium Saturday morning on "The Southern Scene As It Affects College Students". This would be a discussion of events of the past year in the South affecting colleges and college students. We feel that you are one of those in close touch with what is happening in the South, and would have much to contribute to such a symposium. We are asking Alexander Miller of the Anti-Defamation League and Dr. Walter Chivers of Morehouse College to be on this panel with you.

The conference begins with registration Friday afternoon, October 15, and goes through luncheon Sunday, October 17. The symposium is to be at 9 a.m. Saturday, October 16. We do hope you can come to the conference and take part in this symposium. Could you let us know immediately so we can get the three members of the symposium in touch with each other long enough before the conference for them to work out plans.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

11 - Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

September 4, '48

Dear Nelle M.,

Sure. Delighted.

I'm at your ~~xxxxxx~~ service Saturday, October 16, at a place which you are to let me know about.

Sincerely,

GSM

11 - Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

October 30, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

G.S.M.: — as will attend the meeting.
Guy B. Johnson

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You are aware that the Fellowship has purchased 380 acres of land near Swannanoa to develop as an interracial conferenc center.

We have had people at work in Asheville, Swannanoa, Black Mountain and the immediate conference vicinity to help with public relations and to begin to interpret the purpose of the center.

We have secured a director and a part-time finance secretary responsible for raising funds for the building program. A Board of Trustees has been elected by the Fellowship membership. In setting up an Advisory Committee we are anxious to include representatives of interested organizations who may be in a position to use the center at times during the year. We need your help in setting up this Advisory Board, but more. your counsel in the initial development and use of the center.

Therefore, we are calling a meeting of representatives of liberal organizations to be held in Chapel Hill, N.C. November 14th. The meeting will convene at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon in the parlor of the Methodist Church on Franklin Street and if necessary will continue into the evening. Supper will be served in the church. We should like very much for you to be present. Will you let us know immediately whether or not you can, come, whether you will be present for supper and what time you will have to leave. If you cannot come will you send a responsible representative from your organization.

Sincerely yours,

David Burgess
David Burgess, Chairman of the Board,

Howard Kester
Howard Kester, Director of the Center

11 - Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

November 9, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Guy Johnson has probably written you that he will represent the Southern Regional Council at the meeting here Sunday.

While we shall miss you, we are glad he will save you the 800-mile journey in your Crosley.

We shall certainly keep in touch with you and will send you the results of this meeting. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

11- Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

November 4, 1948
Dict. November 3

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Fellowship:

I appreciate the letter from David Burgess and Buck Kester. Congratulations on the progress.

I have written Guy Johnson, who is a member of the Council's Executive Committee, and asked him to represent us at the meeting. I hope he will do it. If he won't, I will get up there myself, but we are terribly short of money and my Crosley is less than comfortable on 800-mile journeys.

Meanwhile, the Council is delighted with your plan and would like to help in any way it can and, I am sure, would often wish to use the facilities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

November 15, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Nelle Morton:

Your three-man team will be on hand Saturday, November 27, in the Exhibition Room of the Library of Atlanta University, at nine o'clock.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11- Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HOWARD KESTER, *Chairman*
WARREN ASHBY, *Treasurer*
NELLE MORTON, *General Secretary*
FRANCIS DRAKE, *Administrative Secretary of Friends of the Soil*
COLLIS BLAIR
T. B. COWAN
CHARLES LAWRENCE
BENJAMIN MAYS
RICHARD MCKINNEY
MRS. ALVA TAYLOR

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
WALTER SIKES, *Publications*
CHARLES JONES, *Finance*

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
MAYNARD CATCHINGS, *Christian Fellowship*
DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*
HOWARD MCCLAIN, *Research*
EUGENE SMATHERS, *Rural Reconstruction*

November 4, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

Responses from intercollege councils in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina and points west of Mississipi River have expressed desire for area conferences due to the expense in getting to Atlanta and room and board while there. Therefore we are concentrating on an area conference for Atlanta which will reduce our group attendance but perhaps increase the intensity of job to be done. The enclosed program will give the information for which you asked.

Thank you for your cooperation and the willingness to participate in this conference.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

RECEIVED
NOV 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

November 2, 1948

Dear Friend:

You are called to the Fall Conference of student intercollege Councils in Atlanta, November 26-28. At Atlanta University, delegates will assemble to gather ideas, share experiences, and discuss purposes and programs of their local groups. Primarily for representatives of intercollege Councils, the Conference also is open to students, faculty, and others interested in the intercollege movement.

You will hear Dr. George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Alexander Miller of the Anti-Defamation League, and Dr. Walter Chivers of Morehouse College in a symposium on The Southern Scene as It Affects College Students....you will meet in a workshop discussion group treating a specific problem or concern of the Councils....you will hear Dr. Warren Ashby of the University of North Carolina Philosophy department keynote the session on Purpose of Our Conference.... you will hear and discuss a report on efforts to open admission at colleges and state universities to Negroes, by Attorney A. T. Walden of Atlanta....you will share religious experiences in daily meditation periods and a closing Worship on Sunday morning. Basic to the Conference is the fellowship, personal and group, in which students may find common cause with others from over the Southeast in this vital and growing movement which crosses campus, race, and state boundaries in expressing a deeper unity.

Response to preliminary announcements indicates that distance is too great for representatives from Virginia and West of the Mississippi. There have been requests for such a Conference in more than one area of the South. Hence this Conference, meeting in the central Southeast, is for students from South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. There are tentative plans to hold a similar conference for the North-Carolina-Kentucky-Virginia-Maryland area somewhere in Virginia, early in 1949, and another conference later in Arkansas or Missouri.

This conference is the logical next step in the advance of the 20-some intercollege interracial groups now working over the South. As local groups form and grow, they find outreach and new stimulus in meeting with other councils of like purpose. Specifically, this Conference is the outgrowth of the first Student Consultation Conference held last April at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, under the sponsorship of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. That meeting was so rich in fellowship that conferees there voted to have a second conference. A committee of the Durham-Chapel Hill Council was empowered to maintain contacts and plan the next Conference.

We want this Atlanta Conference and subsequent area gatherings to serve the intercollege movement. This requires your cooperation, in attending and/or seeing that your college or Council is represented. Will you help? What with the ~~recent actions in the Atlanta teachers' case~~, the Oklahoma admissions, and such new developments weekly in the education field, this is a critical time for Southern education. Together we can work to insure its moving forward.

For the ad Interim Committee,

Hibbard Thatcher

Hibbard Thatcher

CONFERENCE INFORMATION

TIME: November 26th, 27th, and 28th

PLACE: Atlanta University campus, which is reached by cab or by West Fair Street trolley from downtown Atlanta.

Registration and meetings will be held in the Exhibition Room of the University Library. Housing will be in Atlanta University dormitories, and meals in the University dining hall.

COST: $10.00 per delegate for registration, room and board. (High cost of living, you know!) If possible, local Council should pay or help pay delegates' expenses.

TRAVEL: Fellowship Office can assist by informing people coming from the same area, so that car-pools can be formed.

SCHEDULE:

FRIDAY
11/26

2-4 pm	Registration
4-5:30 pm	Introductory session, "Let's Get Acquainted with the Councils"
6 pm	supper
7:30-8:30 pm	recreation
8:30 pm	keynote talk, "We Have This Movement" by Warren Ashby Worship

SATURDAY
11/27

7:30 am	meditation
8 am	breakfast
9-11 am	Symposium: "The Southern Scene As It Affects College Students", George Mitchell, Walter Chivers, Alexander Miller
11 am	setting up Workshop groups Workshops: I Admission of Negro students to Southern colleges II Techniques for forming new Councils III Barriers to having effective Councils IV Studies, acitvities, and programs for Councils
11:30-12:30	Workshop sessions
1 pm	lunch
2:30-5 pm	Workshop sessions
5-6 pm	informal recreation
6 pm	supper
7:30 pm	Report of efforts to admit Negroes to Southern Universities, by Attorney A. T. Walden of Atlanta and students who have sought admission.

SUNDAY
11/28

7:30 am	meditation
8 am	breakfast
9-11 am	business session: workshop reports, planning ahead
11 am	Worship
12:30 pm	dinner

MAIL TODAY TO:

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Box 577, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

I want to register for the Student Conference in Atlanta, Nov. 26-28, for _____

_____(self and others)

I enclose (check) $2 for registration and conference costs
($8 room and board fee payable on arrival)

Name_____

Address _____

College _____ Council_____Status_____

October 26, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Nelle Morton:

Saturday morning at nine o'clock, November 27, is all right with me. I have talked with Alex Miller and it is all right with him and on his calendar. I tried to call Chivers but have not been able to reach him. I am relying on you to line up Chivers.

Chivers, Alex and I have already had a meeting and have rehearsed, so we are ready to go. The only thing we don't know is where at Atlanta University the meeting is to be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HOWARD KESTER, *Chairman*
WARREN ASHBY, *Treasurer*
NELLE MORTON, *General Secretary*
CHARLES JONES, WARREN ASHBY, CHARLES MCCOY } *Finance Chairmen*
T. B. COWAN, *Publications Chmn.*
BENJAMIN MAYS
LOUISE MCKINNEY
GREIG RITCHIE
ALVA TAYLOR

FRIENDS OF THE SOIL
EUGENE SMATHERS, *Chairman*
FRANCIS DRAKE, *Field Secretary*

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
MAYNARD CATCHINGS, *Christian Fellowship*
ROSALIE OAKES AND DAVID BURGESS, *Labor*
W. L. GREENE, *Research*
RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

October 22, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

The Fellowship Student Conference which was originally scheduled for this month and at which you had agreed to speak, has now been set for the weekend of November 26-28 at Atlanta University.

We hope very much indeed that you, Dr. Walter Chivers, and Mr. Alexander Miller will be able to participate in the symposium which had been planned for the conference before it was postponed. As you will remember, this is to be a symposium on "The Southern Scene As It Affects College Students", including a discussion of events of the past year in the South affecting colleges and college students. We will want it to be held on Saturday morning, November 27, at 9 a.m., and we hope that all of you will be able to attend the other meetings of the conference.

May we hear from you soon as to whether this new date suits you? If it does, will you again get in touch with Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Miller so any further plans for the symposium can be made.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton
Nelle Morton
General Secretary

NM/cbl

11- Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
Box 577
Chapel Hill, N.C.

January 2, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

In regard to a reprint of Stetson Kennedy's article, "No Prayers for the Klan," which we contemplated using in PROPHETIC RELIGION, the replies from the various groups did not warrant a plan for reprinting it. We thought you would like to know.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

Nelle Morton

11 - Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

July 6, 1948

Miss Nelle Morton, General Secretary
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Post Office Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Morton:

We should be glad to buy two hundred copies of Stetson Kennedy's article when, as and if you print it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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WARREN ASHBY, *Treasurer*
NELLE MORTON, *General Secretary*
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T. B. COWAN, *Publications Chmn.*
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W. L. GREENE, *Research*
RICHARD COMFORT, *Rural Reconstruction*
CHARLES MCCOY, *World Peace*

July 1, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 2
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Stetson Kennedy has submitted to PROPHETIC RELIGION an excellent article entitled "No Prayers for the Klan". We have not been able to use it in PROPHETIC RELIGION, but hope to in an early issue. Thiss will be particularly pertinent in view of the new and large demonstration of the Klan planned for July 23 on Stone Mountain and in view of the recent split within the Klan itself.

Stetson Kennedy has suggested that perhaps you might be interested in using reprints of this article. If you could use these through your organization, about how many would you desire?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

June 20, 1950

Miss Nelle Morton
The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Rt 3 Box 174
Bluff City
Tenn.

Dear Nelle:

I lost for a time your letter of May 22, for which I am sorry.

My Research Director and my Director of Information got married the other day and are off to the mountains, and my staff is next to nil. And few of us are able-bodied enough to be of much help on camp building, but I do wish some of us could take part.

We will most eagerly want to use the new facilities when everybody else's hard work has put them up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
CHARLES JONES
CHAIRMAN
MAYNARD CATCHINGS
VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. NEAL HUGHLEY
TREASURER
WARREN ASHBY
FINANCE CHAIRMAN
T. B. COWAN
EUGENE COX
GEORGE MAYHEW
IRENE HARRIS

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EUGENE SMATHERS
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GEORGE WORTH
STUDENT WORK
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STUDENT WORK PROJECTS
NELLE MORTON
LOCAL GROUPS
WILLIAM BANNER
SEGREGATION IN CHURCHES
BEN SEGAL
CHURCH-LABOR COOPERATION
DAVID BURGESS
FELLOWSHIP CENTER
RAY SHORT
WORLD PEACE
WALDO BEACH
SEMINARY COOPERATION

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

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POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

May 22, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell,
63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

I have thought of you much this Spring and wondered how the Southern Regional Council is weathering the storm. I do hope you have come through in the way you hoped to.

My year at home has given the Fellowship a chance to catch up financially and begin a nest egg for the next Secretary whom we hope to employ by late fall. Also it has given the Fellowship a chance to prove itself in its membership participation. It is really quite wonderful how things have carried through this year with many people working and working hard.

We have just finished the best Executive Committee meeting we have ever had and decided there to get in touch with the various southern organizations who were originally interested in our development of the Conference center at Swannanoa. The workcamp will begin June 30th, some details of which are on the enclosed sheet and we wonder if you are in a position or would be interested in sending a representative to this camp which will do the initial work in clearing grounds and in starting a building. Dave McVoy our architect and a professor at Florida University will direct the building part, Tom Donnelly the group life and Jo Stewart will be business manager and do the buying.

It would be good to have someone from the Council participate from the beginning in this project. Will you let me know what you think possible?

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Morton
Nelle Morton

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1950
Southern Regional Council

DO YOU WANT --

____ A summer vacation you will never forget?

____ A chance to work with your hands at a job that is physically hard but of far-reaching (religious and) social value?

____ Two months when you can really come to know other students in work, worship, and play?

____ An opportunity to explore the deeper meanings of work, worship, and group life?

THEN consider the WORK CAMP which the FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN is sponsoring THIS SUMMER.

At SWANNANOA, North Carolina, on the 385 acre piece of land the Fellowship has bought for its future Center, twelve college men and two adult leaders will begin building.

THE WORK will consist of clearing the land, constructing a central building, and building a road.

Architect DAVID McVOY, who designed the buildings, will direct the construction. There will also be a director in charge of camp life, programs, worship, and recreation.

~~DATES -- June 30 to August 25~~
COST -- $90

Apply to: Box 577
Chapel Hill,
N. C.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

"...To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

HOWARD KESTER, *Executive Secretary*
BLACK MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1952

September 29, 1952

Dear George:

Because of the extreme importance of the program mapped by the annual conference at Mars Hill, the Executive Committee has asked me to write to each member and friend of the Fellowship with a view to acquainting you with the plans for 1952-53 and enlisting your active financial support and backing.

While the conference was notable in numerous respects, its trade mark was at once a broad but detailed methodology for realizing those Christian ideals of plenty, justice and brotherhood which through the years have made the Fellowship a vital force in the religious life of America. If the day comes when we can look back and say, "Mars Hill was an historic conference," it will be because you made it possible for us to clothe these impractical-practical Christian ideals in flesh and blood programs where man meets man, and the ideas that are eternal take command over ideas that are just plain stubborn.

Here in brief is the kernel of the program.
(1) A good many folk have long held that when the problem of race relations is really cracked, it will be done by Southerners. By the grace of God, some of us have seen a few cracks appear in this "wall of partition;" we have seen a few walls go tumbling down but more importantly, we are witnessing the laying of new foundations. But the tempo of change at the point where Christian forces must come to grips with the problem must now be accelerated or the consequences, both here in the South and across the world, may be such that they cannot be borne by our children--the day will have been lost!

At this moment no frontier is more important than that of the Christian, or church related, college, which for one reason or another (and we do not sit in judgment upon them) has fallen behind the state supported college in opening its doors to Negroes. It is at this point that we believe we can render a distinctive and perhaps historic service. In an effort to help our church related schools more in this important direction, the Fellowship has appointed a competent and qualified body of men and women to work quietly but diligently on this problem. Given ten years, or even five years, of steady effort, vast changes might take place at this salient point.

(2) Through three area conferences (Raleigh or Richmond, Atlanta, and Nashville) we will bring together at least 500 pastors to meet with faculty representatives from schools of religion across the country. In each of these conferences,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NEAL HUGHLEY *Chairman*
CHARLES JONES *Vice-Chairman*
SADIE HUGHLEY *Treasurer*
MAYNARD CATCHINGS
T. B. COWAN
RICHARD MCKINNEY
NELLE MORTON
COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
J. C. HERRIN *Finance*
L. A. HARPER
MRS. L. A. HARPER *Publications*
ANNE QUEEN *Student Work*
ROBERT BARRUS *Student Work Projects*
MURRAY BRANCH *Local Groups*
BEN SEGAL *Church- Labor Cooperation*
DAVID BURGESS *Fellowship Center*
CHARLES MCCOY *Seminary Cooperation*
BILL PARKER *Summer Conference*
MCLEOD BRYAN *Cooperation With Churches*
FRIENDS OF THE SOIL
EUGENE SMATHERS *Chairman*
FRANCIS DRAKE *Field Secretary*

proven and down-to-earth methods for creative Christian change in the field of race relations, economics and politics at the community level will be the order of business. At the same time, we will be able to provide those responsible for the training of pastors with first hand information regarding the day-to-day problems encountered by the local pastor and to provide for these "criers in the social wilderness" not only a forum and a fellowship but a few well traveled highways toward the better ordering of our lives and our societies.

(3) The reshaping of social forces is perhaps hardest at the community level but it is at the grass roots that the work must be done. To this end we must build our local groups into effective and responsible units and bring into the Fellowship both locally and regionally those persons who will help us achieve the rugged purposes of a Christian society.

(4) I have been asked to bring the message of the Fellowship to scores of communities and colleges this year. This can be done to the degree that your secretary is released from the necessity of begging money with which to support your own vital program.

(5) The Fellowship voted to hold its 1953 annual conference at the Fellowship Center near Swannanoa. That, in a nutshell, indicates that some living quarters are now available and that we are determined to provide the minimum necessities for a full-fledged gathering of our members by August 1953.

Obviously, there is much more that must and will be done, but these five main tasks--not to mention the fine work to be done by Friends of the Soil--if secured and nailed down, will give the Fellowship a new foothold in the spiritual life of the South. But little of the above can be done without your stout financial support. We need at least $5,000.00 to get these projects going now and to move without fear into 1953. I have no hesitancy in asking for your support for after many years of knocking on many doors, I have the feeling that THIS IS IT. This is the program toward which you and I have been working. Now let us, as a Secretary of State once told a President of Yale, "roll up our socks and get to it."

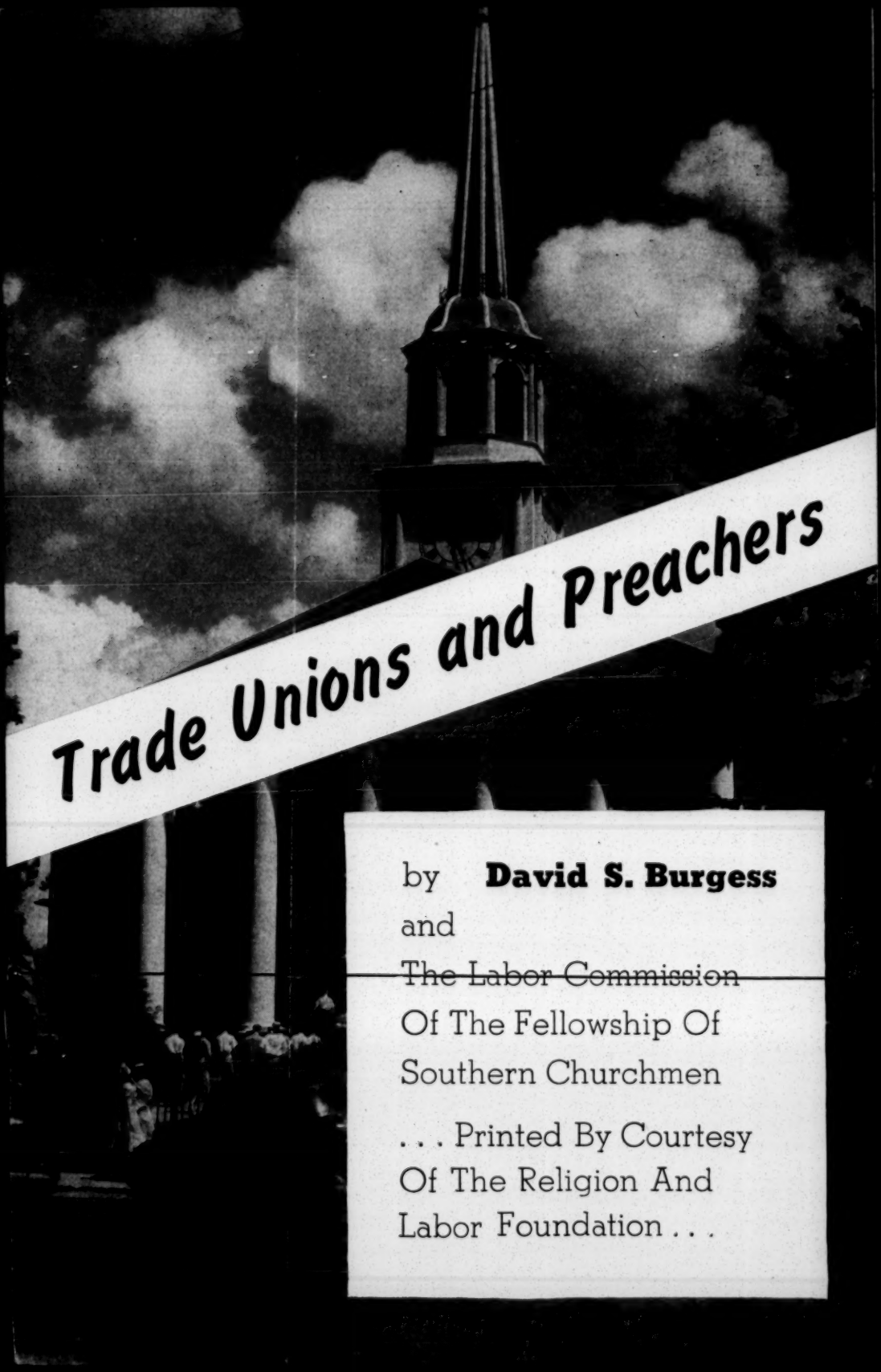
This is primarily for your information. I will be Atlanta-way soon and hope to see you in the flesh - Our warm regards.

B—

Sincerely yours,

Buck

Howard Kester



Trade Unions and Preachers

by **David S. Burgess**
and
The Labor Commission
Of The Fellowship Of
Southern Churchmen

. . . Printed By Courtesy
Of The Religion And
Labor Foundation . . .

S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L

63 AUBURN AVE. N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
WOMEN CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE COURTS

BULLETIN NO. 1

Today in the office of the Southern Regional Council are card index files of the names of over three thousand women who have pledged to sit in the courts to see how law is administered in their communities and to give support to law enforcement agencies. These women are in our large Southern cities, - Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Louisville and others; they live in county seats and in rural communities such as Dewey Rose, R. F. D.

Have you visited your court? Have you sent the story of your visit to the Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga?

THE REPORTS THAT HAVE COME IN ARE VARIED. Several have written that - "It is well for church people to sit in the courts for the judge and the jury need the support of the church. They have plenty of pressure from other forces". As an illustration we have this, "Our judge was elected on a promise that he would punish to the limit of the law all drunken drivers brought before him. He did not fulfill this promise, so we got some ministers to go with us to sit in the court when some of these cases were coming on the calendar. When the judge saw us he said to us, "this is the first time I have had any support from you who elected me. I have had plenty of pressure from the other side."

WE QUOTE OTHER EXCERPTS: "We found our court gave us a picture of our community we did not know existed." "The court mirrors human tragedy and human need. Sit in them and you will find jobs the church must do in its own neighborhood". "Visit the court and you will find a new field of action awaiting you. You will find people that need you - A friend at court is always needed". Sometimes it is needed to find a scholarship to send a boy or girl away from home environment. One group found two college girls before a judge charged with being drunk on the streets. These girls had no money for the fine and were going to accept the sentence of thirty days at the prison farm rather than let their parents know. Just what their fate might have been if church women had not been present to help out, it is not hard to picture.

INARTICULATE PEOPLE standing voiceless and helpless before judges have brought in the request that efforts be made to have Public Defenders and social workers attached to every city court.

JURY SERVICE HAS COME TO BE OF CONCERN TO VISITING GROUPS. A suggestion has been made that there should be some educational qualification for those who serve on juries. Talking to a judge about this, he said, "There ought to be other requirements also. In a panel of sixty names given me from which to draw twelve 'good and tried men', I found twelve of them had been convicted of felonies.

THE PRESENCE OF THE CHURCH WOMEN IN THE COURTS MAY HAVE PROVIDED STRENGTH AND COURAGE. They have been present when civil rights of the accused might have been in danger and have sent us in reports of fair and just trials. They do not claim that their presence was responsible but they did say, "We thanked both the judge and the jury and told them we had high respect for the court".

SOMETIMES COURAGEOUS ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN. In a collision between cars driven by a Negro and an officer of the law at the convergence of two highways, the wife of the officer was killed. Both the officer and the Negro were hurt and both were taken to the hospital. The town newspaper carried an inflamatory story against the Negro and the circuit judge announced over the radio that the Negro would be tried for murder. A church group went to the scene of the accident and saw that the officer had run over a "Stop" sign and it was very clear that the officer and not the Negro was at fault. They called on the newspaper to change the story and they went to see the judge. They called the employer of the Negro's wife who said to them, "There's nothing that can be done. You will get some cheap lawyer who will do nothing". "No", they replied, "we will get the best lawyer in the county and we will not pay him for he is as much responsible as we for justice in this county. They did secure the lawyer and the Negro will not be punished for a wreck he did not cause.

VISITS TO COURTS LEAD TO MANY LINES OF ACTION.

The Atlanta Council of Church Women found that housing played quite a part in the city's crime record. Through the aid of one of the Atlanta papers, a tour of slum areas was made. The paper carried the pictures and the story. Then a co-ordinating council of all the women's organizations of the city was formed to face the housing problems. The result - a Slum Clearance Committee was appointed in the city council and splendid work has been done.

From a mill village we have the following story: "About six of us have visited our court; two of us have helped with juvenile cases. Three of our women voted for the first time, though middle aged, and others took colored women to vote. Four of us helped our Community House children entertain the colored nursery children".

We have other calls for women who are "concerned" and whenever the calls come, we go to the files for names and put through a call and women answer the call for extra work. It was necessary to have the voice of a white woman to speak before the county commissioners in the interest of a Negro housing project. We called one of the "Fellowship of the Concerned". She replied, "I know that I should do it, but my neighbors are against it - I'll do it". On the day of the hearing, she was the first to speak and spoke so forthrightly that no opposing voice was lifted and the project went through. When she told us about it, she said, "I prayed and prayed and I never had such an experience; it was a spiritual rebirth".

中國農村復興聯合委員會
JOINT COMMISSION ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION
Union Building, Paoching Road, Taipei, Taiwan
CABLE ADDRESS 8515 TELEPHONE 8611-6

JCRR-54-0098

January 6, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 11
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 21 requesting a copy of Arthur Raper's report "Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise". Unfortunately the first English language edition of 500 copies is exhausted, and it will be another two months before a new supply will be available. As soon as copies are received from the publisher, we will immediately forward one to you. I am sure you will find it of unusual interest. We are only too glad to send you this copy in view of your interest in the work and are herewith returning your stamps.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Tippin
Commissioner

Str returned for address?

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Mr. Fiszman came in w/ this letter

Mr. Joseph R. Fiszman
~~Gershon Printing Company~~
~~116 Mitchell Street, S. W.~~
~~Atlanta, Georgia~~

Dear Mr. Fiszman:

Many thanks for The New Leader article, which I enjoyed and thought pretty right and not untimely.

I am sorry you and your wife will be going away. I am at home through June 2nd only, and on the 3rd I am gone until the 13th. I do wish the two of you would come see us before you go.

And do come back!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dear Dr. Mitchel

This is the article I spoke to you about — I wrote it as a pre-ruling piece but it came out — you know when (couldn't they wait a week?) The editorial however improves + completes where I failed.

We are going to N.Y. in the middle of June + would like to see you very much before we go. We might return next year since Atlanta University offered me some field of expression.

Best regards to all the family. The best from Rae.

Sincerely
Yoe Finkelstein

5/27/54

GERSHON PRINTING COMPANY
Office Supplies
116 MITCHELL ST., S. W. WA. 7009

June 17, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fissman
4414 Cayuga Avenue
Riverdale 71, New York

Dear Folks!

Glad you are going to be back in Atlanta. Come to see the Mitchells!

Everybody's busy, but having a good time doing it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

6/4/54

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Received your note per chance while I came up to the office to say good-bye before leaving for summer. We will be back in September (after all!) and intend to get in touch with you then.
The best to your wife, your daughters + – to you, of course.
We hope you will enjoy your vacation.

Cordially
Joseph Fisman

New York address:
4414 Cayuga Avenue
Riverdale 71, New York

all the best!
Rae F.

October 4, 1954

Mr. Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center, Inc.
Ellen Glasgow House
One West Main Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

I am honored to be asked to be part of the panel for the Richmond Public Forum April 25th, 1955, and have put it on my calendar. I am not an expensive traveller, and I don't think it will break you to pay for getting me to Richmond and back.

My own best suggestion for another panel member would be Professor C. H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville. When Louisville Municipal College and the University of Louisville were consolidated years ago, Mr. Parrish was the one Negro professor carried over into the new institution. He is mature -- 55 perhaps -- widely travelled in the South on just this matter of the schools, a sociologist in field, a statesman in mind; he is scholarly, affiliated with no particular agitative program, in no one's harness, fully loyal to the Negro cause, but wise and constructive in his proposals. Others in Kentucky who could give you a line on him are Sanders, the Sociologist at the University of Kentucky, or Butler, the State Superintendent of Schools at Frankfort, or almost anybody you would consult in Kentucky.

Mr. R. B. Atwood at Kentucky State College would be another suitable choice. So, quite particularly, would be President A. W. Dent at Dillard. Others to be thought over would be Professor Mozell Hill, in sociology at Atlanta University, or President Rufus Clement, Atlanta ~~University, or Mrs. Bonita Valien at Fisk University. But Parrish would~~ be the one I urge.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. This far ahead, I am not necessarily wedded to April 25 (though I have marked it on my calendar) and if, for the needs of others, the date should be shifted, I could certainly fit into what you might settle upon. But let me know.

RICHMOND AREA UNIVERSITY CENTER, INCORPORATED
ELLEN GLASGOW HOUSE, ONE WEST MAIN ST., RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

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October 1, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Richmond Area University Center supports, as one of its projects, the Richmond Public Forum. We are in the process of arranging the program for next year. One of the lectures is subsidized as the Cecil Scott Memorial Lecture. The Cecil Scott Committee would like for this year, as their part of the program, to set up a panel discussion on the question of racial relations, particularly with regard to the Negro in the south today. It is the unanimous desire of the committee that this panel should consist of you, Curtis Dixon of the Southern Education Foundation, Harry S. Ashmore, author of THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOL, and a non-Virginian Negro in the field of education, recommended by you or by the other panel members. The overall topic for the panel discussion would be "Future Racial Relations in the South".

All of the Forum meetings are thrown open at the end for questions from the audience. Virginius Dabney, Editor of the Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH, would preside. We would plan a dinner in your honor at the Commonwealth Club before the meeting, and would like to entertain for you informally here at Glasgow House afterwards. The date we had in mind was Monday, April 25th, 1955, but this is not a fixture and could be shifted to suit the panel. The Forum is not a wealthy organization, but we would be delighted to cover all of your expenses from Atlanta to Richmond and return, and offer you hospitality during your stay with us.

I think this would be a most important and timely discussion, and in the hands of such an able panel, a very profitable and worthwhile one. I express the sentiment of our entire group when I tell you how earnestly I hope you will be able to accept this invitation.

Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Administrator

P.S. Since I am eager to complete these arrangements as soon as possible I should appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

HWKF/nr

Yours,

Appr. & 5th

October 27, 1954

Mr. Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center
Ellen Glasgow House
One West Main Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

Here is a glossy. Declaimed by my wife and all here in the office, but I think it is a good likeness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

etc

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October 19, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
10/20/54
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 4th. We are delighted that you will be able to join the panel to discuss "Future Racial Relations in the South" for the Richmond Public Forum.

It seems as though the date Monday, April 25th, 1955, will hold, but I will confirm all these arrangements within the next couple of weeks.

At your earliest convenience, will you please send me your photograph, preferably a glossy print. We will need it in two weeks when we begin publicity for our overall program.

Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Administrator

HWKF/nr

December 21, 1954

Mrs. Hilda G. Finney
53 Sommers Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mrs. Finney:

Nice of you to come up to the ILGU.

I still think you have got hold of something mighty useful, and I hope you and your friends will push it through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

63 Somers Street
Brooklyn 33, N, Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Of the Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Abbey Hotel
151 West 51st Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Mitchell :

Two years ago, I came to New York with the express purpose of writing some material to foster better relations between whites and Negroes in America, while supporting myself in some kind of part-time work. My research on this project was then best expressed in the Declaration of Human Rights Article 26, Section 2. While thus looking for material at the United Nations, I was invited to fill a vacancy at the United Nations International School, where I had the opportunity to lift my concept of races from a bilateral to a multilateral level. I taught there for two years.

I am now devoting all my time-sink or swim, in compiling a technique whereby we (the upper elementary school) can study ABOUT each other while studying WITH each other, thereby creating WITHIN ourselves a basis for ACCEPTANCE. I am now 1/5 finished, by working nights and week-ends since being in New York. The Supreme Court Decision has made this project immediately necessary.

I spoke to Judge Waring at the luncheon of the NCRS and he suggested in writing and personally that I contact you at the Council about the possibility of finishing this project in less time than an individual could do it alone, due to the needs of the time.

I am enclosing comments about what was felt about my idea at that time (1952). The improvements I have made I feel has now improved it- however, teaching everyday, has kept me from its completion.

Dr. Elder of ILGU knows of Judge' Waring's advice that I see you, and has joined his interest in a conference with you, if you can possibly spare the time while in New York. He suggested that I come to his office early Thursday morning before you speak to his class and be prepared to stay a while if you agreed to see me. I do not wish to imply that Dr. Elder was in any way imposing upon your time, we were both just trying to make use of an opportunity if presented.

In closing a I ask that you give me the opportunity to have a conference with you at Dr . Elder's office Thursday. I will be there at 9:3o and prepared to stay after your conference with him, without any interferance.

Please keep in mind that I seek this opportunity, not exactly for myself, but with the view that if youngsters can be lead to come to wholesome conclusions for themselves, the lessons of the next generation will be well learned.

The enclosed excerpts from comments to leaders may remind you of a former letter I wrote you.

Sincerely,

Hilda G. Finney

(Mrs.) Hilda G, Finney

COMMENTS FROM NATIONAL LEADERS

QUESTION: Do you believe th t the proposed HANDBOOK FOR TEACHERS will enrich our cultural heritage and help improve human relations in America?

EXCERPTS FROM ANSWERS:

"Teachers are itching to get things that will make tangible the whole business of Negro worth and dignity.....Goodness knows we need it most, here in the South."
Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

"...I very definitely share your belief that these techniques, assembled into a handbook, would prove to be most useful media in inter-cultural education."
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche - UNITED NATIONS

"This type of work needs to be taught in every class room."
Mrs. Dorothy Tilly, Member-President's Committee on Civil Rights

"I am intrigued by your photographs and methods....."
Dr. Francis J. Brown- American Council on Education

"...in the hope that she will further better understanding among young people.
Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt- UN Commission on Human Rights

"...would greatly help in establishing deeper understanding among the races..... and thus open a way for a just and social order."
Dr. Franklin D. Cogswell, General Director
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Many others....

"ow the need is GREATER

March 21, 1955

Mr. Ted V. Fisher
3778 Narmore Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fisher:

Mighty kind indeed of you to share in what the Council and its Georgia Committee do.

We only get things done through people like you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official receipt - $20.00

April 21, 1955

Mr. Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center, Inc.
Ellen Glasgow House
One West Main Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

Many thanks for your letter of April 18th. I will be taking the Seaboard train up from Atlanta Sunday night, April 24th. I shouldn't be surprised by what I will use the morning of April 25th to drop down into Williamsburg to see my daughter. But I will be back in at the YWCA for the Monday afternoon dinner at 6 North Fifth Street, which I take to be around 6:00 p.m.

I expect to sleep the night of the 25th at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Tucker Carrington in West Hampton.

I have so much I want to say I am having a very hard time squeezing it down into ten minutes. But I am still squeezing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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April 18, 1955

APR 19 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is just a note to remind you that we are looking forward to the panel discussion on "Future Racial Relations in the South" before the Richmond Public Forum next Monday, April 25. As you know, you are discussing this matter with Professor C. H. Parrish, Dr. Curtis Dixon, and Mr. Harry S. Ashmore. The Cecil Scott Committee have arranged a dinner on Monday evening for the members of the panel in order that they may discuss the presentation of points and other matters pertinent to the lecture. The dinner will be held at the Y.W.C.A., which is located in Richmond at 6 North Fifth Street.

I understand the committee have left you free to make your own arrangements with regard to where you are to stay. If you would like to have the matter taken care of by this office, we would be delighted to do so.

We are looking forward to next Monday night.
Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Administrator

HWKF/mvo

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February 25, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FEB 26 1955

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

It was a great delight meeting you earlier this week. Your picture arrived this morning, and again I say that I think your wife is right. I am very pleased with your suggestion about Professor Parrish, and we all look forward to the Forum meeting on April 25. You, Dr. Dixon, Professor Parrish, and Mr. Ashmore will constitute the panel. The over-all topic is: "Future Racial Relations in the South".

Until then, believe me

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Administrator

HWKF/mvo

February 23, 1955

Mr. Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center
Ellen Glasgow House
One West Main Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

I have just got back some cuts of the better picture -- the best. If a cut will do you, fine. If you need a glossy, say so and we will send it.

Glad you got Parrish. He will do well.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

encl

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May 4, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 5 1955

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

May I express the thanks of the Richmond Public Forum for the splendid talk you gave us on the panel last week, and for the brilliant manner in which you handled the questions from the floor.

I am sorry that there was a minor disturbance during the evening. The only way to satisfy that crack-pot would be to provide a panel, two members of which believed in chattel slavery, and two members who harbored some doubts about it.

Whenever you are in Richmond, I hope that you will stop by my office. It was a delight to come to know you.

Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Administrator

HWKF/mvo

P. S. The Cecil Scott Memorial committee will forward your check to you very shortly.

May 10, 1955

Colonel Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

Many thanks for the News Leader clipping, and the able defense.

We heard from family friends in Ashland who said that they hadn't been able to get to the speechmaking, but if the News Leader was against what was said it must have been good.

I will settle for that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RICHMOND AREA UNIVERSITY CENTER

MAY 10 1955

-FOR YOUR INFORMATION, AND BECAUSE I THOUGHT IT MIGHT INTEREST YOU.

SINCERELY,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy

HERBERT W. K. FITZROY
ADMINISTRATOR

HWKF/mvo

May 17, 1955

Mr. Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center
Ellen Glasgow House
One West Main Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

Very many thanks for the check for $59.21. Duly into the coffer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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May 11, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 13 1955

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

592 rbc

Enclosed is our check covering your very modest expense account for the trip to Richmond. Again, let me thank you for giving of your time and talent as you did. The best thing that we can do is to keep discussion alive, and that you helped us to do.

Believe me

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy

Herbert W. K. Fitzroy
Administrator

HWKF/mvo

Enclosure

May 31, 1956

Mrs. Ada M. Field
New Garden Road
Route 1
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Field:

I have read with close attention and warm liking your two letters to Senator Ervin, and the letter to Mr. Smiley.

I like them very much.

The only answer to the uninformedness is truth and reason and gentleness. Keep using these right answers.

While I have only looked through them, I suppose that the best booklets on race are those put out by the United Nations and listed here: Race and Culture, Race and Biology, Race and Psychology, Racial Myths, The Roots of Prejudice, Race and History, Race and Society, The Significance of Racial Differences, Race Mixture, The Race Concept, Racial Equality and the Law, The Catholic Church and the Race Question.

I read somewhere the other day that the real reason why India stayed in the British Commonwealth was that enough British people had shown themselves understanding of the point of view of the Indian people, and identified themselves with it. So when the strain came the people of India were not against all British people, they were only against some. And when politically, the Indians had triumphed, they were willing to stay in.

I should not be surprised but that fifteen years from now -- maybe fifty -- some of these Southern towns will erect monuments to people who similarly held things together in this period of strain.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED MAY 22 1956

New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College, N.C.
May 18, 1956

Dear George Mitchell:

Do you have time to take a look at these two letters and tell me whether you think I have anything of value there? Senator Ervin replied to the first letter by a strong (and sound) support of the unchanging character of a constitution, except as change is made in the manner specified in the constitution itself. To all of which, of course, I agreed, but re-marshalled my material (first presented as "new evidence") into a "changed definition of the word race due to advance in scientific knowledge." Both sides carry on the arguments as if there had not been a particle of change in knowledge about races in the past seventy years or so, and that seems to me rather stupid. And yet, I am not so sure that the needed information has been sufficiently accessible. Mr. Ervin's reply to my second letter said only that I had presented my argument clearly and that he appreciated my keeping it on the intellectual level. This was, of course, courteous and non-committal enough for any good politician. Still I wondered. Had he thought of this as purely a matter of law, with nothing else involved? There are too many fine people who are taking that same kind of position; there is a factor involved that we have not yet dealt with, I believe. Maybe they are not altogether to blame, maybe we have missed a key item. Is there something there? Now don't tell me there are numbers of non-technical booklets on race. I know that, but are there any <u>adequate</u> ones? Embree's "Peoples of the Earth" is the best I know, but it is lacking on the biological and psychological side. We need <u>all</u> the phases.

The "opposition" must be desperate when they try to tag you communist. They don't even know they are funny. Do you know Robert Lee Humber's story on that charge? I love it. Mr. Humber was to go by train through Nashville, with a fifteen minute stop there, so he asked a journalist friend to come to the train. His friend said: "We haven't much time but I do want to ask one question. Has the Chicago Tribune called you a communist yet?" "Oh yes, several times," said Mr. Humber. "Recently?" his friend persisted. "Yes, last week." His friend shook his hand warmly and said: "Good! Now I know you are getting something done." So, - congratulations!

Maybe I am getting "hot and bothered" needlessly but I am worried about the folks who attribute the inspiration of the Montgomery bus boycott to Gandhi. I am also enclosing herewith a letter to Glenn Smiley on what F.O.R. is doing or the way some of it is being done, and I would greatly appreciate your opinion. I have resigned from the Fellowship of Reconciliation on account of this, because it seems to me they could cause serious trouble, although the men actually in the South are understanding of the conditions, I believe.

Very sincerely yours,

Ada M. Field

New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College, N.C.
May 14, 1956

Dear Glenn Smiley:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 26, with enclosure of reprint from the Lewiston, Idaho, Morning Tribune. I do not question in the least either the purpose or the devotion of the F.O.R. in its work in the South, but I still question its methods. It is probably impossible for an American to escape fully the spirit of our times:- We have been so thoroughly imbued with the idea of leadership that we find it most difficult to cooperate or to enter into the plans of others, or to realize the importance of encouraging the emerging leadership of others.

Montgomery is significant for two fundamental reasons, as I see it.

(1). For the place of the religion of Jesus in life. Fundamentalism and formalism constitute too much of the Christianity of the "Bible belt" which is the South. Fundamentalism is the stronghold alike of militarism and racism. The Negro ministers have long been the wisest leaders of their people. They are the natural leaders both in securing the racial justice they seek and in revitalizing religion, - the religion of Jesus. I thoroughly agree with the F.O.R. effort to bridge the common great principles of all ethical religions into a basis of working together, but why cannot F.O.R. see that this is not the time nor the place for that? Jesus and Gandhi alike remained with their own religion, and brought out from the sacred writings of their religion the great fundamental truths which had become overlaid and obscured by "interpretations", and they confronted the religious leaders of their own times with these basic truths, and lived them themselves. To be a worthy follower either of Jesus or of Gandhi means, as I see it, to "go and do likewise." One expects the daily press to consider Gandhi the inspiration for Montgomery, because the daily press does not know much about the teachings of Jesus, I fear. Harold Fey, editor of the Christian Century, states in the report of his visit to Montgomery that he asked Martin Luther King whether they were following Gandhi's methods. Dr. King replied that he himself knew of Gandhi's work, but that most of the people never even heard of Gandhi, but they knew their New Testaments. What then of the current number of "Fellowship" which heads Dr. King's article with an enlarged face of Gandhi back of the face of the Christian minister? This is not only to depart from the methods of Jesus and also of Gandhi, it is to put into the hands of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan a ready made weapon with which to rouse fanatical fundamentalists to oppose a foreign religious leader and Hinduism.

(2). One of the reasons why white people really believe that they belong to a superior race is because they know only the servant class of Negroes. Too many of them have never even met their own opposite numbers in the professions, in the leadership of industry, etc. What Bayard Ruston quotes the mayor of Montgomery as saying, "All I have to say is that they (the Negroes) have better leadership than we have", could be said in wonderment by untold numbers of white people all over the South, - and maybe beyond. Even of what we call "biracial meetings" too many are organized and planned by white people and the Negroes are just invited to come. It is easy to tell when Negroes are an integral part of the enterprise, are "at home" in the meeting. In this state the N.C. Council of Churches is an example of an enterprise where Negroes are "at home." We need deeply more real cooperation between white and Negro leaders, and it is important that whatever we whites do to help the Negroes of Montgomery shall not in any way impair the recognition of their initiative. You know, of course, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and its promotion of acquaintance and cooperation among white and Negro leaders in various fields. Freedom cannot be "conferred" from without, it must be achieved by those who would be free; and the essential requirement of that achievement is the exercise of the responsibility which is necessary to all freedom. Montgomery is demonstrating that ability and responsibility for all the world to see. In unostentatious humility and quiet understanding we can help Montgomery, and help spread <u>their</u> message and <u>their</u> methods, as I think you are doing. And I shall be glad to cooperate with any individual who is doing that kind of helping. The F.O.R. has said too many things which indicate a failure to appreciate what is needed here. Officially I feel it would lessen my usefulness to be identified with F.O.R.

There is another factor involved here which concerns the popularizing of the main facts developed regarding race in the past fifty years. Because those developments are in half a dozen different fields of scholarship it is very difficult for one person to evaluate them and shape them into a convincing whole. It is not so much the "dyed-in-the-wool" fanatics and demagogues who are our danger; it is the solid, respected citizens who just do not know that the definition of race has changed in the past seventy years about as much as the definition of an atom. Most of the popularizing which has been done has been by sociologists, and sociology itself is too young a science to carry the popular honor which would be accorded to the older fields in which most of the solid advances have been made. This point is developed further in the two letters to our Senator Sam J. Ervin, copies enclosed. I think the men of law are sincere in holding the unchangeability of <u>principles</u>, - and they are right. Where they go wrong is in failing to recognize change in the state of practical knowledge in which the general principles have to be applied.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College, N.C.
March 20, 1956

Hon. Sam J. Ervin
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Ervin:

I appreciate sincerely your kind reply of February 23 to my letter of February 20, 1956.

As I understand your quotation from Thomas M. Coolgy's writing on the Constitution, I fully agree with it. Certainly a constitution must state general principles, not the details of their practical application to concrete situations; and certainly the intention of the constitution must be unchanging except as change is made by the agencies designated by the constitution itself. I hope we also agree that the Federal Constitution must be applied to practical situations, or be interpreted, by a Federal agency, as the Constitution provides, and not left to the confusion of a possible fortyeight different interpretations by the fortyeight "sovereign" states. The meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment must be the same now as when it was enacted,- that there shall be no discrimination among United States citizens because of race.

But the Constitution, wisely, does not define the word "race", yet the factual content, the practical meaning, of that word is basic to any practical interpretation or application of the principles of the Fourteenth Amendment to actual situations. While Constitutional principles do not change, practical knowledge advances, and the courts cannot be used in a free country to stop or turn backward the advance of knowledge and discovery. Eighty years ago all the available knowledge seemed to support the belief that Negroes and Indians were inherently inferior in intelligence to white people, and also, as I pointed out in my previous letter, that women were intellectually inferior to men. Therefore, it would be neither just nor kind to either group if these mentally inferior children were placed in the same classes with the inherently superior white male children. Fortunately for women, the discrimination against them educationally became very little established in law, and hence it was only necessary to demonstrate, in separate schools and colleges, that women had the required mental ability; and now coeducation of the sexes is the established practice in public schools generally.

Unfortunately, the idea of a superior white race, which was considered valid even fifty years ago, did become established in law in a number of states. Unfortunately also, the age-old confusion persists between the place and significance of civil law and of scientific advance in knowledge.

In my opinion, much of the misunderstanding of the Supreme Court's action against segregation arises from the fact that, while the Court had before it the full findings of scholarly work in the six or more fields concerned with race, there has not even yet been any really adequate summing up of those findings in popular terms for the public. The science of sociology is to be commended for having studied those findings and summarized conclusions therefrom for its own use, but even sociology has not made sufficiently clear to others what those findings are, who made them, nor how they reinforce each other in showing that actual racial differences have been reduced to such rather superficial things as color of skin and eyes, facial contour, and texture and color of hair.

The public cannot be blamed for questioning statements which are not adequately supported by proven facts. And the findings regarding race are still too largely confined to the professional journals of anthropology and archaeology, of biology and medicine, of history, psychology and educational tests and measurements. In these journals they are necessarily expressed in the professional language of that field of knowledge, and so are about as intelligible to the general public as so much Arabic would be. The putting of this scientific and historical material on race into popular form is a public duty which should long ago have been performed by cooperation between the departments concerned with the subject in our great independent private universities and the agents of popular information, - the public press and the radio. No matter if our feelings are deeply involved, I believe that the majority of Southerners are willing to face the objective facts about race if they are adequately presented, in non-technical language, and in the media which reach everybody.

New scientific findings should not be accepted too hastily, but I believe that if you will carefully examine the original data on which the Supreme Court based its definition of the meaning of the word "race" at the present time, you will find that the length of time involved in accumulating the data, the number of fields of study which contributed, the scholarly standing of the investigators, and the general agreement of findings from the different fields, - that all of these taken together give a validity to the results that cannot be rejected.

Again I thank you for giving your position clearly in your letter of February 23.

Very sincerely,

Ada M. Field

New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College, N.C.
February 20, 1956.

Hon. Sam J. Ervin
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Ervin:

Since I know little about legal matters I hesitate to question the position of an expert in that field. Still I believe that our courts are of such vital importance to every citizen that we should all be concerned about them.

Several times you have been quoted in the news as holding that, in its ruling against segregation in public education, the Supreme Court erred in two respects: (1), by departing from the precedent set by previous rulings of the same body; and, (2), by making its decision on the basis of sociology instead of law.

I agree, of course, that a court should depart from precedent only for sound reasons, and that almost the only sound reason involves new evidence. But surely pertinent new evidence has brought about radical revision of many previously decided cases, and this must be so if the courts are not to become wooden agents of conformity instead of being champions of justice and progress. So it has puzzled me that so little attention has been given, in this supposedly scientific age, to the new evidence regarding race which has accumulated in the more than sixty years since the ruling of "separate but equal" was made.

Maybe I ought to explain here that my field of specialization is in science, - chemistry and biology, - and so I feel somewhat surer of facts here than in the legal field.

The first question regarding new evidence may well be, "Who presents it?" You are quoted as crediting sociology only. Others do also, and it is an easily understandable mistake, because sociology, being the science of human relations, must be concerned with race relations. And sociology has probably done more to popularize the newer discoveries regarding race than has any other agency. But the evidence itself comes from half a dozen or more fields of scholarship, such as biology and medicine, anthropology, psychology, history, educational tests and measurements. In citing biology I mean chiefly human physiology. Probably every qualified scientist would firmly rule out any arguing directly from plant and animal experiments to human beings, - no matter how tempting might be the present emphasis on hybridizing (or "mongrelizing") in improving corn and other plants as well as farm animals. "Always remember that a rat is not a human baby, - and probably never will be," was the unforgettable warning of a world-famous research director to a group of us graduate students at Columbia University.

An example, perhaps the best known one, of the practical use of recent findings in biology and medicine is the action of the Red Cross in abandoning the racial segregation of blood in blood banks. Since the factors which require segregation of blood are the blood "types" and since the same blood types occur in all races it becomes meaningless to segregate blood racially. Many other such biological findings exist, all of them showing the essential similarity of races except in such rather superficial factors as color of skin and eyes, facial contours, and hair color and texture.

The basic question for the schools, however, is whether or not an individual has the intelligence, the aptitude and the attitude to enable him to make normal progress in school. This is an old question, many times fought out on the basis of rank and privelege, and of sex, as well as of race. Two centuries ago the mental inferiority of women was generally accepted in Europe and the colonies, just as it is still accepted in some countries. In the total absence of modern tests of ability and aptitude which could have helped to answer the question quickly, the only way open to women for winning acceptance in schools was through courageous experiments in private tutoring and in separate, and usually very unequal, special schools. But the results, finally culminating in the standard women's colleges and in the older co-educational schools and colleges, have made co-education of the sexes the rule in public education in the United States.

I suppose there is no other evidence more valid than that from experience. The separate educational institutions for women, together with the early co-educational private schools and colleges, not only proved that women had the required intelligence, they also effectively answered another fear, - the fear that co-education of the sexes would lead to undesirable marriages. But the results have showed the opposite to be true. Likewise, the racially mixed schools of the North and West do not, so far as I know the statistics, give evidence of having increased racial intermarriage.

As new evidence before the Supreme Court, then, there is the experience of the past sixty or more years in the separate, but supposedly equal, Negro and Indian schools and colleges, and that of the racially mixed schools of the North. Added to these results of experience are the findings by means of the standardized psychological and educational tests which were practically unknown in the past century. These tests have now showd that what were considered racial differences in mental ability are practically absent when conditions are the same; in other words, that these differences are the result of poverty, illiteracy of parents, poor home conditions, and the resultant poor health and poor moral environment. Private schools can, and usually do, choose their students on the basis of social standing, family ~~family~~ wealth and family education. Public schools may not do this.

As a lifelong teacher, Southern born but with experience in the North and West with students of every race and a dozen different national origins, it seems to me simply impossible for the Supreme Court to ignore this new evidence. Neither should the public ignore it.

Of course we all know that the troublesome issue is not education itself, but the ancient myth of a superior race. In support of this myth the Nazis committed incredible crimes, fought and died. For this the white man has made himself thoroughly hated in every colonial country. For this we cling to the traditions of a century ago, afraid to face any new scientific evidence since the horse and buggy days, no matter how careful, objective and scholarly the methods used in reaching those findings. With every new report ~~in~~ archaeology and anthropology which reveals the wide migration and intermingling of peoples in the past ages; with every statistical report showing a normal performance in business, the professions and elsewhere by other races than our own, and also by the descendents of mixed racial stocks; with every proof that co-education of the races and the sexes has not increased undesirable marriages, but rather the reverse; - with every such ~~such~~ removal of valid, factual support of racial segregation, the emphasis shifts more to the irrational and the emotional. That is the danger. It is not the kind of performance worthy of us as Americans. That is why I am so concerned that our leaders take a stand in support of sound scholarship and a fearless quest for the truth.

Very sincerely yours,

Ada M. Field

June 27, 1956

Mr. Herbert W.K. Fitzroy
Richmond Area University Center, Inc.
Ellen Glasgow House
One West Main Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fitzroy:

I read through with much interest your report for '49-'56.

You are part of something that is growing rapidly now, and has a great deal of growth ahead of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 28, 1957

DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Routh:

Dr. Harry J. Walker, a colleague of mine, has suggested that I contact you. I am preparing a paper on "Current Anti-Labor Activities of White Citizens Councils," and I should be grateful for any special reports in this particular area to which you might refer me. I am particularly interested in any materials on this subject which have not appeared in the form of articles in the regularly indexed periodicals.

I might add that I am familiar with the article in New South for January 1957, as well as a number of similar articles which have been indexed by Reader's Guide, Public Affairs Information Service, and other indexing services.

My paper is being prepared for a graduate seminar in industrial relations with Dr. Jacob Seidenberg. It is not being prepared for publication. If the Southern Regional Council has unpublished studies which I could use under such circumstances, I would be very grateful for any copies which you might be able to send or to lend to me.

Very truly yours,

H. Taylor Fitzhugh
Asst. Prof. of Marketing

HTF:rs

July 8, 1957

Mr. H. Naylor Fitzhugh
Assistant Professor of Marketing
Department of Business Administration
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fitzhugh:

Thank you for your letter of June 28, which I have just received on my return from vacationing. I am turning it over to our Research Assistant who will put together such information as we have on our file on Anti-Labor Activities of White Citizens Councils. As you probably know, much of the leadership of the White Citizens Councils has been activities in seeking to pass into legislature the so called "right to work" bill.

When the material is gathered together I will forward it to you.

Please give Dr. Walker my personal regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:lec

18 July '57

Mr. H. Naylor Fitzhugh
Department of Marketing
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Fitzhugh:

I had hoped that our Labor Consultant would be back in the office by this time and could send you some of the more recent material he used at the Fisk Institute. Unfortunately, he is still away.

I am enclosing copies of the material in our files in the hope that it will help you in preparing your paper. Also, there are two articles that I suggest you get in the Howard Library:

"Southern Unions and the Integration Issue" by Trewhitt in The Reporter, Oct. 4, 1956

"Unions and Segregation" by Youngdahl in The New Republic July 9, 1956.

You will also discover that the state senators who, in many cases, head the state WCC movements were the same men who led the fight for the so-called right-to-work bills in the state legislatures. Two good examples of this are William Rainach of Louisiana and Sam Engelhardt of Alabama.

I hope this helps you in your work.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh

FBR/s

Free contributors 1957

October 10, 1957

Mr. Ted V. Fisher
3778 Narmore Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fisher:

You are most generous to send a contribution to both the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Council on Human Relations. We are very grateful.

Although we haven't met, I have known of you through mutual friends for a long time. I hope one of these days we will get acquainted. Meanwhile, my appreciation and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures: 1 official receipt
Congressional Record, Friday, July 26, 1957 - "The Southern Regional Council..."

Puritan Chemical Co. ■ 916-932 ASHBY ST., N.W., ATLANTA 18, GEORGIA

October 8, 1957

Mr. Fleming
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed you will find two checks, #P-6611 to the Georgia Council on Human Relations and #Q-6612 to the Southern Regional Council. Please see that these checks are properly distributed.

$ CR. 25-00
Nha
10/9/57

I enjoyed our brief telephone conversation of today and wish you well in the fine work you have undertaken.

Very sincerely,

Ted V. Fisher

October 10, 1957

Miss Ada M. Field
Box 277, Route 3
Guilford College Branch
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Miss Field:

Thank you for your recent letter. I have agreed to undertake periodic commentaries on Southern developments for The Progressive. We are also developing some detailed suggestions for a special issue on the South. So your suggestions to Morris Rubin have had full effect. I only hope that we can achieve, at least in part, the kind of interpretation you so rightly feel is necessary.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED SEP 23 1957

Box 227, Route 3
Guilford College Branch
Greensboro, N.C.
September 21, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please note the changed address. It is supposed to facilitate handling of mail; it does not mean we have become a part of Greensboro.

I appreciated your letter, but waited to reply until Mr. Rubin returned to his office and I heard from him. I feel sure that at this time you will be able to help him out and am looking forward eagerly to the result.

Actually we in the South are now on the spot. We have a story which we alone know well enough to be able to present correctly and in balance. We have people, a few at least, who can do the job. So far as I know, you head the list. If you cannot get the time to do it maybe you can line up somebody like Mrs. Tilly, or Mr. Barnett , or someone else in their class, - if any. It should be a white person, - or joint authorship, I would think. But it must be done, - and soon. We cannot fuss about biased stories written by Northen reporters if we do nothing when a blank white page, - pages, rather, - are laid before us with the request that we write our own story. Above all, we must correct the notion that only a few isolated individuals are taking an enlightened position, and that everything began with the action of the Supreme Court in 1954.

I have connections with the Southern Regional Council, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, one branch of the Church, subscribe to Southern School News, contribute to the Southeastern Office of Amer. Friends Service Committee,-with its twenty-year old program of non-segregated meetings,-support the local group of members of A.C.L.U. and of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. But I do not know the whole South. And, at eighty, I am too nearly a "shut-in" to find out. North Carolina is, of course, not typical in any respect other than by having sections differing widely in almost every respect. So I can't help, so far as I can see. I can only "root." And that I am trying to do. And I am sure "you all" are going to do a splendid job. And soon! If we do not talk now they will rightly conclude we either have nothing to say or can't talk. But we do have a story worth telling, - and we can talk. Please show 'em!

Sincerely,

Ada M. Field

Ada M. Field

RECEIVED OCT 23 1957

File

Box 227, Route 3
Guilford College Branch
Greensboro, N.C.
Oct. 22, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of October 10 is certainly good news. The plan for a series of articles is better than my dreams even. I am looking forward eagerly for the January Progressive.

Many earnest people in the "Nawth" will be greatly helped by knowing of the existence even of agencies such as the SRC, and of the way it started, of the contribution of the churches in ways not widely known, of the way in which Negroes themselves have won recognition in religious, educational, professional, and business fields. The reported comment of a white citizen of Durham, N.C. to the effect that "You have to be a little respectful to a Negro in Durham; there are too many Negro millionaires here," is not wholly a jest. Their solid achievement not only gives the Negroes courage and self-confidence in working for full rights of citizenship, it is the proof, for all to see, that they do have the ability required. And that they have the right spirit about it too.

You will, I am sure, state the publications of the agencies, and the address from which they may be obtained. (New South, Southern School News, etc.)

Recently I saw, in PEACE NEWS, I believe, a report of a limited poll which indicated that opposition to integrated housing was greater in the North than in the South, although the reverse was true for education. Maybe just a matter of tradition, custom, in both cases. When you think about how recently women were shut out of institutions of higher learning because they were considered too inferior mentally, and then consider the furor which can still be raised by old colleges and universities which have been open only to men <u>or</u> only to women, whenever there is a move toward coeducation: - looking at these "doings," which can no longer claim any basis in mental differences, one can see the power of tradition quite clearly.

So far as I know, the Progressive is the first liberal magazine to publish the sort of articles you and Mr. Rubin are planning. I am sure it is going to set others a good example. By the way, I am sure you saw "Fellowship's" reply to the Saturday Evening Post's series under the caption, "The South Says Never."

Very sincerely,

Ada M. Field

Ada M. Field

Mrs. Roy A. Fiske
5239 Kingsbury Av.
Jacksonville, Fla.

RECEIVED OCT 25 1957

October 24, 1957

Dear Mrs. Tilly, Fred, and the Other
Friends at S.R.C.,

Just a note to let you know that you dear folks are very much in my thoughts these days as I prepare to teach the W.S.C.S. Mission Study Course, "Christ, The Church and Race". I wouldn't take anything for the time I spent working there with you dear folks. I wish everyone could have just such an experience.

Fred, Crawford Solomon and Canon McCloskey are helping me in the study course. I'm looking forward to knowing them better and to getting to some of the Council meetings.

Mrs. Tilly, if you have any good display or resource materials you might loan me for use with this study, I'd take good care of them and return them to you. We're having the study the four Tuesdays in November. Also, won't you please pray for me as I seek to guide the study.

Ruth and John, I haven't forgotten you... .or Harold either. I'll write a long letter sometime but dinner must be served now and two little boys are clamoring for attention. They take most of my time.

By the way, my mail still comes to Parrish Place. Would you change my address to

Mrs. Roy A. Fiske
5239 Kingsbury Av.
Jacksonville 5, Fla.

Come to see me when you're in Jacksonville and remember I love you all very much. God bless you in your work.

Love,

Marge

March 13, 1958

Miss Ada Fields
Route 3
Guilford College Branch
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Miss Fields:

Thanks so much for your good letter of March 1.

Morris Rubin has expressed an interest in doing a special issue of the Progressive on the South. If that develops, perhaps we will have a chance to propose an article of the kind you describe. I think it is very important to get this kind of interpretation across.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Route 3
Guilford College Branch
Greensboro, N.C.
March 1, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am sorry to be so late in saying "Congratulations" on the February issue of The Progressive. "You all" did a fine job, it seems to me. I am hoping to get reprints in some way of Governor Collins' address in order to use them with the Christian Century reprints of "Protestantism Speaks on Justice and Race." Mr. Rubin has given permission to reprint here, but nothing has been done about it yet.

You are, I am sure, planning to have a Negro leader furnish an article for the Progressive soon, but I just want to say I hope he (or she) will have something to say about what Negroes have been doing through their years of freedom to contribute to the proof that they are worthy of the equality in the community for which they now ask. That is one of the things about which the North, by and large, has no inkling; and as a result two at least of their worst mistakes. They, along with some Southerners, think every extension of the Negro's opportunities is a gift to him; they do not realize that it is not only a theoretical right, but a right which he has demonstrated his ability to qualify for. And some of the very best motivated Yankees in the world want to start from scratch to do something. They cannot understand that one of the most important things is to have the Negro demonstrate that he can "run his own show." And do it better, in most cases, than any white man could do under the same circumstances, too. They may even get over to the Christian Church what is the real meaning of the religion of Jesus!

But whoever makes that report I hope he will make two points clear: (1), This is not new. The Negroes who struggled and sacrificed to get education, to become good doctors, teachers, lawyers, business men, farmers, not only for their own sake but to serve others, especially of their own race. They are the ones now who are elected to city councils, school boards, offices in non-segregated religious organizations, just as any one else is elected, - because they are qualified citizens. Tribute needs to be paid to their religious leaders, especially. And (2), Most of their great achievement has been quiet. I understand that Greensboro's desegregation move last fall was disappointing to some reporters because nothing happened! Oh yeah? Years of happening! Endless hours of conferring, cooperating, plannning. Outstanding Negro citizens giving themselves unstintingly. All the way from, "You have to be a little respectful to a Negro in Durham; there are too many Negro millionaires here", to the N.C.Council of Churches' refusal to hold its annual meetings anywhere where "we cannot all eat together." It is thrilling to be on the way.

Sincerely,

Ada Field

March 19, 1958

Miss Margaret Fisher
910 West End Avenue, 7A
New York 25, New York

Dear Margaret:

Very pleasant indeed to hear from you and to find you once again doing the Lord's work. I hope that temporary stint leads to bigger, better, and more permanent things.

After a long silence, Josephine called me -- or rather us, the Flemings -- Saturday. The occasion was Gary's seventh birthday, which Josephine remembered with her usual thoughtfulness. She gave no hint of her plans, if any, but I was content to hear her sounding so refreshed and lively.

The very best to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. We did, indeed, see the Louisiana "proclamation" and have been trying to lay some groundwork for some prompt counter-action if there is a repetition.

H.C.F.

The New York State

COMMITTEE ON DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

35 West 32 Street, New York 1, New York

LOngacre 4-4069

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Executive Director

Use this address → March 11 W
910 West End Ave., 7A
N Y 25

Dear Harold —

You probably have seen this "proclamation" from Louisiana — and you may know all about Mrs. Murphy of Atlanta — but here they are in the chance you haven't seen them —

I'm having a very exciting and rewarding time doing a short-term job with this agency — Frances Levenson is on maternity leave, and I came here shortly after the first of the year for about three months — having the difficult decision of choosing between this and a permanent job in the PR Dept of the Public Library — I decided to eschew security for something more challenging — am glad I did — This has thrown me head over heels into the heart of the liberal scene in New York — and I seem to be doing "all right"! Warm regards

Margaret

(Cooperating Organizations are listed on the reverse side)

Cooperating Organizations

American Association of University Women, New York State Division
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, District 37
American Jewish Committee, New York Chapter
American Jewish Congress
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action, New York Chapter
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Citizens Committee for Children of N.Y.C., Inc.
Citizens Housing and Planning Council of N.Y., Inc.
Citizens Union
Community and Social Agency Employees Union, Local 1707
Congregational Christian Churches, Council for Social Action
Congress of Racial Equality
Episcopal Diocese of N. Y., Comission on Christian Social Relations
Inter-Diocesan Committee on Legislation
International Electrical Workers Union, District 4
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans, Department of New York
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Social Workers, New York Chapter
National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York Area
National Council of Jewish Women
New York Civil Liberties Union
New York Society for Ethical Culture, Committee on Integration
New York State Council of Churches
New York State Industrial Union Council (CIO)
Protestant Council of N. Y., Human Relations Commission
United Automobile Workers
United Hebrew Trades
United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc.
Urban League of Greater New York
Westchester County Urban League, Housing Council
Women's City Club of New York, Inc.
The Workmen's Circle

Do the little thing, forgetting the rest in 9 tenths
the world.

July 30, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Margaret Fisher
National Committee Against
Discrimination in Housing
35 West 32 Street
New York 1, New York

Dear Maggie:

We have seen TRENDS from time to time and would like very much to see it regularly - especially since you're now doing the honors. I thought the June-July issue was well done. We've entered you as an exchange.

We'll also be glad to give such help as we can under our correspondent system. You can direct queries to John Constable, director of information; he and our research assistant, Marge Manderson, will be alert for clippings or other information that might interest you. I must add, however, my doubt that we will turn up very much. Housing is not one of our major fields of activity, and I believe the most meaningful developments in that field are little publicized.

This leads me to suggest that you write Bob Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League. Bob is one of the ablest and best informed specialists in the "Negro" housing field. Though Atlanta is his area, he has studied the situation in other Southern cities for the Commission on Race and Housing. I spoke to him about your letter and he expressed willingness to be of service.

I'm glad you thought as highly as we did of the Wall

Street Journal piece on segregation costs. We reprinted it for wider distribution. If more copies would be of use to you, we have a fair number of the reprints still on hand.

More power to you in your important work.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

P. S.

Other useful Southern sources might be the Urban League in Jacksonville, Memphis, Little Rock, New Orleans, Louisville, Miami, Tampa, and Richmond.

HCF:ls

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

35 West 32 Street, New York 1, New York LOngacre 4-4069

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July 28, 1958

FRANCES LEVENSON
Director

MARGARET FISHER
Assistant to the Director

Dear Harold:

A day or so ago we ran across a story from the Wall Street Journal published in December 1957 on the costs of segregation - pitched to the economic pains of southern businessmen. You likely have seen this. If you haven't, let me know and we'll send you down our photostatic copy. It's interesting.

Sincerely,

Maggie

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Member Organizations: AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA; AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION; AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS; AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS; AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES; COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA; FRIENDSHIP HOUSE; INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION; JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE; LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY; MIGRATION DIVISION, PUERTO RICAN DEPARTMENT OF LABOR; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST, RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT; NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE; PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION; RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION, BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES; UNITED AUTO WORKERS OF AMERICA; UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

35 West 32 Street, New York 1, New York

LOngacre 4-4069

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Director

MARGARET FISHER
Assistant to the Director

July 23, 1958

Dear Harold:

A couple of days ago I sent you a copy of our publication, TRENDS in Housing. I hope very much you have had an opportunity to take a look at it.

The background information comes from a variety of sources: government publications, personal contacts, newspaper stories, reports from the constituent agencies, and from a group of individual correspondents spread over the nation. Of course, we also include pertinent items from various publications and newsletters put out by organizations.

We do not quote individuals or sources except when we are authorized to do so, or when we "pick up" from published materials.

As you have doubtless guessed by now, would it be possible for you or someone at the Council to serve as a correspondent for the South? This would be an informal arrangement, and could be on a strictly individual basis if you think wise. We would ask that you send us significant newspaper clippings and any other factual data at hand. Such a mountain of printed matter comes into this office - all of which must be scanned, and much of it carefully read - that we are quite happy when our correspondents do NOT write at great length, except on very basic developments!

We realize news having to do with "open occupancy housing" would be relatively scant from the South, as compared with other sections of the country. However, there is some activity there - particularly with regard to urban renewal and public housing. It is important that southern developments be covered.

While this organization is, of course, unreservedly working for an open housing market, we do make a conscious effort to do an factual job of reporting in Trends - with a minimum of editorializing. I hope you will decide you can help us out. Incidentally, we publish bi-monthly - so it is no great chore.

Could we exchange publications? We will put you on our mailing list so that you receive all publications from here, and would be very grateful if you can reciprocate.

Member Organizations: AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA; AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION; AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS; AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS; AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES; COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA; FRIENDSHIP HOUSE; INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION; JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE; LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY; MIGRATION DIVISION, PUERTO RICAN DEPARTMENT OF LABOR; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST, RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT; NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE; PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION; RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION, BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES; UNITED AUTO WORKERS OF AMERICA; UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA.

Forgive the length of this! Our lone secretary is on vacation and when I sit down to do a hunt-and-peck job, I'm apt to ramble on.

Warm regards to all of you there. And do write and say "Yes."

Sincerely,

Maggie
Miss Margaret Fisher

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
35 West 32nd Street
New York 1, New York
LOngacre 4-4069

July 22, 1958

PLEASE REPLY BY AUGUST 5

TO: TRENDS Correspondents

FROM: Frances Levenson, Executive Director
Margaret Fisher, Editor

Following the story on welcoming statements which was carried in the March-April issue of Trends, we have received an increasing number of requests for more detailed information.

The September-October issue will highlight welcoming statements and open occupancy covenants, and listing services or similar activities which bring nonwhite buyers into contact with white sellers.

Will you please send us the following information by August 5:

1. What cities and towns in your area have had such programs?

2. Who initiated the project?

3. How many citizens signed?

4. What churches and other groups participated?

5. What action resulted?

Please also send in any pertinent newspaper clippings, articles, and specimen copies of statements and covenants.

Of course, we will appreciate any general news items.

(NOTE: The October-November issue will feature projected legislative campaigns. Please bear that in mind.)

TRENDS IN HOUSING

Published bi-monthly by

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

VOL. II NO. 4 JUNE-JULY 1958 $2 A YEAR

Levitt's NJ Town "For Whites Only"

Levittown No. 3 was launched on June 6 by builder William J. Levitt with a public announcement that New Jersey's largest private home development will fly a "For Whites Only" banner.

The planned community of 15,000 homes matches in size and investment its predecessors at Levittown, L. I., and Levittown, Pa., both of which Mr. Levitt describes as "white communities."

Levittown, Pa., was the scene of a nine days' reign of terror last August when William Myers, a Negro engineer, purchased a Levittown home from a private owner. Both pro- and anti-integration citizens agreed that Levitt's restrictive policy played a major role in the disturbance. (*Trends*, Sept.-Oct. 1957)

When a second Negro family recently moved into the Pennsylvania Levittown, authorities took a firm stand that no disturbances would be tolerated and the move was made without incident. The Myers family is living a normal suburban life. A number of nonwhite families now live in the Long Island development.

The projected New Jersey Levittown is situated in Burlington County, a completely rural area ten miles from Philadelphia and within commuting distance of Camden and Trenton. The homes will sell from $11,500 to $14,000.

FHA Involved

On June 6, the *New York Times* reported that long-term mortgages would be insured by the Federal Housing Administration. When asked about a N. J. law which bars discrimination on the basis of color or creed in government-insured housing, Levitt said, "It is neither applicable nor enforceable as far as we are concerned. We are standing pat." (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958)

Sales were started on June 8, when six sample homes were opened for inspec-

(*Continued on page* 2)

National Experts View Major US Housing Ills

Twenty-three years after the Federal Government first stepped into the housing picture, America is no nearer to solving its housing problem than when it began. Despite billions in Federal commitments, we are still a nation . . . of the great un-housed, mis-housed, or dis-housed, yearning to be re-housed.

CHARLES ABRAMS in U. S. Housing: A New Program.

With the country's attention drawn to the debate in Congress on the crucial 1958 omnibus housing bill, *Trends* called on a cross-section of nationally recognized housing experts to outline what they consider to be America's major housing problems and to suggest solutions.

Participating in the symposium were Charles Abrams, international housing authority and chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination; Ben Fischer, Housing Director for the United Steelworkers of America; Reginald A. Johnson, Housing Director for the National Urban League; Madison S. Jones, Housing Director for the NAACP; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, author of *The Negro Ghetto* and other important works on housing, and New York State Rent Administrator; and Dr. William L. C. Wheaton, Director of the University of Pennsylvania's Institute for Urban Studies. Also participating was Gurney Breckenfeld, News Editor of *House and Home*, the Luce publication for the building industry, whose views are presented separately.

There was general agreement among the experts on three major points: 1) the housing shortage is *unnecessarily* becoming sharper, 2) the nation's housing problems are inseparable from the housing problems of minorities, and 3) the "no-man's land" is housing for middle-income families.

The Dilemma

The consensus among housing experts is that a minimum of 2 million new homes are needed each year to provide decent shelter for American families. In 1957, the total dwelling starts were slightly

(*Continued on page* 2)

1958 Housing Act Facing Struggle

On June 11, the Housing Act of 1958 emerged from the Senate Committee on Banking and Currrency with conflicting points of view calling it "a tricky mixture of good and bad news for private enterprise" (*House and Home*, July 1958), and "a new Bill of Rights to achieve housing for families of low income" (National Housing Conference, June 1958).

Over vigorous opposition of the Administration and real estate groups, the bill as reported out of the Senate committee included major boosts to public housing and urban renewal.

Public Housing. The bill provides for increased administrative responsibility by local housing authorities, including the responsibility for establishing rents and eligibility requirements. It calls for planning projects as part of well-balanced and protected neighborhoods, and of sound architectural patterns with the lowest feasible density.

Also, it provides that a tenant whose income increases may remain in his apartment through purchase or payment of non-subsidized rent, if private housing is not available. The bill authorizes 35,000 additional units and extends the present

(*Continued on page* 6)

Experts View US Housing Ills

(*Continued from page* 1)

over one million, and the anticipated construction rate for 1958 is considerably lower.

Further, even those houses that are being built are not available to the majority of the people. Restrictive practices keep a sizable percentage of the citizenry out of the housing market. Moreover, a survey reported in the 1958 Housing Yearbook reveals that only one-fourth of the families in the U. S. could afford to buy the cheapest new 3-bedroom houses at the end of 1957.

¶ Dr. Wheaton pointed out that only the higher income families can afford new housing at present costs and on present terms. "As a result," he said, "one-third of the building industry is now idle and the repercussions of this depressed condition are felt throughout the economy."

Number One Problem

¶ Mr. Fischer: "You can't separate the problem of providing new housing at appropriate monthly costs from the problem of discrimination." Adequate housing is essential, he said, if discrimination is to be abolished and slum clearance is to be kept from becoming slum transference. "This," he continued, "is not only our Number One housing problem, but our Number One domestic problem."

¶ Dr. Weaver: "A basic issue now before the country is whether the government's aid to housing will be used to support construction of high-priced dwellings or employed to meet the needs of minorities, low-income and displaced families. Solution of this issue will go far in determining the degree to which our expressed goal of a decent home for every American family is realized in our life time."

¶ Mr. Jones cited FHA and VA assistance to builders who practice racial and religious discrimination as a major problem. Secondly, he pointed to the role of the Federal Government and municipalities in the urban renewal program. "Positive use of this program," he declared, "can be a boon to any community. Its negative use can result only in adding to and prolonging the present housing ills so apparent in every American city."

¶ Mr. Abrams found present formulas for home construction and lending "are simply not set up for the lower-income family, the middle-income family, the large family, the migrant, the slum dweller, the elderly—in fact, for any of the folk who need housing most."

¶ Mr. Johnson asserted the lack of knowledge of human problems has resulted in the critical displacement and re-housing dilemma. "Federal housing agencies," he averred, "should be more than just policemen of the many regulations essential to meet legislative requirements." He called on government to plan for democratic community rebuilding.

Some Solutions

There was also extensive agreement on proposed solutions. Priority was given to 1) increasing the total housing supply, 2) government action to assure an unrestricted housing market, and 3) a decisive rearrangement of financing terms for middle-income families.

Expansion of the urban renewal and redevelopment program, based on wise planning, revised relocation policies, and careful examination of workable programs was considered essential. It was suggested that the cost of urban renewal housing should be related to the needs of middle-income families.

Revision of the public housing program to include the use of more open and predominantly open sites, sale or continued rental of public housing units to over-income tenants, less emphasis on slum clearance and more on an increased housing inventory, positive steps to attain integration—all were termed vital.

Other proposals included Federal assistance to make possible more cooperative housing, and long-term loans with low interest.

Mr. Abrams said the time for a Department of Urban Affairs, with Cabinet rank, is long past due.

Industry Viewpoint

For an industry point of view, *Trends* made contact with Gurney Breckenfeld of *House and Home*. Mr. Breckenfeld stated that housing's hardest problems are sociological and political rather than technical. He called for fundamental reforms of archaic state and local laws "to let home building price itself back into the market." Mr. Breckenfeld stated that legislation in favor of better housing for everybody who can't afford it is idealistic, but "seems to create almost as many problems as it poultices."

"Every time Congress gives a new segment of the population some specially favored FHA terms or a call on Fanny May special assistance mortgages," declared the editor, "it penalizes everybody else in the nation."

"At the rate housing is headed," Mr. Breckenfeld concluded, "it may soon be in a Federal strait jacket—like agriculture."

Levittown, NJ "For Whites Only"

(*Continued from page* 1)

tion. Approximately 200 dwellings have been sold. Negro home seekers have been refused application forms, and a complaint has been filed with the N. J. Division Against Discrimination.

Protests of Levitt's discriminatory policy mounted in a matter of hours. Speaking for the NCDH board, Acting Chairman Algernon D. Black told the press: "We are shocked that, despite the New Jersey law, Mr. Levitt has publicly announced his intention to establish a racially-exclusive community. We look to the Federal Government to decline partnership in any undertaking which so manifestly violates both the spirit and the letter of the law."

The N. J. Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution rebuking Levitt and stating that "discrimination will not be tolerated within the borders of the state."

N. J. Senator Clifford P. Case, Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of NAACP, Fr. John LaFarge, founder of the Catholic Interracial Council, builder Morris Milgram, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Community Relations Advisory Council, and many other organizations and individuals publicly urged both the Federal and state governments to take action, under existing laws, to stop the development of an all-white city in New Jersey.

Protest Meeting Held

More than 300 persons representing some 35 organizations held a protest meeting in Trenton on July 1. A permanent New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing was organized.

Despite the storm of protest, Levitt's corps of builders moved into high gear and expect to be building 100 homes a week by September.

Taking cognizance of the national and international implications inherent in the New Jersey situation, NCDH moved in on all fronts:

¶ A delegation representing its 27 major church, minority group, labor and civic organizations conferred with FHA Commissioner Norman P. Mason in Washington. The group emphasized the cooperative agreements between FHA and all states having laws prohibiting discrimination in government-insured housing. It urged that FHA publicly reject Levitt's application for a commitment on the ground that the intention to discriminate has been admitted by the builder. It was

(*Continued on page* 3)

Levittown, NJ

(*Continued from page* 2)

pointed out to Commissioner Mason that issuing an FHA commitment in the face of Levitt's statement would be tantamount to aiding and abetting violation of state law.

¶ An appeal was sent to Gordon M. Tiffany, Director of the President's Civil Rights Commission, urging him to investigate the proposed Levittown, N. J.

¶ A joint delegation from the newly formed N. J. Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and the NCDH conferred with Governor Robert B. Meyner on July 7. The group urged 1) that he instruct the N. J. DAD to process complaints against Levitt and issue a finding as quickly as possible, and 2) that he instruct the Attorney General to explore possible action to revoke Levitt's corporate charter and to enjoin him from continuing to build in the light of his announced intent to violate the N. J. constitution, public policy and statutes.

As *Trends* goes to press, Mr. Levitt has not indicated consideration of any change in his racial practices. FHA has issued conditional commitments for over 200 of the first houses to be constructed. The N. J. Division Against Discrimination is processing a complaint against Levitt, and if the complaint is found to be valid will call on FHA to honor its agreement to withhold any further mortgage commitments from the project until Levitt revises his selling policies to conform to state law. Governor Meyner has stated publicly he will act to prevent the establishment of a segregated Levittown in New Jersey.

Restricted FHA & VA Housing Found Unconstitutional

In a landmark decision handed down in June, discrimination in the sale of housing involving FHA or VA financing was held unconstitutional by Judge James H. Oakley of the Superior Court in Sacramento, California.

The California case had been pressed for four years by Attorneys Loren Miller (NCDH Vice-Chairman) and Nathaniel S. Colley, co-chairmen of the NAACP's West Coast legal committee. The result contradicts a previous ruling in a case involving Levittown, Pennsylvania.

The plaintiff in the case was Oliver A. Ming, a would-be buyer who was refused consideration of his applications to purchase a new home in one of several FHA- and VA-insured subdivisions in Sacramento. Mr. Ming, a Negro, charged that the refusals were based solely upon his race and color. The defendants included the Sacramento Real Estate Board, a trade association and several real estate concerns.

The suit alleged that the defendants, in their use of Federal mortgage insurance were acting as instrumentalities of government, subject to constitutional guarantees of equal protection and non-discrimination. (*Trends*, Aug. 1956)

In his ruling, Judge Oakley declared that the Federal Government is strictly prohibited by the fundamental law from conferring benefits except on an equal basis – that "it cannot play favorites as to race, color or creed." He held that private builders who avail themselves of Federal support – that is, "the utilization of federal administrative process, the gaining of federal assistance in attracting buyers by advertising FHA and VA financing, the federal approval of plans, layouts, utility services, construction standards, and ultimately mortgage guaranties of loans upon federal assurance that adequate standards have been met" –that such builders commit themselves to the same principle of non-discrimination governing Federal activities.

In commenting upon the far-reaching implications of the decision, the *New York Times* said that in practical terms the ruling implies that a large portion of new housing can no longer be put on the market on a tacit whites-only basis.

"It is common practice now," said the *Times*, "when Negroes try to buy new houses in non-Negro developments to discourage them with a variety of excuses. Ending the practice would deal a blow to a form of segregation existent throughout the country that many Negro leaders consider as formidable as discriminatory statutes of Southern states: the concentration of Negroes in ghetto sections of communities through barriers to home-buying in white neighborhoods."

(Single copies of Judge Oakley's decision available from NCDH.)

Snowden Promoted to FHA Intergroup Relations Post

FHA Commissioner Norman P. Mason has announced the promotion of Dr. George W. Snowden to the newly-created post of Assistant to the Commissioner, Intergroup Relations Service. For the past five years, Dr. Snowden has been Minority Group Housing Advisor on the Commissioner's staff.

In announcing Dr. Snowden's new position, Commissioner Mason said, "Whenever a government agency is concerned with the public welfare, it is its responsibility to see that no elements in the population are excluded from its program, and, indeed to make sure that all elements have the same chance of inclusion."

Nat'l Council Sets Housing Institute

The National Council of Churches' Interdenominational Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations will concentrate on problems of discrimination in private housing at its 10th annual session to be held in Chicago in July.

The Institute serves as a practical laboratory for persons working for non-segregated churches in non-segregated communities.

Under the leadership of experts in the field of open occupancy housing, major attention will be given to the methods and techniques which are being used effectively in three or more cities to combat discrimination in the private housing market.

The Institute will be held at the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, July 21-25, 1958. Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, Associate Executive Director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council, will serve as Dean.

For further information contact: Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

TRENDS *IN HOUSING*

Published bi-monthly by the
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
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Founded in 1950, the National Committee coordinates the activities of 27 civic, labor, religious and minority organizations concerned with discrimination in housing. A subscription to *Trends in Housing* is $2 a year; for a group of 10 or more the rate is $1 each.

ALGERNON D. BLACK, *Acting Chairman*
FRANCES LEVENSON, *Director* MARGARET FISHER, *Editor*

Second Class mail privileges authorized at New York, N. Y.

CORRESPONDENTS REPORT:

Philadelphia

An informal survey was recently conducted by the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations to determine the demand by white purchasers for housing in the Germantown-Mount Airy section, an area of the city which has had some racial change.

The study by the CHR staff was confined to those purchases that occurred in the last two years, and is based on information supplied by residents of the area and the tax assessment records.

It was found that on fifteen blocks which had Negro occupants or were adjacent to such blocks, one or more white families had purchased homes in the last two years. The price of homes on these blocks varied from a low of $8,000 to a high of $30,000, with most purchases in the $10,000 to $14,000 range. The sales prices of the houses and the mortgage amounts were comparable to other sales in the area, which would indicate there were no special financial inducements involved.

The CHR states it is reasonable to assume these purchasers knew of the racial composition of the area before they bought. In fact, it was established that some buyers had difficulty convincing real estate operators they wanted to buy after this information was advanced.

Cleveland

The Cleveland (Ohio) Church Federation reports that the majority of its cooperating churches are racially inclusive in their active fellowship.

The report, based on questionnaires sent to the 300 participating churches, states that of the 219 which replied, 115 (52.5%) have more than one racial group active in church work. Interracial congregations comprise about 10% of the total number of churches in the nation.

Concluding with the statement that while in Cleveland the charge may no longer be true that "The most segregated hour in the week is 11 o'clock on Sunday morning," the Federation report points out that housing segregation is the greatest barrier to integrated churches. It proposes that church groups work to end housing discrimination by 1) encouraging their members to sign open occupancy covenants, 2) encouraging realtors to disregard race in the sale of homes, and 3) encouraging lending institutions to make loans on a non-discriminatory basis.

Seattle

Representatives of the housing industry — builders, architects, realtors, and lenders — have joined forces with church, labor and civic agencies in a cooperative effort to eliminate discrimination from the housing market in Seattle, Washington.

A member of the American Institute of Architects, Inc. will take office as president of the Greater Seattle Housing Council in July. John M. Morse, representative on the Council from the Washington State Chapter of AIA, will succeed current president William C. Newell, Jr., a representative of the Home Builders Association.

The Greater Seattle Housing Council was organized in 1956 (*Trends*, Dec. 1956) as an outgrowth of a five-year educational program on minority housing problems by the Civic Unity Committee of Seattle and its constituent groups. It is staffed by the Civic Unity Committee.

In a brochure entitled "The Open Door," the Council states that the nonwhite population of Seattle is increasing much more rapidly than the white, and that 90% of the nonwhite families live in a small, old area in the central city. The Council has undertaken to develop a public awareness of the barriers minority families face as they seek better housing. The brochure states, "Calm understanding leads the way to residential patterns more in keeping with our democratic ideals; eliminates the fear of economic loss; opens the housing supply to all families."

As its first research project, the Seattle Council is conducting a series of case studies of the experiences of nonwhite families who have moved into previously all-white neighborhoods. The interviews are done by teams of two—one a member of the housing industry, and the other a representative from the church or civic agencies. The studies are under the direction of Dr. Ernest A. T. Barth, Sociologist, and the results will be analyzed and reported in the fall.

Canada

The Canadian Labour Congress, at its recent convention in Winnipeg, demanded Federal action against discrimination in housing.

Specifically, the Congress called for amendment of the National Housing Act of Canada to prohibit the use of public funds to underwrite the activities of builders or real estate agents who practice racial or religious discrimination in the sale or rental of NHA financed homes.

Berkeley, Calif.

HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal) is the name chosen by a new community organization in Berkeley, California. The group will offer, with careful planning, a non-discriminatory housing listing or introduction service.

Impetus for such service came from women of the First Unitarian Church of Berkeley, who enlisted the interest and support of many groups and individuals in forming a broadly-based non-sectarian agency.

Providence, R. I.

Appointment of a race relations officer to the Providence Housing Authority means new emphasis will be placed on orderly racial integration in that city's public housing projects, in the opinion of Charles M. Day, executive secretary of the Rhode Island Commission Against Discrimination.

Sirrouko Howard, a former project manager with a background of graduate study at Oxford University, was appointed by the Authority to fill the newly-created position.

Cincinnati

The segregated church is an ineffective missionary instrument, Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Secretary for Racial and Cultural Relations, Congregational Christian Churches, and NCDH Board member, recently told the Cincinnati Council of Churches.

Speaking at a Council workshop, Dr. Weaver offered the following guides based on his experience in working for church integration: 1) The pastor's firm leadership is essential; 2) few persons actually leave an integrating church; 3) denominational pronouncements can be helpful; 4) intergroup contacts, pastoral counselling, and work on common objectives are better than sermons; 5) social education and action must be an integral part of the congregation's program; 6) a willingness to come to grips with controversial questions must be developed in the church; 7) church leaders must become skilled in conducting meetings, handling controversy, and guiding group activities; 8) attacking specific discriminatory practices is more effective than an attack on attitudes.

Dr. Weaver stressed the point that the church cannot be integrated in a segregated community, and urged that the church work closely with civic movements to eliminate discrimination.

VA Aids NY SCAD Enforce Bias Law

The Veterans Administration has entered into an agreement with the New York State Commission Against Discrimination under which the VA will assist the state agency in eliminating discriminatory practices in VA-aided housing projects in New York State, it was announced on June 4.

The arrangement, first of its kind in the nation to be made by the VA, provides that the VA will disqualify builders from the benefits of future housing insurance if they are found guilty of discrimination against a veteran.

"The significance of the agreement," said Commissioner Charles Abrams, chairman of the N. Y. SCAD, "reaches beyond the curbing of discriminatory practices in federally-assisted housing. It may also highlight an emerging Federal policy under which Federal agencies will now aid in the enforcement of state civil rights laws where the state requests it."

The new VA policy, which involves the Federal Government's most active agency in the home-building field, is expected to have widespread results. Four other states (Massachusetts, Oregon, New Jersey, and Washington) have laws banning discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, and it is anticipated those states will seek similar agreements.

Urban Renewal Cuts Housing By 51,000

Racial minority aspects of the displacement and rehousing of families affected by urban renewal and redevelopment projects continue to plague housers.

Approximately 60% of the displaced families in a total of 276 approved projects are nonwhite, according to the latest official reports of the Urban Renewal Administration.

Further, the urban renewal program thus far has reduced the total housing supply by more than 51,000 dwelling units. For 276 projects, 155,262 original and 104,166 proposed dwelling units are reported.

At the end of 1957, 33% of the nonwhite families rehoused from 115 projects went into substandard or uninspected dwellings. Approximately 25% of the displaced nonwhite families and 10% of the displaced white families were rehoused in public housing.

Charge Federal Housing Reinforces Segregation

Charges that Federal housing programs are supporting and reinforcing the spread of residential segregation were made by NCDH Chairman Algernon D. Black in testimony before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency at its hearings on the 1958 housing bill.

"For seven years," Mr. Black told the Senators, "the National Committee has urged that the benefits of Federal housing programs, which are supported by the tax monies of all citizens, be dispensed without discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin."

"Each year," he continued, "we are forced to say once more we are appalled by the fact that racial discrimination continues in federally-aided housing programs."

"Urban renewal developments continue to receive Federal approval and funds, despite plans for new segregated housing," Mr. Black asserted. "In Federal public housing, the majority of the projects are segregated. FHA and VA continue to underwrite racially exclusive suburbs. As a result," he went on, "it is the minority groups who live in substandard housing and slums."

Urban Situation Worsens

Pointing to the decline in population in rural America and the consequent increase in urban areas, Black told the Committee the housing situation is becoming more acute each year. More than two-thirds of the total population of the nation now lives in urban areas, with the nonwhite urban population increasing much more rapidly than the white, he said. By way of illustration, he cited the 14 largest metropolitan areas, where more than 1/3 of all U. S. citizens reside. Between 1940 and 1950 the total white population in those 14 cities rose 4 percent, whereas the Negro population leaped upward 68 percent.

"With the increasing exodus of middle and upper class whites to generally-restricted suburbs," Black continued, "there is emerging a national pattern of the older central city occupied by a growing concentration of nonwhite families surrounded by lily-white Suburbia, U.S.A. The economic, social and political consequences of this situation are appalling."

Emphasizing the fact that the Federal Government is the single most important factor in the national housing picture, the testimony pointed out that the Supreme Court's public school decision is being rendered ineffective by residential segregation. It called on the Congress, the Executive, and administrative officials to fulfill constitutional guarantees and pledges of equal opportunity.

The following survey of the three major Federal housing programs (Urban Renewal, FHA, and public housing) detailed the NCDH indictments:

Urban Renewal is reducing the supply of low-rent housing at a time of critical shortage—to date the program has resulted in a net loss of 51,000 homes. Two-thirds of the families displaced are nonwhites who are forced, by a restricted housing market and high rent and sales prices, into overcrowded ghettos, extending the fringes and creating new slums. (HHFA Administrator Cole has estimated that by June 30, 1960, 247,000 families will have been displaced by various government programs.) Developers are left free to "renew" presently integrated areas on a segregated basis. There is little use of open or predominantly open land. The race relations staff in the URA has decreased from five specialists to one.

FHA continues to underwrite segregated housing (see Levittown, page 1). Less than 2 percent of the total number of new homes insured by FHA since 1946 have been available to minorities—the majority of those in the South.

Public Housing persists in dispersing Federal funds for segregated housing, despite numerous court decisions which have held that segregated public housing is unconstitutional. Further, the displacement by slum clearance, the use of a high percentage of slum sites, the restrictions in the private housing market, and low incomes are resulting in threatening integration where it presently exists. The emphasis in public housing should be shifted from clearing slums to increasing the housing inventory.

Recommendations

Mr. Black called for unequivocal prohibition of discrimination in all federally-assisted housing programs. Among other recommendations which the NCDH called essential were:

- Assurance of adequate housing *before* slum clearance projects are approved.
- Use of open and predominantly open sites.
- The same relocation standards for

(*Continued on page* 8)

LEGAL ACTION BRIEFS

Ousted Brokers Lose to RE Board

In 1955, Realtor Harry E. Beddoe was fined by the Southeast Realty Board of Southgate, California, after selling a house to an American couple of Mexican descent. The board charged that Beddoe had violated a provision in the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards that "a realtor should not be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood" any element that would hurt its property values. Beddoe refused to pay the fine and was expelled.

Beddoe sued the board for damages, charging it with restraint of trade under California's so-called little Sherman anti-trust law. (*Trends,* Aug. 1956)

The Superior Court of California has ruled that the Southeast Realty Board was not acting in restraint of trade and was not liable for damages. In its opinion, the court, while it did not order it, suggested that the realty board restore Beddoe to membership "without delay upon the payment of his dues." Latest report is that Mr. Beddoe, who was in line for the presidency of the board, has not been reinstated.

Similarly, the same Southeast Realty Board fined and ousted Realtor Earl Wing for selling a house to an American-born couple of Italian and Spanish descent. Seeking reinstatement, Wing took his case to court. (*Trends,* Aug. 1956)

The Wing case was settled out of court, the realty board withdrew its fine, and agreed to reinstate Wing upon payment by him of all past dues.

UR Case Filed in Alabama

On June 9, a suit was filed in the U. S. District Court in Alabama to prevent the use of urban renewal funds for clearing an area which is now occupied by Negro residents and redeveloping it for white occupancy.

The plaintiffs in the case (Stephen Tate, et al, v. The City of Eufaula, Alabama, et al) argue that the underlying reason for the clearance is to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision by the establishment of a residential pattern which will automatically segregate the public schools. The section which the Eufaula Housing Authority proposes to redevelop is adjacent to the white high school. Seventy-two Negro families presently live in the area.

Religious Bias Upheld in Fla.

The Florida Supreme Court has held that an agreement between a real estate broker and a seller specifying that property should not be sold to a minority is binding and enforceable. (MacGregor v. Florida Real Estate Commission—Jan. 1958)

In September 1954, Duncan MacGregor, real estate broker, sold some Palm Beach property to a Jewish purchaser. The former owner, Herbert K. Allard, claimed that MacGregor had disregarded his instruction to restrict the sale to Christians, and called on the Palm Beach Real Estate Board to censure MacGregor.

Proceedings were initiated before the Florida Real Estate Commission to have MacGregor's license revoked. MacGregor appealed to the courts to quash the proceedings against him, arguing that if the license law authorized his suspension for not complying with a seller's desire to sell only to Christians, it was unconstitutional. The courts up through the State Supreme Court, declining to decide the case on any constitutional grounds, upheld the Commission's right to revoke MacGregor's license.

In a friend-of-the-court brief, the Anti-Defamation League argued that constitutional issues were involved. The League declared that the MacGregor case involved "a new technique through which the aid of the State is invoked to compel compliance with religious restrictions" in the sale of property.

Finally, the Real Estate Commission dismissed the charges and MacGregor retained his license. However, the decision of the Florida Supreme Court still stands.

1st Housing Hearings in N.J.

The New Jersey Division Against Discrimination will hold its first public hearing on a charge of discrimination in housing on July 15. The respondent is Centre City, a housing development in Bridgeton Pike, Gloucester County.

Frank G. Moore, Jr., of Philadelphia, the complainant, alleges he sought to purchase a home in the development and, after a series of delays, was finally told he could not do so because of his race.

The New Jersey DAD has jurisdiction over housing which receives government-insured financing.

1958 Housing Act—

(*Continued from page* 1)

70,000 unit authorization—of which only 8,000 have been used since passage of the 1956 Act. It makes it easier for public housing to be located in an urban renewal area.

Urban Renewal. Moving beyond the Administration's proposals and over its opposition, the bill as approved by the committee provides for a six-year program with an annual capital grant authorization of $350 million which could be increased by $150 million in any one year. It would maintain the present ratio for sharing land write-down cost of ⅔ Federal to ⅓ local. The Administration had requested a reduction of Federal participation aimed at a 50-50 sharing basis in three years.

The bill also authorizes relocation payments to families or businesses displaced from an urban renewal area by any governmental activity, including code enforcement, public roads or public works, even though the government action is not connected with the urban renewal project.

The Outlook

Supporters of "housing for those who need it most" feel the bill approved by the Senate committee is the best over-all Federal housing legislation in many years. However, they are quick to warn that the House is traditionally cool to public housing. Furthermore, the Administration is opposed to every section of the low-rent housing title and to many of the urban renewal provisions.

The House Committee on Banking and Currency opened hearings on the Senate version on July 7. Hearings will continue through July 18.

Albert M. Cole, HHFA Administrator, was the first witness at the House hearings. He criticized sharply many provisions in the bill, centering his attack on public housing. Mr. Cole testified that the bill "would have the cumulative effect of opening both existing and new public housing to occupancy by middle-income families."

In the Senate several drastic amendments to the reported bill are in prospect, with floor battles over them likely.

Louisville Begins Integration

As a result of a Federal Court order, Louisville's (Ky.) first Negro family has moved into a formerly all-white public housing project. Officials reported no incidents in connection with the move.

Literature

Available from NCDH

"Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans," compiled by Herbert Sternau, published by the Council of Spanish-American Organizations and the American Jewish Committee (1958). An outline on the basic history, cultural background and economics of the Island, and facts and figures concerning migration to the U. S. mainland. Lists services of the Puerto Rican Migration Division. (Single copies free, 10¢ mailing charge.)

"Interracial Neighborhoods in New Jersey Communities," published by the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination. A brief report with pictures on interracial areas in each of 14 towns and cities across the state. Covers private homes and rental housing; old and new structures; $8,000 to $50,000 investments.

"NCDH Testimony Before Senate Committee on Banking and Currency." Statement of Algernon D. Black, Acting Chairman, on 1958 Housing Act. (Mimeographed)

"HOUSING: The Role of the Real Estate Agent." Surveys the influence of real estate agents in maintaining religious discrimination in several cities. April-May 1958 issue of *Rights*, published by Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

"Local Law No. 80, of the City of New York." Text of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Fair Housing Practices Law, adopted in December 1957.

"The Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill," prepared by the Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress. A summary and analysis of New York City's new Fair Housing law. (Mimeographed)

"Fair Play in Housing for Everyone." A citizen's guide to understanding the New York City Fair Housing law. Questions and answers deal with coverage, application and administration of the law. Also available from the Commission on Intergroup Relations, 150 Nassau Street, New York 38, N. Y.

NCDH Literature List, Revised May 1958, with June supplement. (Mimeographed)

Available from Publisher

"Integration in Housing," Spring 1958 issue of the *Lawyers Guild Review*, devoted exclusively to the subject title. Appendix gives statistical data. Available from National Lawyers Guild, 154 Nassau Street, New York 38, N. Y. $1.00 per copy.

"Housing and Minorities – Urban Renewal." Spring 1958 issue of *Phylon Quarterly*. Proceedings and findings of the Regional Housing Clinic on Urban Renewal, held at Atlanta University in November 1957. Articles by Frank S. Horne, B. T. McGraw, Alexander F. Miller, George B. Nesbitt, George W. Snowden, and other experts from government and civic agencies. Published by Atlanta University, Atlanta 3, Ga. $1.25 per copy.

"The Civil Rights Story–1957," by Theodore Leskes. Reprinted from the *American Jewish Year Book*. Summarizes the major developments in civil rights from October 1956 through September 1957, reporting on discrimination in housing, education, employment and public accommodations. Published by The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. 20¢ each or $15.00 per hundred.

"Housing Yearbook–1958." Annual roundup of the National Housing Conference. Contains articles by distinguished housers, a prescription for achieving a well-housed America, bibliography of planning and housing, and statistical section. Published by NHC, 1025 Connecticut Avenue., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. $3.00 per copy.

"Residential Desegregation," by Helen B. Shaffer. A comprehensive study covering measures being taken to combat discrimination in housing, racial trends in city living patterns, and attitudes toward residential integration. Published by Editorial Research Reports, 1156 Nineteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

"Delayed Action Problems in Changing Neighborhoods," by Dennis Clark. Reprinted from *Interracial Review* (Jan. 1958). Points out the need for long-term sustained programs to guide changing communities into the normal day-to-day relationships of neighborhood living. Published by the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

"A Builder With A Vision," by Albert Vorspan. June 15, 1958 issue *Congress Weekly*. Concord Park, Morris Milgram's housing project near Levittown, Pa., has stirred national interest in the first privately built development where "interracial" really means interracial.

Government Publications

"Aids to Your Community." Describes briefly the types of Federal assistance the Housing and Home Finance Agency offers communities in attacking problems of housing and urban development. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. 15¢ per copy.

Racial Separation Must Be Ended Says Chicago Political Scientist

A free real estate market is the first answer to stopping present deterioration of the nation's cities, according to Morton Grodzins, head of the University of Chicago's Political Science Department and an authority on American minority problems.

His prediction in his scientific study of the 14 largest metropolitan areas (*Metropolitan Segregation*, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, *October* 1957) that patterns of segregation threaten "to transform the cities into slums, largely inhabited by Negroes, ringed about with predominantly white suburbs," created widespread speculation.

In a search for solutions to the problems forecast by Mr. Grodzins, Betty Schneider of Friendship House asked him the following questions:

> "Does this HAVE to happen? Or are there ways of working against the possibility that 'the racial problem, still fostering in the rural South, will become equally, perhaps more acutely, a problem of the urban North'?"

Mr. Grodzins' answers are reported in the June issue of COMMUNITY.

The cure, says Grodzins, is obvious: "Separation must be ended." In no situation, he goes on to say, is the solution more easily stated . . . and harder to accomplish.

As a means of securing a free housing market, Grodzins strongly supports non-discrimination housing laws. While the removal of restrictions would not necessarily end nonwhite residential concentrations, a dispersion of minorities over the entire urban area would unquestionably ensue.

As his second proposed solution, Mr. Grodzins believes that legitimate methods can be found to control minority-migration and assure integrated communities. He considers the best means of accomplishing this to be a free housing market and good housing codes. However, he states that a "tip point" exists for the vast majority of white Americans. Once that point is exceeded, changing neighborhoods tend to turn into all-minority sections. So, with some reservations, he puts himself on the side of setting quotas. He says:

> "The moral problem is not an easy one; it is the problem of placing limits upon Negro in-migration to particular urban and suburban areas. It means, in part, fostering a smaller discrimination in favor of scotching a large one. Whatever the difficulties of such a position, it seems to be, for a larger number of Negroes and whites alike, a preferable alternative to the present pattern of segregated population groups."

The third avenue offered by Mr. Grodzins for changing the trend is to attract white citizens back to city living. The city must now compete with the suburb by offering moderate priced housing, green spaces, good schools, safety and convenience. Rebuilding on a large scale with governmental help will be necessary to accomplish this.

And as his fourth proposal, he envisions the simultaneous movement of nonwhites to the suburbs and to smaller cities. He feels all people must be convinced this is vital to the health and life of the whole area. Also, non-discrimination housing laws would greatly influenec such movement.

"The only way to avoid the consequences of racial schism," says Mr. Grodzins, "is to bridge it."

Govt. Publications, Cont'd.

"FHA Facts for Home Buyers" (Revised April 1958). Outlines the chief features and requirements of the FHA-insured mortgage plan. Includes table showing FHA maximum mortgage amounts, minimum down payments, and monthly mortgage payments. Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

FILMSTRIP: *"The Good Neighbor."* A businessman, learning of housing discrimination against an employee, does something about it. Shows how community leadership can act to make integration an orderly, democratic process. Produced in cooperation with the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations. Black and white, 90 frames. Purchase price $25.00, with 50 discussion guides and free programming kit.

Filmstrip also available by purchase or rental in 3-item package, including two half-hour films, *"Crisis in Levittown"* and *"All the Way Home"* (*Trends*, Mar.-Apr. 1958), with 50 discussion guides and programming kit, and 33⅓ rpm disc and 1 script (or, if preferred, 3 scripts and no disc). Package purchase price $240.00. Rental of one film for a single showing, $15.00. Rental of two films (*Crisis* and *All the Way Home*) for one month, $50.00. Write Dynamic Films, 405 Park Avene, New York 22, N. Y.

A Salute

NCDH salutes Mayor Robert F. Wagner for his outstanding appointments to the reorganized New York City Housing Authority. This agency is particularly gratified by the designation of former NCDH Treasurer Ira S. Robbins. Commissioner Robbins, a nationally recognized houser and civil rights advocate, was formerly Executive Vice-President of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York and former President and Chairman of the Board of the National Housing Conference.

Changes Urged in Housing Policies

Basic changes in organization and management policies have been recommended to the recently reconstituted New York City Housing Authority. The recommendations, contained in a report prepared under the aegis of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York, seek to reverse the trend towards economic and social stratification and racial segregation in public housing.

Study By 38 Experts

The proposals were based on a six-month study by 38 housing experts, real estate operators, welfare, business, church and civic leaders.

The report called the Authority's "color blind" policy of tenant selection "in the purest sense, non-discriminatory." But in actual practice, it said, that policy has failed to halt a marked trend towards an increasing proportion of minority occupancy. It proposed the substitution of "positive techniques" to achieve and maintain racial balance.

Race Relations Proposals

Specifically on race relations policies, the experts recommended that the Authority: 1) issue an unequivocal statement of its determination to develop and maintain integration; 2) establish a top-level race relations post; 3) initiate a program of education in race relations for all employees; 4) initiate community relations programs in project neighborhoods; 5) place the largest proportion of its new sites outside areas of nonwhite concentration; 6) see that displaced families from ghetto or fringe areas have access to non-segregated housing; and 7) enlist the support of all public and private agencies in making the relocation program contribute to integration in the city.

Race Minor Factor In Delinquency Says Pulitzer Prize-Winning Journalist

Race, as such, is not a primary cause of juvenile delinquency, reports Pulitzer prize-winning *New York Times* correspondent Harrison E. Salisbury in his exhaustive study of the New York City street gang situation.

In a series of articles recently published by the *Times*, Mr. Salisbury puts the "shook-up" generation under the microscope. Why are juvenile gangs formed? How do they exist in a world they help to make? What might be and what is being done about them?

"Geography rather than race is the major determinant in membership and conflict," he finds. Most gangs follow the racial pattern of the neighborhood, and the "integrated" gang is not uncommon. Enemy gangs may be of the same ethnic character or of varying composition — there is no hard and fast law.

In the course of his survey, Salisbury found persons on both sides of the integration question agreed that race has little or nothing to do with these major behavior problems — and that view was supported by every educator and social worker he interviewed.

"Problem youngsters spring from housing jungles," he said, as he went on to cite broken families, deprivation, poverty, insecurity and fear as major causes.

Comprehensive, coordinated social planning on a city-wide, year-in, year-out basis, concludes Mr. Salisbury, can effectively reduce delinquency and halt its development at the source: the neighborhood and the family.

NCDH Charges

(*Continued from page* 5)

all displacement by Government action.

- An increased and revitalized public housing program, with provision for families to purchase their apartments on a cooperative basis as their incomes increase, and for over-income families to remain in public housing when no decent private shelter is available.
- Government aid for middle-income families, including low-interest and long-time direct loans for middle-income housing.
- Reconstitution of the Racial Relations Service on a non-partisan professional basis to provide responsible review of all programs in all headquarters and regional offices of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies.

Legislation

Cleveland: Illegal Conversions

Taking the profit out of illegal conversions is one of the aims of an ordinance recently passed by the Cleveland (Ohio) City Council. Introduced by Councilman Leo A. Jackson, the ordinance provides that a landlord whose building has been illegally converted can be fined 20% of the gross annual rent and imprisoned. Contractors who illegally convert any residential building are also subject to fine and imprisonment.

Connecticut: Favor FHP Law

Both the Republican and Democratic State Conventions in Connecticut have called for enactment of a state fair housing practices law.

In identical platform provisions, the two political parties endorsed revision of the public accommodations act to ban discrimination in private housing by any person who controls the sale or rental of five or more units.

Willow Run: Bans Housing Bias

The Superior Township (Willow Run) Board of Trustees, Washtenaw County, Michigan, may have the distinction of being that state's first governing body to establish a policy of open occupancy in housing constructed with public assistance, either direct or indirect. The resolution barring discrimination was passed on April 7, 1958.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
35 West 32nd Street, New York 1, New York

☐ I enclose $2.00 for a year's subscription to TRENDS IN HOUSING.

☐ Enter a group subscription for the 10 or more persons whose names and addresses (include postal zone numbers, please) are listed on the enclosed sheet.

I enclose $_____. Or: Bill me _____.

*NAME*_____

*ADDRESS*_____

September 22, 1958

Miss Margaret Fisher
910 West End Avenue, 7A
New York 25, New York

Dear Maggie:

Our research assistant thought you might be interested in the enclosed clippings concerning urban renewal developments here in Atlanta.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

Atl. Const. Aug. 26, 1958 - "Renewal Committee is Representative Group"

Atl. World August 8, 1958 - "Twenty Negroes on Mayor's 'Enlarged' Citizens Group"

TO: MM

Marge, Harold says that you may feel free to send any further items of interest directly on to Miss Fisher. You will recall that she is with the N. Y. State Committee on Discrimination in Housing; she, of course, uses the following address - which I believe is her home address:

910 West End Avenue, 7A
New York 25

August 18, 1960

Captain Charles W. Fielder
36 Regent Street
West Newton 65, Massachusetts

Dear Captain Fielder:

I remember well our conversation and am happy to hear from you again. It is good to know that the findings of your research are so hopeful.

The excerpt from your thesis in which my views are discussed has my unreserved approval, except for one or two minor points of accuracy. My overseas service with the Army was on Okinawa rather than in Europe. And it would be more precise to say that I view actual experience in positive interracial situations as an essential step in the development of unprejudiced racial attitudes; purely intellectual exposure to new attitudes and ideas is valuable, but hardly sufficient by itself.

I concur heartily in Lillian Smith's statement which you quote with approval.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 10, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am Captain Charles W. Fielder, U.S. Navy,(retired). You may recall that I visited you last August, in connection with a Master's thesis. My subject is a study of the White southern veterans' attitude towards desegregation.

I talked with you for a few minutes about the above subject. I am now ready to submit my thesis to the University of Maine. The essence of your conversation has been placed in my thesis, as have some of the ideas of some of the articles you have written in various periodicals. I am enclosing an excerpt from my thesis. I hope you will approve this excerpt, in substance, so that I may use it.

It may interest you to know that, while it was very difficult for a Yankee to obtain much material on this subject, the answer does seem to be that the veteran does ~~accept integration. I made the statement that Lillian~~ Smith might be right, in that when integration does finally come about, "maybe a million young veterans will accept it quietly."

Thanking you very much for your kind interview, and for any approval you may give to my report. Charles W. Fielder

Yours very truly, Charles W. Fielder

36 Regent St., West Newton 65, Mass.

Mr. Harold Fleming. This gentleman is a veteran of the Army. During World War II, he commanded Negro troops. Though these troops were not integrated, Mr. Fleming certainly learned much about the Negro soldier.

When this Georgian was asked what experience led him into race relations work, he stated,unequivocally, that the broadening and cosmopolitan experience of study in the north, Harvard University, and service in the Army had given him a new outlook on his homeland. He believes that this experience is the most important factor in creating the final attitude of the southern White veteran towards segregation. It is the broadening influence, rather than ideas, before and after service, which creates new comparisons, fresh horizons, and complete re-evaluations.

While at Harvard, Mr. Fleming was able to look back homeward with a more objective eye. He had seen other customs and traditions for comparisons with his native Georgia. His horizons increased with European Army travel. All this convinced him that the south was, in fact, living in the tradition of a former day. Mr. Fleming is convinced this type of experience, though with great variety of individual interpretation, and depth of comprehension, is the key to influence on the southern veteran.

Fleming also believes that more state and local cooperation is necessary, if a permanent solution to the civil rights issue is to be accomplished. More effort should have been expended towards the creation of an atmosphere of cooperation on the part of local governments and the people.

November 9, 1960

Miss Ada M. Field
1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Miss Field:

mPlease forgive this delay in replying to your letter of October 25. I have been out of the office a good deal, and your letter was one that required more than passing consideration.

First, let me explain why I am returning your check. While I deeply appreciate the confidence you have placed in my judgment, I honestly do not feel qualified to make this decision. In accord with one of your main points, I feel that someone directly involved in Negro leadership would be a better choice. I am sure you would agree that either Dr. Clement or Dr. Mays would know how to make the wisest use of your contribution.

I agree with you wholeheartedly that the statesmanship of the established Negro leadership has been too little recognized. To add an example to those you ha give, we tried very hard to persuade a big national magazine to publish an article by an outstanding Negro Southerner; Benjamin Mays was our suggestion. But after months of effort and discussion, including consideration of a draft by Dr. Mays, the magazine finally decided against it. Why, I have never been sure.

This is a problem to which all of us will have to address ourselves more effectively. Your letter makes me more forcibly aware of this than I previously was.

At the same time, I am not persuaded that the new student movement -- inexperienced and brash as it sometimes seems -- is fundamentally at odds with the best of the mature Negro leadership. To cite Dr. Mays yet again, he is one of the older group who has shown great sympathy and enthusiasm for the student protests. We have just recently seen here in Atlanta that, given the stimulus and the new situation created by the youthful demonstrations, the older leadership can rise to new levels of negotiation and effectiveness. In this sense, the student movement can be viewed as a creative, invigorating force, rather than a heedless attempt to destroy the influence of the elders.

I don't mean to imply a belief that the protests and demonstrations should be uncritically applauded, or sentimentalized. Granted there are dangers, the problems of inexperience and occasionally unbridled zeal, these defects seem to me heavily outweighed by the positive factors. My own hope would be that, out of the blending of the young and the mature, the old and the new, will come even more effective "service" to the general welfare from the Negro South.

In any case, I value your comments and hope you will continue to give me the benefit of your suggestions and observations.

With cordial regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (Mrs. Field's check; #106 -$25.00)

1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, N.C.
Oct. 25, 1960

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Please do me a favor, - two of them, in fact.

The enclosed check is intended to be used to forward the projects being carried on by the best Negro leadership for the improvement of race relations. I suppose I might properly have sent it to the Christian Leadership Council, but I have misplaced the address. But another thing bothers me. If a man ever needed to pray to be delivered from his friends, surely that man is Martin Luther King. I have complete confidence in Dr. King, but I cannot help wondering how a man can do his best with so many well-intentioned but sadly uninformed or misinformed people participating. And that is the second item I want to talk about.

Don't we liberal white Southerners have an obligation at least to try to get over to "the Nawth" some appreciation of the magnificent and unchallengeable contribution to sound race relations which has been made now for more than half a century by the Negro administrators and teachers in the Negro colleges, - particularly the private institutions, - and by the able professional and business men and women in many lines? I'm not just sputtering: more than two years ago I protested vigorously to the staff of the Fellowship of Reconciliation about their approach, - for all the world like that of Elijah in the wilderness, "I alone am left." Finally I withdrew from longtime membership in the FOR, - even before the Lawson incident at Vanderbilt. And I wrote some five pages to the magazine "Liberation" about their mistake in the Williams case. The trouble is they just don't know a thing about men like Rufus Clement, Benjamin Mays, Asa Spalding, even Mordecai Johnson in Washington. It never seems to occur to them that Southern Negroes have a better goal than "equality". For fifty years great numbers of them have been aiming at excellence, - excellence measured only by their own ability, not by white men's achievements. By the way, if you still have extra copies of that advertisement the Atlanta students had in the Atlanta papers please send me a few. Dr. Mays sent me one reprint, but of course it was loaned around and now I do not have any.

Anyone who has lived in New York or Chicago can see why our Yankee friends have no local basis for understanding what the Negro has made out of his "separate but (maybe) equal" opportunities, but I do think they ought to be a little less cocksure of themselves. Ninety years of "carpet-baggers" is enough!

Yankees can't help being Yankees, maybe; but what I keep wondering about is us, - Southern white "liberals." The Progressive, with your valuable help, has been doing a grand job, - but why have all the articles except one been written by white people? I think I am correct on this point. For that matter, why are the articles in The New South nearly always by white people? We do have an obligation to help able Negro spokesmen to get a hearing, maybe to encourage some of them to do the writing, but no white person can tell the story of what that high motive of service has meant in shaping the careers of a host of Southern Negroes. That a handfull of undergraduates here and there have gone out seeking equality, or the show of it, at least, only hightens the necessity for Negro educational and religious leaders to make clear how different the great creative motive of service is, and what it has meant to them. Inevitably the struggle for equality means conflict to some extent, while the motive of service leads to cooperation, friendly rivalry, brotherhood, - and progress.

It was more than six months ago that Morris Rubin wrote me that he thought the case of the great Negro leadership of the South ought to be told and said he was asking James McBryde Dabbs to write the article. Since then serious illness in my family has prevented my doing anything much, but now I am realizing that even C. Vann Woodward's "maverick among mavericks" cannot do the job. Besides, Dr. Dabbs wrote me not long ago that Mr. Rubin had not asked him and that he was too busy anyway. Maybe Mr. Rubin has decided that Negroes must tell the story. If so, then assuredly he was right in asking the one Southern Negro leader whose name is known beyond the Mason and Dixon line to write the first article. But Martin Luther King cannot tell the whole story either. As I see it, it needs to come from Fisk or Meharry or from one of the six Atlanta colleges. Am I right? Maybe Atlanta first because Atlanta is the logical place for leadership, Negro and white, for sound progress in race relations. (Somebody please help the Tech students to find a better way of expressing themselves than by burning the Governor in effigy, though). But Fisk wants, I am sure, to take its part in defending what Vanderbilt did, - and had to do, - in defense of those very standards of excellence and service for which the Negro colleges stand. How do I know?

Forty years ago I not only saw, for ten years, the fine cooperation between Peabody-Vanderbilt and Fisk, I was a part of it. Several full-time members of Peabody-Vanderbilt faculties gave a course in Fisk or Meharry on their (supposedly) spare time, and the student bodies did quite a bit of cooperating, too. One of the funniest things I ever saw occurred in the city auditorium on the occasion of the annual concert of the Jubilee Singers given in appreciation of the friendship and helpfulness of the citizens of Nashville to Fisk. A big block of seats in the middle of the auditorium had been reserved for Vanderbilt students and it was packed. The white lawyer who gave the city's

welcome to the Jubilee Singers was making a speech in the tradition of Southern oratory, and the audience was getting a bit restive when I noticed a turning of heads indicating a message was passing back among the Vanderbilt students. Then, with almost perfect timing, they began to march in place (seated). Seldom have I seen a speaker find terminal facilities so quickly. Then the Vanderbilt students gave courteous and appreciative attention to the excellent program.

But I have more than memories. When I wrote Dr. Branscomb saying that, so far as I could see, Vanderbilt had no choice, under the circumstances, except to dismiss James Lawson, but I hoped that they would make this negative incident the occasion for increasing the positive contribution which Vanderbilt had long been making to better opportunities for Negroes. And Dr. Branscomb's reply began: "Do let me thank you, not for agreeing with us, but for understanding." He then assured me that the plans already made for offering further help to Negro students desiring to study at Vanderbilt would be carried out without any curtailment whatever. Then I knew that Vanderbilt had once more "measured up" to its great tradition, and had suffered much from misunderstanding and misstatement. The Christian Century, in particular, seemed to me inexcusable in its attitude.

One thing more. Do you know the local happening which may have started those four A. and T. college students on their "sit-down" in Greensboro? For years, I do not know how many, the faculty and student body of Bennett College refused to ride the segregated street cars and buses which passed the college campus, but nobody talked about it and half of Greensboro did not even know it. And when, as a result of this and other pressures, the segregation signs just disappeared from the buses about a year ago, most people not having occasion to ride the buses did not know that either. It had all been dignified, no use of force, no disregard of the dignity of the offending transportation company, no display, no interruption of the many areas of cooperation and communication which Greensboro enjoys.

I do not blame the students. Didn't you and I help hatch up some grand scheme for saving society overnight when we were undergraduates? Fortunately most of them were never tried. But I was a part of that other method of demonstrating. One of my proudest memories is that I was one of the "guinea pigs" who, sixty years ago, were trying to produce the objective evidence that women could do college work of the same type as had been reserved to that time for men. In the "separate and not always equal" women's colleges we worked hard, and loved it. And we did not hear about "equality" with Yale, we heard about scholarship for its own sake. Even if "Jane Hopkins" was the students' name for Bryn Mawr that was because some of our best teachers were also "guinea pigs" in the attempt of Johns Hopkins University to offer a graduate course equal to those in Europe.

Those young Ph. D's of Johns Hopkins had a responsibility to "measure up" as teachers, and they did. And so did we, - or else! It was great fun. And that background helps me to understand the deep hurt that these undergraduates of Negro colleges have, with the best of intentions, done to their own great educators. Incidentally, ~~it~~ helped our able Senator Sam J. Ervin to see that the Supreme Court did not make a mistake in interpreting an unchanging law differently in 1954 from the interpretation made in 1896. The evidence was available in 1954 which was not available in 1896.

that background

But this is not all. It is not even the most important thing at issue, as I see it. Mr. Rubin once called himself "not a pacifist but only a fellow-traveller of pacifists." Well, I suppose anyone who uses his intelligence at all can see that we have to find better ways of getting along with other people, and that those ways must be positive and creative, not just being "agin" something or somebody. More than fifty years ago William James set forth service as the only adequate substitute for war. (See the reprint entitled "The Moral Equivalent of War", distributed by International Voluntary Service, Cabot, Vermont.) Nearly two thousand years ago Jesus had taught and lived the same message. Compulsion which disregards the personality and dignity of the one opposed, however physically "non-violent", cannot measure up to the psychological standard of William James or the religious standard of Jesus. Staged "civil disobedience" is, I think, hindering the real pacifist cause in this country deeply. Note that it is staged civil disobedience I am talking about: there can be no question of conformity when one is faced with a real issue, - such, for instance, as Linus Pauling was confronted with before the Internal Security Com. To give a "soap box" to men like Benjamin Mays would be pacifist fellow-travelling of the very best type. Won't you talk it over with him and Dr. Clement? They have demonstrated not only the ability of the Negro to "measure up" intellectually, but also to measure up in that very highest human achievement, - service. The world needs to know about it. CORE needs to know, the FOR needs to know, the War Resisters League needs to know, "Peacemakers" needs to know. All those groups have devoted people, but some members- and influential ones - seem to have misinterpreted what Gandhi meant by satyagraha or spiritual power, and exaggerate one ~~minor incident, his violating the salt tax law, - into the~~ method of that whole great life of brilliant and devoted service.

The greatest Negro leadership of the South has an obligation to this whole country, and thus to the world, to tell their story of the meaning of service: white Southerners have an obligation to help find the medium.

Very sincerely,

Ada M. Field

Ada M. Field

Copy for Mr. Fleming

file Miss Ada M. Field

1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, N.C.
Nov. 26, 1950

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Room 1700
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Chalmers:

I have the letter from the Committee of 100 for NAACP, and am again glad that NAACP has the support of such a group. From what I know of that organization in this area, it has, with a few unfortunate exceptions, done excellent work and in a spirit which harmonizes with the best efforts of Negro educators and other leaders of the South.

As to money contributions, it has seemed to me best for us here to make them directly to local projects rather than by way of New York. But there is a contribution which perhaps we Southern white "liberals" can help your group to make, - a contribution of more value than money. I note several prominent pacifists in your Committee. What I am trying to say is of most concern to pacifists, and also will be best understood by them.

For more than half a century Negro teachers and school and college administrators in the South have been aiming at what is, I suppose, man's highest goal, - service. And they have done this with a zeal for excellence for its own sake, - for doing the work just the best they could. You know, of course, what manner of men they are: -Ira DeA. Reid, Rufus Clement, the late David Jones, Benjamin Mays, Mordecai Johnson. And their students went out with those same goals to serve their own people as physicians, ministers, business men, lawyers, teachers and farmers. It is no accident that the average salary of Negro public school teachers of this state and Virginia and probably other Southern states is higher than that of their white counterparts. The Negroes have done more graduate work and a larger percent of them have higher degrees. In other words, the Southern Negro has used his separate and sometimes, but not always, unequal school and college facilities to demonstrate that he can "measure up" worthily to the highest goals. They have built up institutions and professional records of which not only Negroes but the whole community is proud. This record constituted factual evidence ~~on which the Supreme Court could make a soundly legal interpretation~~ in 1954 which differed from that of 1896.

But the Negro has been concerned not only for his own race but also for the welfare of the whole community. And he respects not only his own dignity but the dignity of others as well. In this state Negroes cooperate ably in the fully integrated State Council of Churches, as well as in many local organizations and enterprises. I realize that Piedmont North Carolina is not typical of the whole South, but neither is it an isolated example. And the type of able, educated, devoted Negro leadership mentioned

above exists to some extent in every Southern state. Having demonstrated themselves the ability of the Negro to measure up to his opportunities in education and some professions they are in a position to move for freedom of opportunity in education for all and also for freedom of opportunity in voting, in industry, in access to libraries and other cultural facilities, in housing, in civic employment, and other fields. And such moves, soundly planned and organized in the same spirit of cooperation with the best white agencies in the communities, are under way.

But now comes an eager and earnest group of impatient young people with a lesser goal, - "equality", or the appearance of it, with the white man; and, logically enough, adopting the white man's methods in seeking to reach this goal. It is difficult for white ex-servicemen to adjust to thought and action for sane and creative methods and efforts; it is tragically difficult for the Negro ex-serviceman. Nor can the college undergraduate be blamed too much, especially if he is a freshman, for not fully grasping the great tradition, and not acting on the high principles of his owh college. I think most of the Negro college authorities appreciated the earnestness of their students, and would have dealt wisely and constructively with the group. Indeed it might have been of value in encouraging more active efforts for more important goals than the one of sitting down and being served. The damage already done and that lies ahead still, I fear, has come mainly because of the lionizing of this group of "new Negroes" by our sensation-seeking press, by white people flattered by seeing their methods adopted by the Negro, and by Northern Negroes who never have understood what the Southern Negro has made of his separate institutions, nor that he is proud of them. Thus the patient building done by great and devoted leaders for fifty years is injured and endangered.

Now what I feel your group can do to help lessen the damage includes at least two things.

(1) You can help secure a hearing for the great leaders like Benjamin Mays to tell their own story in print. I doubt that any white man can tell that story, simply because most of us cannot escape the conscious or subconscious realization that almost the whole of our country was taken by naked aggression from the Indians, that we used people as property, and that we have taken part in just about every war we could get into. The Negro was not responsible for these things.

(2) You can make sure that any statements made in behalf of NAACP are factually correct. It is not only true that many of the public schools for Negroes are as good as those for whites, but some of the new ones are better. What the Negro wants is freedom to <u>decide</u> on the school, not have it decided for him. Maybe you ought to ask Thurgood Marshall whether I am correct, but I know this true of some places.

Very sincerely yours,

November 30, 1960

Miss Ada M. Field
1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Miss Field:

Thanks for your most recent letter and for the copy of your letter to Mr. Chalmers.

You would certainly have my vote in suggesting to Morris Rubin that he solicit an article from one of the outstanding Negro educators in the South. Dr. Mays would be an ideal choice.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, N.C.
Nov. 12, 1960

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Your letter today I greatly appreciate. There are some points that I am leaving for further thought, but one or two I want to take up now.

You are quite right about my being inconsistent in sending you the check! Thanks. I'll try to do better next time.

You will wonder what connection the enclosed marked copy of a little Newsletter has to do with the topic in hand. Just that a little group of earnest individuals, with a big moral issue at heart, can accomplish a great deal if it works through appealing to the intelligence and moral principles of others. Eleven years ago a little group, including Albert Einstein, formed the SSRS. It is international but the total membership is not over five hundred, probably. About three years ago the organization applied for affiliation in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, but was not accepted because AAAS is an organization of scientists as such, while SSRS was an organization for moral ends. I wrote our president then that we ought to be aiming at much more than affiliation with AAAS; we ought to aim at influencing the overall moral purpose of AAAS. Rightly he replied that he thought that idea somewhat utopian! But now look. And this discussion is announced in the official program of AAAS as published in "Science." Of course there have been many other influences besides those of members of SSRS, but we have helped.

And that is what I mean about the difference in the goals of those who seek to serve and those who seek "equality." It is the biggest difference, as I see it, between NAACP and CORE. Maybe Piedmont North Carolina has something to contribute that I had not quite realized before. Anyway, we can illustrate something of what it means when a Negro has goals irrespective of race, and finds great satisfaction in them. And because I feel that this difference in motivation is so vital I am risking what may be tiresome repetition.

It is not that we have done more for our Negro citizens than have others. We may even have done less. But we have encouraged them to "run their own show", - to do things for their own people. It was not just a wise crack when a citizen of Durham quipped: "You have to be a little respectful to Negroes in Durham; there are too many Negro millionaires here." Perhaps the man who typifies what I am thinking of here is the late Dr. Hampton of Greensboro. Able and devoted physician serving his own people, able and devoted citizen serving the whole community so well that as a candidate for reelection to city Council

he led the ticket. And the two-column with photograph obituary in the Greensboro News, front page, was as much, I think, as any white physician of Greensboro would have received.

It was logical that those students of A. and T. College here should have been the first to try some new method of doing something for the race; so much has been done by Negroes in many areas of achievement here. The tragic thing was, - and is, - that they failed to realize what had made their great Negro fellow citizens great, and so they went out demanding to be served instead of serving, and seeking dignity by disregarding the dignity and even the rights of others.

You mentioned having tried to get a mass circulation magazine to publish the story of the true Negro leadership of the South. I have a suspicion that a magazine of mass circulation would probably not be able to appreciate the quality we are talking about. But the Progressive can appreciate it and so can a large percentof its readers. Shouldn't the Progressive be tried first? Even if the editor of a large magazine should approve an article such as you proposed, he is not free entirely. You recall what the nine Nieman fellows said in "Your Newspaper": - "Journalism is a profession owned by a business". And a mass circulation publication is twice over owned,-first by the publisher and then by the advertisers. That is why I think our hope here is the independents.

Had you thought of Ira deA. Reid as the author of the first article? I do not know at all whether the suggestion is good: I just thought that he has now been in the North (at Haverford College) long enough to be familiar with the thinking there, and yet his experience at Atlanta University, and in lectures and other contacts elsewhere in the South would qualify him to speak the language and thought of the leadership here, in the South.

Of course Dr. Mays and the other college leadership would be sympathetic to their "eager beavers", but that does not mean approving their methods. Jesus loved his eager beavers (only he called them by a stronger name, - "sons of thunder"). But he could say of their proposed methods, "You do not know what spirit you are of." It was a long way, with repeated patient instruction and re-instruction, before they, perhaps half understanding what he really meant, could say quietly to his great challenge of "Are you able to drink the cup that I shall drink?" "We are able." It was in the same city where the A. and T. students had asked to sit down and be served with white people, that the Guilford County Negro physicians asked for membership in the County Medical Association. After consulting with the state Medical Associatiion, the County Association replied by accepting the Negro group as "professional mwmbers." Did the Negroes then "crash the gate" to the Med. banquet?

They just replied with a dignified "No". And now I imagine several white physicians are wondering just what their Medical Association is for. Just as big city churches have scurried around to meet the conditions for having the state Council of Churches hold its annual all-day meeting in their city. The November issue of Southern School News states that in its fifth year of desegregation the Women's College of UNC (Greensboro) has about thirty Negro students, graduate and undergraduate, in a total enrollment of about twenty five hundred. It might have added that just across town Bennett College is crowded as usual. Token integration? Token of what? The doors of Women's College are wide open.

You may feel that I am departing from goals now and talking methods. To me the defects in method stem from the shift to emphasis on equality; the use of force, the assumption that "the end justifies the means", even the sudden emphasis on haste, - these reflect the white man's methods. Even as good observers as the Stokelys fail to give proper recognition to that excellent advertisement by the whole student bodies of the six Atlanta colleges. And they credit it to six students! (The Progressive, June, 1960). And Lillian Smith, in the September Progressive, gives her emotional reaction which seems to me to further distort the picture. It is high time the Progressive is supplied with a better picture.

It never seems to occur to these "new Negroes" that their great leadership for half a century has been almost uniformly and genuinely pacifist. (If you are thinking of W.E.B. Dubois, don't forget his Portuguese ancestry. It might take some doing to overcome that drive. I should know; I am Irish!). The very extent of the emphasis on "non-violence" is to me the confession that an unnecessarily provocative method is being employed. And the failure to distinguish between the refusal to ride segregated buses and the taking and holding of seats in a segregated lunchroom, this is evidence in the same direction.

Do you know of any article which considers the unpleasant but seemingly unescapable fact that the Johnny-come-lately white race, heir to the accumulated advances of millenia of past civilizations, has failed to make the advances to new moral and spiritual heights which it might have made, but has repeated instead the blunders of the powerful nations of the past? I sometimes wonder if our myth of white superiority, and our bland self-righteousness, are not the attempt to stifle a sense, - subconscious, maybe, - of our own failure to "measure up". The author would not be likely to be popular, but maybe he might help wake us up.

Would you like me to urge Morris Rubin to look for a presentation of the Southern Negro educater's view, written by one of them? Just by way of one more vote, of course.

Very sincerely,

Ada M. Field

Ada M. Field

society for social responsibility in science

SSRS Newsletter

No. 99 NOVEMBER, 1960

CBR WARFARE EFFECTS DISCUSSED BY PANEL OF EXPERTS AT SSRS OPEN FORUM

A symposium on chemical-bacteriological-radiological warfare was held on October 20 at Sanders Theater, Harvard University, in Cambridge, Mass. The forum was arranged by the Boston Chapter of SSRS, in their continuing effort to promote public discussion of the ethical problems of scientists. Although the attendance of about 400 was less than expected, coverage by press, radio and television was excellent.

The following account, reprinted by permission, is by Robert C. Cowen, Natural Science Editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*.

A symposium on chemical-bacteriological warfare held at Sanders Theater here last night strove to focus public attention on a neglected yet important aspect of disarmament.

Nuclear weapons have held the spotlight. But modern chemicals, gases, and biological weapons are believed to be capable of equally massive destruction.

While nations may not be openly threatening one another with gas or germ warfare, speakers at the symposium sponsored by the Society for Social Responsibility in Science seemed to feel that disarmament in this field is at least as important as in the case of nuclear explosives.

Wide Range Covered

Between them, the speakers, all experts in their fields, covered a wide range of material.

Dr. J. Huston Westover, executive secretary of the Friends Medical Society, dealt with chemical weapons. Dr. Theodor Rosebury of Washington University, St. Louis, covered bacterial aspects. He was unable to attend in person, and his paper was read for him by Dr. Salvador E. Luria, microbiologist of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who moderated the meeting.

A third speaker, Dr. Henry T. Yost of Amherst College, outlined the long-term genetic damage that experts believe would result from radiation released in a nuclear attack. However, emphasis of the meeting was on chemical and bacterial warfare (CBW).

It is impossible here to more than sketch the high points of their discussion. But these can be listed succinctly.

'Humane' Tag Denounced

After detailing possible effects of CBW, effects which sound like the nightmare horrors of a madman, the speaker denounced efforts that have been made recently in some military quarters to describe CBW weapons as more "humane" than nuclear bombs.

Is it humane to kill or maim millions of civilians? they asked. Dr. Rosebury noted that the word seemed particularly inappropriate since so little is known about the effects of bacterial agents or how to control them. One would run the risk of initiating a world epidemic in launching even a limited attack, he said.

Dr. Luria noted that there is grave danger even with so-called benign agents that temporarily knock people out or befuddle their wills and reason without permanently damaging them. It is quite possible, he said, that people manning the nuclear weapons might have their judgment so distorted that they would launch the disaster the chemical attack had been designed to prevent.

'Insidious Campaign'

In short, Drs. Westover, Rosebury, and Luria concluded that attempts to represent CBW as "humane" are part of an insidious campaign to make respectable a form of warfare that humanity has universally condemned.

As a counter to any such campaign, they urged passage of the resolution placed before the House of Representatives by Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D) of Wisconsin which would put the House on record as favoring continuance of Roosevelt's World War II policy of not using CBW weapons unless they first were used by an enemy.

For his part, Dr. Westover pointed out that development of CBW posed a serious challenge to the conscience of medical doctors. Each of them takes an oath that he will use his skills and knowledge only for blessing and healing. Yet in CBW medical knowledge is being used to promote the ills it otherwise attempts to destroy.

Total Ban Urged

He then read a statement of the Friends Medical Society officially op-

(*Continued on page 2, col. 1*)

Nixon, Kennedy Disagree on CBR Warfare Issue

State Positions to SSRS Forum

Vice-President Nixon and Senator Kennedy expressed widely divergent views on chemical, bacteriological and radiological warfare in letters to SSRS made public at the October 20th forum in Cambridge, Mass.

The vice-president called CBR research and development "essential to provide our armed forces and our civilian populations with the essential information for their own protection and defense." He made no reference to any necessity for international disarmament and control.

Kennedy, called for international control of CBR weapons "with a view to eventual disarmament." He made no reference to any necessity for national development of these methods of warfare.

The letters were in answer to a letter from Dr. Lee R. Wilcox, research associate at Harvard University, written August 10 and which stated the time and purpose of the SSRS forum. Full texts of the letters follow.

Nixon's answer, dated August 25:

I want to thank you for your recent letter regarding biological and chemical warfare.

Because of rapid technological progress in many fields of science, the country cannot afford to neglect investigation of any area which might be exploited by a ruthless enemy in time of war directed to destroy the very principles of liberty upon which

(*Continued on page 2, col. 2*)

Army Unable to Defend CBR

A sincere and strenuous effort was made to get a representative of the Army Chemical Corps to present the Army's point of view at the Cambridge symposium. Correspondence beginning 27 July with Leroy D. Fothergill, M.D., Scientific Adviser to the Chemical Corps Biological Laboratories at Ft. Detrick, revealed the fact that his schedule for extracurricular activities (*sic*) was quite full and that he could not take on an additional engagement. Dr. Fothergill was unable to suggest anyone else at Ft. Detrick who could present the Army viewpoint. Major General Marshall Stubbs, Chief Chemical Officer of the U. S. Army Chemical Center at Edgewood, Md., also was unable to supply a speaker for the symposium. David E. Kennell, program co-chairman of the Boston SSRS, then invited General Stubbs to send to the symposium up to 1000 copies of any literature that might express the policies or desired policies of the government or the Chemical Corps. It developed that supplies are limited, but a technical liason officer was able to send one copy of each of the following: (1) House Report No. 815; (2) Hearings before the Committee on Science and Astronautics; (3) Summary Report of ACS Board.

Pauling Defense Fund

Our member Linus Pauling has, as probably all the readers of the Newsletter know, solicited some two years ago signatures protesting continuation of nuclear tests. He obtained some 11,000 signatures which were submitted both to the U.N. and in a petition to the U. S. government. In the spring of 1960 Pauling spoke in Washington D.C. before the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; in leaving the meeting he was served a suponea from the Senate Internal Security Committee to appear there. The Committee requested a number of things from him. He said that he was not a communist; he offered to submit copies of the 11,000 signatures and on request of the committee the names of the people whom he had solicited to help him collect the signatures. He refused however to disclose the names of those who had accepted his request and helped him actually soliciting signatures. Moreover the Senate Committee wanted to know with each name how many signatures each person actually had gathered.

Pauling finds that by disclosing these names he might endanger careers of younger colleagues who might be harrassed by the committee. Pauling is therefore held in contempt of Congress and fights this now in the courts on the basis of the principle of Civil Liberties.

The Council of the SSRS, with the approval of Dr. Pauling, is soliciting voluntary contributions to help Pauling with the legal expenses in carrying this matter to the courts. Contributions for these legal expenses should be sent to the SSRS treasurer: August Becker, 172-35 Henley Rd., Jamaica 32, New York.

For the Council,
Victor Paschkis,
President

Letters

To the Editor of the Newsletter:

Let us consider the consequences in case it should happen that Dr. Pauling should be cited for contempt of Congress.

My first impression is that this would constitute a deep and sorrowful humiliation of the United States. Let us face it, in Great Britain and in the United States freedom of the responsible individual conscience is deeply respected. That the United States should be blamed by outside critics for failure to stand on this civil liberaties issue—on exactly the issue it can be proud of—would bring a deplorable confusion.

To come to another point. If the scientist who originated the international Appeal to End Nuclear Tests should be cited for contempt, we would be giving the cards into the hands of those who would use such an event as a means to convince the world "that the United States is clearly set against a nuclear test ban." And they might use such an eventuality to place still more demands on us in the test ban negotiations. Whether Senator Dodd wants this or not, I am not to judge, but it may be a likely consequence of a contempt citation.

Internally it would, of course, have another impact upon government scientists—and perhaps some other scientists too—i. e., to discourage them from voicing their convictions, and to make them follow whatever mistaken policy has been handed down to them from some not too foresighted superiors.

Unless some constitutional barrier is created to protect the right of associational privacy in this circumscribed but important area, quite a number of our most conscientious and distinguished citizens may soon be in jail, as Dr. Uphaus is, or (and this could be still more dangerous from the public viewpoint) may withdraw from the area of public affairs where their talents are so sorely needed.

Herbert Jehle
Washington, D. C.
George Washington University

The Honorable Thomas J. Dodd
Acting Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Dodd:

I am surprised and shocked that you have threatened Dr. Linus Pauling with contempt of Congress.

Such action against a man with such a distinguished record will deeply offend at least four large groups of people within the United States: his fellow scientists (many of whom are already suspicious of the motives of our Government); college professors and educators in all fields of endeavor; liberal clergymen of all faiths (I know whereof I speak since I am an ordained Methodist minister as well as a college professor); and thoughtful people generally—in all walks of life. Beware of offending these groups; it will hurt rather than help us as a nation.

Again, Dr. Pauling is respected abroad, among the free nations. If you persecute him, it will damage us abroad. Indeed, it will bring back memories of McCarthy. The Communists will also make use of this in their propaganda: that is, they will tell the rest of the world that we really do not believe in democracy, and that we are really bloodthirsty militarists.

When will we wake up to the fact that large armaments cannot bring us security in this, the Nuclear Age? Real security can only come through a more rational foreign policy, through building up the United Nations, and through winning the good will of people everywhere. If we had spent half of the some $350,000,000,000, that we have spent during the last ten years for armaments, in trying to conquer want, hunger, misery, and ignorance, we would not be in the precarious situation in which we find ourselves today.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur W. Munk, Ph.D.
Author of: *A Way of Survival*
Albion, Michigan

To the Editor of the Newsletter:

Your last issue of the Newletter contained some interesting letters. The Pauling discussion was illuminating and the letter from Forrest Cleveland was especially suggestive.

I recently read in our (Detroit) paper a review of the film, "I Aim At the Stars", which is a dramatization of the life of W. Von Braun. Apparently the film goes into some detail over the moral issues involved in his heroic construction of V-2's for the Nazis and his equal heroism in making ICBM's for America.

The reviewer's conclusion is that "technically the movie is well done . . . but it should have been better edited to create suspense and prevent the moral issues from going round and round in an increasingly fuzzy circle." That's right. We can't have moral issues fuzzing up the picture, and since they are controversial as well as incapable of mathematical proof, we should forget them and continue on our merry (?) way.

While I disagree with the primary assumption of the SSRS (normativism) I constantly find stimulating news items and viewpoints in your publication.

Bruce Stewart
East Lansing, Mich.

Policy on Letters

Letters to the Editor must be accompanied by name and address, which will be withheld from publication upon request. Will "Pentagon Watcher" please identify himself, so that we may print his letter. Letters of over 300 words are subject to condensation, although longer articles are welcome and will be published as space permits.

AAAS Plans Sessions on Social Responsibility

We understand that several open sessions on Science and Society are being planned for the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December 26-31. The purpose of these sessions is to bring out the views of members of the scientific community on how they regard their social responsibility. These views are, naturally, quite varied; the hope is that a wide cross section of positions will be expressed by many different scientists. Victor Paschkis will present the SSRS stand at one session.

Individuals who wish to be heard should write Dr. Barry Commoner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., stating the amount of time required and giving some idea of the nature of the position taken (to facilitate planning). The program is frankly experimental, depending upon cooperation and support from scientists having many different viewpoints. Full details will appear in an early issue of *Science*. We urge our readers, whether members of SSRS or not, to take part in this unique experiment.

1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, N.C.
Dec. 3, 1960

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wis.

Dear Mr. Rubin:

Please pardon my long delay in replying to your kind letter. Serious illness in my family has taken all mytime for half a year, but my niece is happily improving at present.

As you will note from the enclosed carbons of two letters, I am still very much concerned that the Negro educators and other able leaders who have been making sound and steady progress for years, - that they have an opportunity to tell their own story to the reading public.

As I stated to Harold Fleming, I have come to feel that no white person can tell that story adequately. I also feel that no white person should tell the story even if he could: one of our difficulties is that we like to do the talking for other people, anyway, is it not?

I must explain that the letter from Mr. Fleming which is enclosed herewith is the reply to a second letter to him, not to the one of which carbon is enclosed herewith. He had replied to the first letter that he felt strongly that such an article as I had suggested would be very helpful, although he felt that the student "sit-ins" had been of constructive value in some places, and that they had aroused more interest and activity on the part of their elders in many cases. This is no doubt true, but I still feel, and so does Mr. Fleming, that there is a much greater story to be told. In the main it is a story of creative and devoted effort, able and patient building, and, as I have tried to emphasize, worthy achievement for its own sake. Eminently these Negroes have been saying by their lives for many years the things that Lillian Smith attributes to the students in the article entitled "The South's Moment of Truth" (The Progressive, Sept., 1960).

The Progressive makes valuable Christmas gifts, and I am planning to lengthen my list of it this year.

With all good wishes for a happy Christmas
and New Year,

Sincerely,

Ada M. Field

1409 New Garden Road
Greensboro, N.C.
Dec. 4, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Well, I put in my good advice to Mr. Rubin, as per carbon enclosed. I hope he does ask Benjamin Mays, since I gather from your letter that Dr. Mays has already done some drafting of such an article as might be suitable here. Also, since Dr. Mays has known Dr. King so long and well, he would be able to make his article say what needs to be said and yet not conflict unduly with Dr. King's article, which appeared earlier this year.

Unless I misunderstand the final sentence of Martin S. Dworkin's article "The New Negro on Screen", in the December Progressive, I have distinguished company in my contention that the goal must be higher than "equality" with the white man. "Equality in imagery - if not in actuality - may be truly achieved, perhaps, only as Negroes reach with all others beyond equality towards grandeur." Maybe his is a better expression for what I meant by "excellence for its own sake." Maybe Daniel Luzon Morris' book title, "Possibilities Unlimited", is a still better way to express the idea.

But I am not neglecting the fact that there are <u>two</u> factors involved: (1) too limited a goal, and (2) surrender to the false reasoning on which war is justified, - "the end justifies the means." All the stress laid on non-violence only serves to emphasize the fact that the method itself is negative and is one likely to arouse violence. I once used the expression "word violence" in protesting some of Milton Mayer's earlier writing. I think the same idea applies here. We have used this kind of violence so constantly in pursuing "cold war" that we do not even recognize ~~recognize~~ what it really is. Both internationally and locally it is far removed from creative <u>peace-making</u>.

One of the things which give me hope and courage to keep on with my little bit as best I can is the <u>thought of the Southern Regional Council and its work through</u> the years, and the way in which you and Dr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright and all the others are carrying forward.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Ada M. Field

Ada M. Field

Local News

OEO Official Cites Role Of War On Poverty

Daytona Beach Morning Journal
10/22/66

By MABEL NORRIS CHESLEY
Associate Editor

The only thing the war on poverty seeks to "give" is opportunity, the Florida Council on Human Relations was told at the Voyager Motel Friday night.

And it can work even in less than the decade envisioned by its director, Sergeant Shriver, if communities across the nation will understand its objectives thoroughly, said DuPree Jordan, director of public affairs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Southeast division. He was the banquet speaker at FCHR's opening convention session.

The convention continues today with a membership meeting and election this morning, followed by panels on social problems. A luncheon will feature Vernon Jordan, director of the Voter Education Project of Southern Regional council.

Speaker Discouraged

The no-dole approach of the poverty war, said DuPree Jordan last night, is the secret of its surety of success. It seeks to give "only opportunity to those who have been denied it; the incentive and the inspiration to pull their own weight in society."

Earlier, in a press conference, Jordan spoke with relative discouragement of the way the last session of the 89th Congress viewed the objective of the poverty war. It needs twice the amount the closing session provided yesterday, he said.

With the funds provided for this fiscal year, the war can expect only to engage in a "holding operation," with many new programs sidetracked in communities that have requested them, and with no addition of needed personnel to assess the progress, or lack of it, in communities where programs have been established.

Calls For Cutbacks

Jordan said the Southeast region can expect about $150 million out of the new budget, despite the fact that it is one of seven regions in the nation and the appropriation represents only about 10 percent of the budget. The "hold the line" appropriation will have to call for cutbacks in new programs in such cities as Miami, Jacksonville and Tampa.

However, he doubted that it would affect the Community Action Project in Volusia County. Durwood Smith, director of Volusia's Project Upgrade, agreed, though he spoke of the severe restrictions on the amount allowed for medical attention for children in Head Start, the preschool program. It allows an average of only $15 per child for medical and dental examinations and aftercare, which means that the aftercare program is slow to gain headbeen in trouble—and compare that, if you will, to schools, colleges, and the population as a whole."

Jordan said community suspicion and distrust of this new way of attacking problems of the poor are beginning to dissolve, and people are beginning to realize that broad community involvement is the way to "bridge the lines" between all groups in the community.

Cites Role Of War On Poverty

10/22/66

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Associate Editor

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Volusia children in the program were found to be in dire need of the attention—92 percent needed medical care and 73 percent dental care, he said.

Lands Job Corps

OEO, Johnson told the banquet meeting, is not trying to usurp established agencies in communities or their political power, but to serve as an inspiration to get people to help themselves. The poverty war, he said, is based on broad participation, and particularly seeks to involve the poor themselves.

He declared that the dramatic proof of its worth is in the way it has shown that the poor want to help themselves.

"It is one of the great misfortunes of our time that there have been such broad misunderstandings of the programs—with the exception of Head Start, which everyone seems to recognize as doing a good job," Jordan said. "But the Job Corps, too, is a resounding success. Less than two percent of those involved have been in trouble—and compare that, if you will, to schools, colleges, and the population as a whole."

Jordan said community suspicion and distrust of this new way of attacking problems of the poor are beginning to dissolve, and people are beginning to realize that broad community involvement is the way to "bridge the lines" between all groups in the community.

Fels Fund for Adv. Ed.

MS File

MEMORANDUM

December 31, 1965

TO: Mr. John J. Scanlon
Secretary-Treasurer
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

FROM: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

I have discussed the idea of book distribution with several people on the staff and with Dr. Henderson, President of Clark College. The following are some of the initial reactions we have.

While considerably more thought needs to be given to all aspects of this, particularly the selection of titles and the mechanics of distribution, we think the general idea has considerable merit. We believe, too that programs can be developed which are altogether new and which at least in some instances have promise of establishing ideas and patterns that public and private agencies would continue and possibly expand While the programs are new, it should be noted that some work has been done successfully.

(Enclosed is a report of Books For Equal Education which has been the most elaborated and successful effort of

this kind.)

NEGRO COLLEGES

Much can be done here through the traditional library outlet. This would introduce the whole concept of paper backs to most of these college libraries and should increase the resources of the schools dealt with. Here at least two categories of books would have to be developed. One for the accredited schools and another for the unaccredited. And, as we mentioned on the phone, certainly the unaccredited schools should not be over-looked in any programs developed.

Perhaps a special committee to select titles could be made up of librarians, college presidents and representatives of the American Library Association. Another method might be to provide the longest possible list of titles and allow librarians and department heads to select from this list.

Beyond the traditional library system there are areas for experimentation on the campus. For instance, books in substantial number could be placed in dormitories, student union buildings and other places where students gather. Another idea which originated with BEE in cooperation with Tuskegee Institute is that of providing volumes for book mobiles. Perhaps the project could offer books to any institution which could find a means of providing a book mobile and getting volumes out into the community or into the countryside. I think we would find that some colleges would react enthusiastically to this. The Tuskegee book mobile program has been very successful. And, here we could again inject the idea not only of wide circulation but perhaps of book ownership to people who otherwise might not be reached.

COMMUNITY GROUPS

The first obvious outlet in this category would be in public and privately sponsored community centers, freedom schools and the like and, of course, titles could range from self-help programs to children's books. A great deal of this has already been done but generally the idea of paper backs of carefully selected titles and certainly of ownership is new.

There are several established agencies that reach a large number of people who would undoubtedly be anxious to cooperate. For instance, Penn Community Services has programs to reach isolated rural communities in South Carolina The Southwest Louisiana Co-operative reaches into a number of rural parishes in that state. Through these agencies and others efforts might also be made to establish libraries in churches and other gathering places in the rural communities.

The Councils on Human Relations offer perhaps one of the most promising outlets, although generally these would not reach into rural areas. There are now 10 staffed State Councils in the region and well over 100 local councils. Many of these would respond eagerly to the opportunity of setting up reading centers or of placing books in logical places which already exist. In some instances it is likely that this would create long term programs for these local inter-racial groups and it might well serve to place them in closer relationship with the slum areas of their communities.

Some consideration should be given to the idea of supplying field workers with kits very much like your idea of kits for Vista volunteers. SNCC has a number of these workers, of course. Periodically SCLC does also. Four of the State Councils now have full time persons working exclusively in

rural areas. Next summer we hope to have perhaps 100 college students working in rural and urban self-help and voter education programs. There are others. In every instance it would seem of value to have these people as part of the distribution mechanism.

Some consideration should be given to placing selected titles in the libraries of elementary and high schools. Many of these schools, rural and urban, Negro and White - as you know - have very inadequate libraries or none at all. In some instances I believe we could even get the cooperation of state and local school boards for a program such as this. (See the enclosed newspaper clipping.) These schools also would be appropriate places to experiment with the idea of book ownership and the idea of disseminating information to adults thru school children.

Finally, there are many Head-Start programs and programs of a similar nature privately sponsored and financed. As a part of this there are a growing number of nurseries and day care centers for the children of working mothers. In some of the self-help programs, day care centers are the first thing requested by local people. These, too, would be natural outlets for books and might add a whole new dimension to many of these places which are most often simply places for children to stay without organized programs or trained leadership.

All of these ideas, of course, require considerably more thought. Perhaps there should also be some experimentation before any major committment is made.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MJ-file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-6764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 31, 1966

MEMORANDUM (CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Field report on Virginia and North Carolina councils

I was in Richmond from Thursday evening, January 20, until Saturday afternoon, January 22, to attend the annual meeting of VCHR. I was a house guest of Robert Combs.

The meeting was held in Schauffler Hall at Union Theological Seminary. There were only about 130 people at the banquet on Thursday evening, although I am sure that more people participated in some part of the program. This struck me as low attendance for a council which claims nearly 3,000 members. I was told, however, that they seldom have a large attendance--that the chapters usually send two or three representatives apiece.

One of my strongest impressions was that VCHR has a poor sense of values concerning expenditures. As you know, they moved their office into the rear of the Friends' meeting houses--in a relatively inaccessible residential neighborhood--in order to save money on rent. When I asked why the meeting was not held in some public accommodation, Bob said, "Well, the Virginia Council is funny that way..." but he did not elaborate. I suppose they think this saves money.

There seems to be a lack of imagination about fiscal

matters generally. One of the attached sheets (yellow) indicates that the chapters contributed a total of $15,699.74 on quotas for 1965, and quotas for 1966 total $18,775.00. Both figures are considerably less than $10 per capita. But when I remarked that we hoped that the state councils would be able to underwrite their basic operation from memberships and small donations within three years, one woman (from Charlottesville) assured me that this was impossible. She explained that the chapters in the larger cities "are interested primarily in their local program, feel no need for the state council, and have little missionary zeal for the more rural areas of the state." I suspect that she is accurate. As you know, VCHR's finance chairman, from northern Virginia, has resigned -- and Bob tells me that she felt frustrated.

Combs seems to me to be "catching on." That is, he seems to be overcoming his ignorance of the field at a rapid pace, and he appeared to have a high level of commitment and energy -- whatever may be lacking in judgment. He seems to have a good relationship with reporters both locally and around the state. (In fact, he fumes when the council's stories get "Buried in the back pages," protesting his concern for "the organization.") He has, as you well know, a problem of competing ego on his board.

I might observe, in passing, that a great concern in Richmond at present is city planning and integration of housing. Richmond proper is either already more than 50% Negro or is nearly so (depending on whom you talk to). And they seem unable to stabilize any neighborhoods into which Negroes move. (Someone asked me when the report on which Lloyd Elliott was working would be ready.)

**********'

Enroute back to Atlanta I stopped overnight in Raleigh to attend the annual banquet of the NCCHR, which was held

in the student union at North Carolina State University. Since it consisted of a banquet, brief business meeting, and after-dinner speech (after which everyone scattered because the weather was bad), I had little opportunity to talk to T. Franklin Williams or other leaders.

The attendance was surprisingly good, considering the weather. There must have been about 200 people there. This was more than they expected and they had to set up an extra table.

The address by Dr. Mahlon T. Puryear of the Urban League was a lot of hocum. Unfortunately the crowd seemed to appreciate it.

As in Virginia, I came away from the meeting rather depressed. An audit report indicated that only $5,858.07 had been raised from membership fees and individual contributions during the year, with an additional $1,500.00 from organizations within the state. Yet the crowd attending seemed even better-off than the human relations council membership in other states.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MJ ~~E S - Take back what you want - return rest to me~~

File - See Projects: Field Services

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 7, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Alabama Council, Annual Meeting, February 4-5 1966

The annual meeting of the Alabama Council was held in Montgomery, February 4 and 5, in the Jefferson Davis Hotel. It was preceded by a conference for students. See attached program.

About 75 students participated in the Friday evening program. An estimated 200 people were present for the annual meeting. (160 luncheons were served, but some students and others ate elsewhere.)

Attached is a report on ACHR's membership funding campaign. Memberships received during the meeting brought the total for the 1966 membership year to 771 $14,603.14 in cash and pledges (exclusive of all grants) had been received by the end of the meeting. Note that the report shows approximately $6,500 cash already received.

All of the attached exhibits indicate to me that Bob Valder is doing an excellent administrative job. I thought he conducted himself well during the meeting, too.

By a telegram received Saturday morning, James Sessions declined to accept directorship of the Alabama Council.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion was elected president by acclamation.

Leaders of the East Alabama Council were especially concerned about developments in Tuskegee. It seems that there may be some division within that council chapter about whether or not the council should support the "Ad Hoc Committee," which is dominated by TIAL and SNCC. (During a workshop on voter education on Saturday morning three members of TIAL who were present heaped scorn on Dr. Gomillion, who was on the panel, designating the TCA as an organization of the "Negro bourgeois.")

Lewis Black was introduced as Director of the Rural Advancement Project. He begun officially on February 4. (A satisfactory budget has been submitted, and I am ordering payment of the first quarter of the R.A.P. grant to Alabama.) Of continuing concern is the attitude of NSF, as represented by Jac Wasserman, toward their program and its director. Valder, Black, Wasserman, and I met briefly Saturday evening. Wasserman reiterated their "usual practice" of requiring weekly reports - a paragraph or two on each day's use - of "all our field men." Valder stood his ground, but finally agreed to a bi-weekly report "for the first couple of months." This disagreement was mildly upsetting to Black. I reassured him that he did <u>not</u> have to answer to NSF. (He indicated that he has little enough regard for NSF.)

Admin

ES - let's discuss
OOTD
MS - file

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Fieldtrip to New Orleans, 2/15-18/66

Delegation

The National Social Welfare Assembly

The sole purpose of this one-day regional consultation of the N.S.W.A. was to discuss needed changes in the scope, functions, memberships, structural and operating relationships and image of the N.S.W.A. This meeting, like 4 others around the country was set up by Greenleigh Associates, Inc., a firm of management consultants retained by the N.S.W.A. (See attached discussion guide.)

There seemed to be a concensus that the expansion of federal government programs and planning called for some national planning and coordinating agency. I had the uneasy feeling, however, that many-- if not most-- of those present were thinking in terms of the interests of the "welfare industry." Within the limits of the modesty appropriate to a newcomer, I pumped for an emphasis on urban planning and community organization as perhaps the key problems, Professor Hall Bronfin of the University of Georgia School of Social Work joined forces with me on this. But the group as a whole seemed more concerned about whether they should have a Washington office and to what extent the N.S.W.A. could and should take positions and make pronouncements for the member agencies.

Some new acquaintances could be helpful. Bronfin, Walter Chivers of Morehouse, Harvey Reams of the New Orleans Urban League, and Victor Bussie of the Louisiana AFL-CIO-- who was a buddy-buddy to "Ole Earl."

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations

I talked to Helen Mervis, then visited Dr. Oliver and Fr. Ségur in Lafayette, and stayed for a meeting of the New Orleans Community Relations Council Board. (At which there was no quorum - only four women and myself. Mardi Gras, you know.)

Helen's initial position was that, in order to persuade the N.O. group to affiliate with and support the L.C.H.R., not only would the office have to be located in N.O., but also they would want some rather explicit delineation of the services they could expect from the director. That first evening I talked against any notion of a dual responsibility, arguing that a man could answer to only one policy board and that his presence in N.O. would assure them of more-than- ordinary attention. She seemed convinced, but wanted me to stay for the Board meeting.

In Lafayette I learned that the idea of locating the office in N.O. was unthinkable. Oliver had Lafayette in mind. (Strongly in mind) In the end he allowed that "Baton Rouge might be a good compromise." He even stated that they would go along with anything to get a staff. But it was quite clear that the southwest Louisiana crowd saw no possibility that a N.O. location would work. They argued - with some accuracy, I think - that the N.O. group had actually done very little, had not affiliated with or paid dues to L.C.H.R., that the new man probably would be absorbed by N.O. despite all intentions to the contrary - and that the rest of the state would perceive this to be the case, whether it was or not.

Before the attempted Board meeting of the C.R.C., I interviewed an Episcopal minister whom Helen had suggested as a possible candidate. His name is Prim Smith. He is about 40, but looks younger. His family moved to N.O. from Florida while he was in high school, and he went to Tulane. He has a degree in law and practiced in N.O. for two years before going to seminary in California. Even while in seminary he worked summers for the Justice Department. He was very much interested and he impressed me as being exceptionally well-qualified for the job, temperamentally as well as by training and background. However, he indicated that he would need more than the usual starting salary because of his family (4 children) and indebtedness resulting from his seminary years. (He was simply being frank with me and realistic with himself - this was not dickering.) Also, wearing his clerical garb seems important to him; he said he would be more inclined to take such a job if he could continue to do so. Finally, he would not be in a position to move because of a peculiarity about the deal he made with his church to buy the house in which he is living. Surprisingly, however, his sympathies were with Dr. Oliver on the city-vs provinces controversy. He thought Oliver's fears were "justified by history" and seemed to grasp fully the necessity of careful

attention to upstate Louisiana. He indicated a willingness to travel extensively to do them a good job, and felt that he could win confidence upstate within a few months.

The women present at the Board meeting agreed that a determined effort should be made to affiliate C.R.C. with L.C.H.R. immediately and without regard to location of the office. (I simply asked them to consider the alternative—the office definitely located in Baton Rouge, with the director working around C.R.C. instead of through C.R.C. in New Orleans.) They are going to ask Dr. Oliver to come to a meeting to discuss affiliation and then, hopefully, send a delegation to a meeting of the L.C.H.R. Board to ask affiliation. However, Helen Mervis still thinks her Board will ~~will~~ need a hard selling ~~the~~ job.

Meanwhile, I think I am going to ask Dr. Oliver and Fr. Segur to invite Prim Smith to Lafayette for an interview. I am "high" on Smith and believe that we might be able to sell a N.O. location on the basis of the availability of this man. Further his attitude and comprehension are such that he may very well win over Oliver and Segur. And I believe he would pay for himself although he comes at a higher price.

Apart from Prim Smith, or the unlikely possibility of another equally attractive candidate available only in New Orleans, I am convinced that it would be a mistake to locate the office in New Orleans. I would recommend location in Baton Rouge. And I doubt that a decision to do so would reduce support from New Orleans to any great degree. There really is not much there to be reduced!

Rec'd 3/9/66
Src Section

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY

P. O. BOX 355
3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY
CHAMBLEE, GEORGIA

EDWARD E. ELSON
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

March 8, 1966

File "Project for Library Development"

457-5545

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing a list of titles in the prepack which I spoke to you about. The prepack will come in two wooden bookcase sections, to be used for a shelf display. If you will be able to use these titles and this prepack I can get them for an extraordinary price which I think will help the Southern Regional Council in doing the most good with the funds available.

Sincerely,

Ed Elson

EEE:eh
enc.

Great list.

Mailed - Books, Proposal, Annual Report 1965

THE BASIC ONE HUNDRED

PRIDE AND PREJUDICE — Jane Austen
SENSE AND SENSIBILITY — Jane Austen
THE WIZARD OF OZ — L. Frank Baum
JANE EYRE — Charlotte Brontë
WUTHERING HEIGHTS — Emily Brontë
THE AGE OF CHIVALRY — Thomas Bulfinch
THE AGE OF FABLE — Thomas Bulfinch
THE WAY OF ALL FLESH — Samuel Butler
ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND — Lewis Carroll
THE MOONSTONE — W. W. Collins
LORD JIM — Joseph Conrad
THE DEERSLAYER — James F. Cooper
THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS — James F. Cooper
THE PATHFINDER — James F. Cooper
THE PIONEERS — James F. Cooper
THE PRAIRIE — James F. Cooper
THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE — Stephen Crane
TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST — Richard Henry Dana
PERE GORIOT — Honoré de Balzac
ROBINSON CRUSOE — Daniel DeFoe
A CHRISTMAS CAROL — Charles Dickens
DAVID COPPERFIELD — Charles Dickens
GREAT EXPECTATIONS — Charles Dickens
OLIVER TWIST — Charles Dickens
A TALE OF TWO CITIES — Charles Dickens
THE MUTINY ON BOARD H.M.S. BOUNTY — William Bligh
THE HOUND OF THE BASKERVILLES — A. Conan Doyle
SILAS MARNER — George Eliot
THE MILL ON THE FLOSS — George Eliot
THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN — Benjamin Franklin
THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD — Oliver Goldsmith
THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE — Thomas Hardy
THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE — Thomas Hardy
TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES — Thomas Hardy
THE OUTCASTS OF POKER FLAT — Bret Harte
THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES — Nathaniel Hawthorne
THE SCARLET LETTER — Nathaniel Hawthorne
TWICE-TOLD TALES — Nathaniel Hawthorne
O. HENRY, THE FOUR MILLION AND OTHER STORIES — O. Henry
THE ODYSSEY — Homer
GREEN MANSIONS — W. H. Hudson
THE LEGEND OF SLEEPY HOLLOW — Washington Irving
THE AMBASSADORS — Henry James
THE STORY OF MY LIFE — Helen Keller
CAPTAINS COURAGEOUS — Rudyard Kipling
KIM — Rudyard Kipling
THE CALL OF THE WILD — Jack London
THE SEA WOLF — Jack London
WHITE FANG — Jack London
EVANGELINE — Henry W. Longfellow
THE PRINCE — Niccolò Machiavelli
MOBY DICK — Herman Melville
TYPEE — Herman Melville
THE SCARLET PIMPERNEL — Baroness Orczy
THE OREGON TRAIL — Francis Parkman
EDGAR ALLEN POE, SELECTED STORIES AND POEMS — Edgar Allan Poe
MEN OF IRON — Howard Pyle
AESOP'S FAIRY TALES — Aesop
IVANHOE — Sir Walter Scott
AS YOU LIKE IT — William Shakespeare
JULIUS CAESAR — William Shakespeare
HAMLET — William Shakespeare
MACBETH — William Shakespeare
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE — William Shakespeare
A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM — William Shakespeare
THE TEMPEST — William Shakespeare
TWELFTH NIGHT — William Shakespeare
MAN AND SUPERMAN — George Bernard Shaw
FRANKENSTEIN — Mary Shelley
THE JUNGLE — Upton Sinclair
THE BLACK ARROW — Robert L. Stevenson
DOCTOR JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE — Robert L. Stevenson
KIDNAPPED — Robert L. Stevenson
THE MASTER OF BALLANTRAE — Robert L. Stevenson
TREASURE ISLAND — Robert L. Stevenson
DRACULA — Bram Stoker
GULLIVER'S TRAVELS — Jonathan Swift
WALDEN-ESSAY ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE — Henry David Thoreau
A CONNECTICUT YANKEE IN KING ARTHUR'S COURT — Mark Twain
HUCKLEBERRY FINN — Mark Twain
LIFE ON THE MISSISSIPPI — Mark Twain
THE PRINCE & THE PAUPER — Mark Twain
TOM SAWYER — Mark Twain
AROUND THE WORLD IN EIGHTY DAYS — Jules Verne
A JOURNEY TO THE CENTER OF THE EARTH — Jules Verne
MASTER OF THE WORLD — Jules Verne
THE MYSTERIOUS ISLAND — Jules Verne
MICHAEL STROGOFF — Jules Verne
TWENTY THOUSAND LEAGUES UNDER THE SEA — Jules Verne
ROBIN HOOD — E. Charles Vivian
BEN HUR — Lew Wallace
THE FIRST MEN IN THE MOON — H. G. Wells
THE FOOD OF THE GODS — H. G. Wells
THE INVISIBLE MAN — H. G. Wells
THE TIME MACHINE — H. G. Wells
THE WAR OF THE WORLDS — H. G. Wells
LEAVES OF GRASS — Walt Whitman
THE VIRGINIAN — Owen Wister
THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY — Oscar Wilde
THE SWISS FAMILY ROBINSON — Johann Wyss

CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION DESEGREGATION

MARCH 26, 1966

SPONSORED BY

THE LOUISIANA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

BENTLEY HOTEL

ALEXANDRIA, LOUISIANA

LOUISIANA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Hon. J. D. DeBlieux, CHAIRMAN
Baton Rouge

Dr. Albert W. Dent, VICE CHAIRMAN
New Orleans

Mrs. Betty Wisdom, SECRETARY
New Orleans

Bernard R. Ariatti
New Orleans

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Ralph M. Dreger, Ph.D.
Baton Rouge

Camille F. Gravel, Jr.
Alexandria

Rev. W. T. Handy, Jr.
Baton Rouge

John P. Nelson, Jr.
New Orleans

Steven H. Rubin
New Orleans

Rt. Rev. Msgr.
Alexander O. Sigur
Lafayette

John P. Sisson
New Orleans

PURPOSES

A. Explain and discuss the 1966-67 "Guidelines for Education Desegregation" issued by the Commissioner of Education

B. Discuss various Federal statutes and administrative procedures relating to school desegregation

C. Discuss problems, methods, and techniques involved in the desegregation of schools

D. Discuss grants and other services made available by Federal Government and private agencies to aid schools and communities in desegregating schools.

Plenary Session

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

PRESIDING

Honorable J. D. DeBlieux
Chairman, Louisiana Advisory Committee
Baton Rouge

STATEMENT

John R. Martzell
Executive Director
Louisiana State Commission on Human Relations,
Rights, and Responsibilities
Baton Rouge

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Honorable Frankie M. Freeman
Commissioner
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

REMARKS

William T. Liggett
Senior Education Specialist, Area IV
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Samuel J. Simmons
Director, Field Services Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Workshop Sessions

10:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon

WORKSHOP I

CHAIRMAN

Steven H. Rubin
New Orleans

PANELISTS

James Sharp
Attorney at Law
Monroe

Alphonse Jackson, Jr.
Principal, Central Elementary School
Shreveport

Isaac Reynolds
State Director
CORE
Baton Rouge

John Hodgon
Civil Rights Advisory Specialist
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

WORKSHOP II

CHAIRMAN

Ralph M. Dreger
Baton Rouge

PANELISTS

Lewis Berry
Attorney at Law
Alexandria

Howard McCullum
Associate Professor of Education
Northwestern State College
Natchitoches

Wade M. Mackie
Field Representative
American Friends Service Committee
Baton Rouge

Nancy Guillet
Program Specialist
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

WORKSHOP III

CHAIRMAN

Hon. J. D. DeBlieux
Baton Rouge

PANELISTS

Murphy Bell
Attorney at Law
Baton Rouge

Norman Frances
Assistant to the President
Xavier University
New Orleans

Fred Lacey
Field Representative, CORE
Baton Rouge

David Girard
Civil Rights Advisory Specialist
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

WORKSHOP IV

Did not show.

CHAIRMAN

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
Lafayette

PANELISTS

Marion Overton White
Attorney at Law
Opelousas

A. P. Tureau
Attorney at Law
New Orleans

Alvin Lowe
Loyola University
New Orleans

Miss Mary Jamieson
Field Secretary, NAACP
Lafayette

Frank Baldau
Civil Rights Advisory Specialist
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

WORKSHOP V

CHAIRMAN

John P. Sisson
New Orleans

PANELISTS

Harris David
Attorney at Law
New Orleans

Mrs. Veronica Eagan
School of Education
Loyola University
New Orleans

Arthur Chapital, Sr.
Executive Secretary
New Orleans Branch NAACP
New Orleans

Robert Schneider
Civil Rights Advisory Specialist
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

LUNCH

12:00 Noon - 1:30 p.m.

WORKSHOPS (Continued)

1:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.

ADJOURNMENT

3:30 p.m.

PROBLEM CLINICS

3:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

March 28, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Louisiana School Desegregation Conference

About 750 people attended the school desegregation conference in Alexanderia on March 26. All parishes except three were represented. Most participants were Negroes, but there were a few school officials, besides the usual white liberals.

Interest was high, evidenced by the fact that few wandered away from six hours of speeches and workshops--and 350-400 remained for an additional two hours on the techniques of organization for desegregation.

Sam Simmons and the rest of the Civil Rights Commission delegation (who worked hard and enthusiastically) were disappointed with the contribution of the E.E.O. people from the Office of Education. There were no top officials--not even the compliance officer for Louisiana. Most of those who came left early to catch a 3:30 plane. And they seemed confused and ill-briefed. The man who was to be chief spokesman for the O. of E. did not realize that this was expected of him until he arrived.

Thanks to the AFSC crowd and the C.R. Commission, however, it was a good conference and I think we shall see some results despite the disarray of rights forces in Louisiana.

Incidentally, we paid out $765.00 in travel money. This was not too much, but was not really necessary. They had agreed to pay six cents a mile on this one. We may be too late to kill a similar arrangement for Virginia, but will cut way down for the others.

Helen Mervis was there. She assured me that Jack Sisson shared her feeling that the Louisiana Council was boring. However, the New Orleans C.R.C. did vote to affiliate. I fear that this means little. Helen proceeded to tell me that the director of the New Orleans Community Action Agency was talking to her about staffing C.R.C. with O.E.O. funds--on the theory that their "public meetings" serve an important function of informing and educating in the community. Helen sees this as a way of obtaining "the professional direction that we must have to carry out the ambitious program that I think is necessary in New Orleans."

Field Activities

MT - file

March 31, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Speaking engagement with the Charleston Council on Human Relations. 3/30/66

This meeting held in the public library, was not well attended. About 25-30 people were present. Mr. Cabaniss blamed a conflict with inter-faith Lenten Services in Charleston and a Democratic Party affair in Columbia.

I attempted, in reviewing new SRC projects and available aid to local program, to stress increased interest of foundations in problems of social change--together with the necessity of having a strong, broadly-based basic organization to take advantage of project funds available.

Incidentally, I was told later that two members of the John Birch Society were present and taking notes!

Although I enjoyed this engagement, I felt a need for a longer stay. It might be better stewardship of our funds to plan, in connection with these local speeches, at least one day of knocking around--the offices of community action agencies, civil rights groups, MDTA programs--almost anything to help me get the feel of the situation. I let my schedule get <u>scrambled</u> this week.

file
Field Services

April 5, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: Ed Stanfield
RE: School Desegregation Conference for South Carolina in Columbia, April 2.

There were about 600 people in attendance at the main meeting sponsored by the Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission at Dreher High School. This was not as many as Sam Simmons had anticipated. There were more white persons who appeared to be school officials than there were at the Louisiana Conference.

About 200 remained for the organization session, which was held at the Masonic Lodge. Interest was sustained through this meeting, lagging only during the final speech by Benjamin Mack of SCLC, which was too long. Courtney included a very nice free dinner for this meeting.

As you know, Penn Community paid for travel, etc., for this conference with a separate grant; no expenditure from SRC's special grant.

Representation from the government agencies seemed much stronger at this one. Pete Libassi was there. So was Stanley Kruger, Director of the EEOP program for this district. And the Justice Department was represented by Terrell L. Glenn, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of South Carolina. (See attached programs.)

When we finally got around to listening to the people the comments were interesting:

> "I've never been able to see how freedom-of-choice makes sense as long as it makes it possible for a child with a school next door to 'choose' to ride a bus 22 miles twice a day because his parents must have a job."--a school principle from Kershaw County.

> "Freedom-of-choice was designed to create as much problem as possible for the Negro...The only solution is a 100% transfers--every Negro child in the county changing to white schools...I'm tired of this gradualism.--a man from Georgetown County.

"The problem is fear...We have to get workers from outside the county because local folks are afraid... In my county, which is one of the poorest, there are 4000 Negro students and about a third as many white students. But only 30 Negroes are in the white schools." --from Lee County.

"There is no desegregation in my county. The parents are afraid to even talk about it." --from Florence County.

Same ltr. and enclosure to:
Jane Hinchcliffe, Ford Fd.; Paul Ylvisaker, Ford Fd.; Christopher Edley, Ford Fd.; David Freeman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Vernon Eagle, New World Foundation; Harold Fleming, The Potomac Institute; Jane Lee Eddy, Taconic Foundation; Carl McCall, Taconic Foundation; Leland DeVinney, Rockefeller Foundation; David Hunter, Stern Fund; and Deborah Cole, Aaron E. Norman Fund.

See projects "Field Activities"

June 14, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of a "Field Activities Newsletter," which Ed Stanfield will be issuing periodically. You might be interested, so unless we receive from you an understandable plea for no more paper, we'll send it along.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]h 2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

May 26, 1966

Here Goes Nothing?

Is a "Field Activities Newsletter" a good idea? We've been toying with the notion for some time and decided to try one or two. We don't know for sure what all we want to put in it, who we want to send it to, how often it should be written, or whether it is worth the effort. But from time to time there are bits of news or good ideas or useful information that we would like to pass on,--mostly to the staffs of the state councils, state council presidents, and perhaps to the SRC Board members and maybe state council staffers can let us know if you would like to select a few others to get it--like members of your Board and/or local council presidents.

New Names and Faces in Tennessee

Among the first new staffers to be employed under the expanded grant-in-aid program are Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wiersema, who have joined the staff of the Tennessee Council. Actually, they were not "Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema" until after they started working for the TCHR. Baxton Bryant writes, "The Council has already had a wonderful effect on this fine young couple. Their marriage was performed by me in my home last Saturday." That's a wonderful effect, all right!

Mrs. Wiersema was Jerry Jolene Williams, a twenty-seven year old native Tennessean. She has a B.S. from Middle Tennessee State, ~~where she was in~~ Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges, and lacks her thesis for a Master's in sociology from the University of Tennessee. For the past couple of years she has been working for the Metropolitan Action Commission (Nashville's community action agency) and the State Planning Commission. Her duties included research on poverty in Tennessee, community organization, and preparation of proposals for the poverty program.

Harry was born in Knoxville and is likewise twenty-seven. He holds a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering and also has done work toward a Master's degree in sociology at the university. Before joining the TCHR staff he was Assistant Coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Nashville. On the side he is a genius with office equipment and photographic equipment.

Both Harry and Jerry have been active in civil rights,--and there is no denying their commitment. Needless to say, the TCHR could not offer them, finance-and-security-wise, anything like their combined compensation from their former jobs. We don't think they would mind our quoting from a letter they wrote to the TCHR Board in connection with their application:

> ...For some time we have worked in the war on poverty, and we have been disillusioned with the progress made there and in other areas of human relations.
>
> ****
>
> We have come to see how much progress toward these ideals can be made by one man who is independent, with the help and support from concerned members of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Personnel Changes in Arkansas

Beginning June 1, Nat Griswold, Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, will lay down his accustomed duties to write a book about the Little Rock school crisis. After that he will retire to the family farm. He will be succeeeded as Executive Director by Ozell Sutton, long-time Associate Director of the Council.

Taking Ozell's place as Associate Director will be the Reverend J. Harold Jackson, presently Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of North Little Rock. Harold was born in New Orleans and holds a B.S. degree from L.S.U. and a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. He has served churches in Jennings, Louisiana, and Helena, Arkansas, besides his present pastorate. He has served for the past year as Moderator of the Synod of Arkansas, Presbyterian Church, U.S. His wife is the former Sarah Wakeman of Baton Rouge. They have three children.

Executive Director for the Louisiana Council

Beginning in June the Louisiana Council will have an Executive Director. The position has been accepted by Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a resident of Baton Rouge (where the office is to be).

Mrs. Miller grew up in Ohio and did her undergraduate work at West Virginia State College. She took a M.A. degree in Health and Physical Education from the University of Iowa. She has worked for the Urban League in Chicago and as a physical education instructor at Samuel Houston College, West Virginia State, and Southern University For the past nine years she has operated a real estate and contracting business, building (so we are told) some of the loveliest new homes in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

But Mrs. Miller wanted to help people in a less impersonal way. So she entered the graduate school of Southern University and in June will receive a M.A. degree in Guidance.

Mrs. Miller strikes one as a poised and quietly determined woman. We predict that she will do an outstanding job as Director of the LCHR. And most certainly we wish her well.

Leadership Conferences in Mississippi

Ken Dean of the MCHR has been the prime convener of a couple of meetings which he hopes will get on some sort of regular basis as a Mississippi Leadership Conference. As we get the picture, this is intended to be a Mississippi version of the Southern Interagency Conference.

After discussing the idea with eight or ten of the more active leaders in the areas of race relations and poverty programs, Ken set a date and invited about twenty-five organizations to send representatives. The list included all major civil rights groups, as well as women's organizations and some of the church groups. About 34 people showed up at the first meeting.

The reaction of participants at the initial meeting was good. Besides the obvious sharing of ideas and problems, Ken sees the Leadership Conference as helping to clear up misunderstandings and giving some of the church groups and women's groups contact with the more active civil rights people. Ken thinks this aspect of the idea might be even more fruitful in other states.)

"The most difficult part of this type of program," Ken writes, "is to get an open date."

We are not astonished.

Board, Local Council Leaders Meet in Florida

On May 6 and 7, August VandenBosche brought together his Board and the principal officers of each local council for a conference which included briefing on the financial structure and requirements of the council and program at both the state and local level. Paul Anthony and I went down for this meeting, which was held in Orlando. We felt that it was very helpful toward getting all concerned to "understand the situation." It was also a good way to get a lot of program information and ideas across.

The Arkansas Council is planning a similar meeting for June 10.

A Local Council Program We Like

The Augusta (Georgia) Council on Human Relations has established a listing service for open housing. The plan is to list houses available to be bought, sold, or rented on a non-discriminatory basis. They want only to bring buyer and seller together, of course, and will not be serving as brokers.

The group has secured a small office and a telephone. Volunteers man the phone. A small ad is carried in the classified section from time to time. Besides answering the phone, the volunteers call people who advertise in the paper to see if the unit is available on a non-discriminatory basis.

AJC Publication Ordered for State Councils

Countering Extremism, which gives how-to-do-it help on organizing a community to counter increasing influence by radical-right organizations, is soon to be published by the American Jewish Committee. As promised at our last meeting of the state councils' staffs, we have ordered a number of copies sent to each state council. They will find these useful from time to time.

Don't Forget...

...the Community Leadership Development Workshop at the Sheraton-

Emory Inn in Atlanta, July 24-31. Send in your application, if you plan to go. Let me know that you are going to attend, so that we can plan our next state councils' staff meeting accordingly.

Late News Flashes!

Mr. William C. Allred, Jr., will become Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations in July. Mr. Allred, a resident of Greensboro, is a graduate of Wake Forest College and next month will receive the M.A. degree from Emory University, Atlanta, in the field of history. His thesis: "The Southern Regional Council, 1943-1961."

For the past four years Mr. Allred has been employed in the actuarial and contract departments of Pilot Life Insurance Company in Greensboro. He is married and has two daughters, ages 6 and 2.

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held on November 16, 17, and 18 this year. Please mark your calendar. Plans are incomplete, of course, but we hope this year to make presentation of state council affairs an integral part of the meeting, --instead of having it before the SRC meeting.

Ed Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 23, 1966

More Staff Changes

It must be the season as well as our expansion on "all fronts". The staff changes, both in the state councils and SRC, are coming so fast that it is getting difficult to keep up!

The Arkansas Council has named Mr. Elijah Coleman to be their Associate Director. (Nat Griswold has been asked to return to his post as Executive Director until his replacement can be found.) Mr. Coleman has been principal of Townsend Park School in Pine Bluff since 1954. From 1959 through 1961 he was President of the Arkansas Teachers Association. He has also served as Chairman of the Pine Bluff Fellowship, an interorganization association of Negro professional workers for community progress. He is a native of Smackover, Arkansas, a graduate of Philander Smith College in Little Rock, and holds a Master of Education degree from the University of Arkansas. Mr. Coleman is married and has a 15-year-old son and a 10-year-old daughter.

Robert Alexander has resigned as Executive Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. He has returned to Los Angeles. His successor has not yet been named.

Changes at Southern Regional Council

Sam Adams, Director of Research at SRC, has resigned to take up studies at the University of Wisconsin this fall. He is the recipient of a Russell Sage Foundation fellowship.

Edwyn E. Lewis will leave SRC August 19 in order to return to Miami's sun and sand and a management job with the community action agency of Miami's anti-poverty program.

On the additions side we have Miss Susan Bresler, who will work as an associate to Moreland Smith in our special project on

housing and urban planning. Miss Bresler holds a B.S. in City Planning from the University of Illinois. She has worked as an intern in the planning departments of Champaign and Moline, Illinois, and with the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. Before coming to SRC she had been employed for a year in the Community Planning Division, Planning and Industrial Development Board, State of Alabama.

As for secretaries, we note the loss of Jerry Gimarc from the Housing and Urban Planning Project and Joan Browning from the Labor Project. Of particular interest to state council folks is the employment of Mrs. Mary Lee McCallister as secretary to the Director of Field Activities. Her experience includes thirteen years as a secretary with General Electric in Atlanta and four years with the American Red Cross in Chamblee.

Books For Equal Education

Books for Equal Education is a joint project of the United States National Student Association and the United State Youth Council. It is a non-profit, charitable organization engaged in distribution of college texts and fiction to unaccredited Negro colleges in the southeastern region. The book distribution office is located in Atlanta.

Many of the books received by BEE are not suitable for use at the college level, but are in good condition and perhaps could be utilized in other areas. These materials include: texts in mathematics, science, English and social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels; juvenile fiction; pre-school reading pamphlets and other similar materials. Suggested uses might be: adult literacy programs, Head Start projects, community libraries, and the like. Those interested in the books for such purposes should be forewarned that many of the texts are out-of-date. However, the books have been "culled," so that the ones offered are in good condition -- and many are definitely "quality" books.

There is NO CHARGE for the books, but the recipient is responsible for transportation of them from Atlanta to their final destination. Interested persons should write for a copy of the BEE guidelines. The address is: Shawn Boles, Southern Director Books for Equal Education, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Leadership Training Laboratory at Emory

Most of the state council directors took SRC up on an offer to pay tuition for them to attend a week-long leadership training laboratory at Emory University in Atlanta. The dates were July 24-31, and those attending were Pat Miller of Louisiana, Ken Dean of Mississippi, Jerry Roden of Alabama, Alice Spearman of South Carolina, Will Allred of North Carolina, Bob Combs of Virginia, and Ed Stanfield. Baxton Bryant of Tennessee came, but had to leave after only one day because of a death in his family.

The laboratory was sponsored jointly by Emory University and Georgia State College in cooperation with National Training Laboratories. Focusing on the process of group action and the dynamics of interpersonal relations, the laboratory was designed to make participants more aware of the bearing of personal, human problems on group functioning. The week was harrowing (not to say "hairy") at times, as everybody sought to figure out why everybody else behaved so oddly. Folks leveled as well as reveled with one another. One comes away from such an experience with the feeling that he gained something important -- but that only time will tell just what!

Incidentally, the faculty included two mental health men, one psychologist, one social psychologist, and a consultant in human relations. Seems like the weight given to mental health and psychology says something about somebody's conception of the meaning of leadership in southern communities these days!

State Council Directors Meet

The state council directors met in Atlanta on August 9 and 10. Primary purpose of the meeting was to iron out some communication problems we have had in getting local councils informed of the program help now available from SRC. A six-page descriptive catalogue was prepared and discussed and is now being distributed to the state councils in sufficient quantity to promote the programs extensively in each state. In the process the group had opportunity to clarify many points in conference with the special project directors. Next meeting of the directors is scheduled for September 21 and 22.

Random Notes

...On the morning of August 10 a delegation from the Georgia Council on Human Relations had an interview with Governor Carl Sanders. Among other things they urged him to employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights and to establish a civil rights division of the state attorney general's office. They pointed out discriminatory practices of the State Patrol and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. They also reminded the governor and, through press coverage, the public that no Negroes sit on the following state boards: Education, Regents, Corrections, Pardons and Paroles, Game and Fish Commission, Veterans Service, Personnel, Industry and Trade, State Medical Examination, and State Scholarship Commission. There may not be immediate results, but this strikes me as a good piece of work nevertheless. We get so accustomed to the southern landscape that even people of good will do not notice so glaring an injustice as the omission of Negroes from practically every state board and agency. Surely one of the most important tasks of every human relations council is to keep nagging officials and the public about this kind of matter-of-fact outrage.

...Speaking of never-ending tasks, I had occasion not long ago to ask Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner, President of the League of Women

Voters of Georgia, how they managed to get objective studies and reports with volunteer workers. Her reply read, in part: "Most local and state Leagues have regular observers at official boards and commissions--at every open meeting--at budget hearings, etc. It is surprising how much one can learn from regular attendance and careful listening to aid in factual evaluation." It occurred to me that if every local council did nothing else but assign a couple of people to monitor every meeting of (1) their city council, (2) their board of education, (3) their county commission, and (4) their police or recorder's court, their existence would be justified. Why not make this "standard operational procedure"?

...Project SPEED-UP roars on in South Carolina under the leadership of Brad Posten, who is the project director. Brad has completed his year as an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern with the South Carolina Council. He writes, "The project has met with great response from the communities and over 2,000 children and adults are enrolled in the twenty-eight centers."

...We keep finding out about really great things that are being done quietly by human relations councils. Johnny Carlisle of the Youth Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Palm Beach chapter of the Florida Council, wrote the other day, seeking just $150.00 to buy materials for their second "Summer Tutorial and Enrichment Program." Twenty-two young people, including advanced high school students, high school graduates, and junior college students, are tutoring 91 children, aged 4 to 13, who live in the vicinity of Pleasant Heights Baptist Church, which is their center. They have tutoring classes in reading, math, geography, history, science, arts and crafts, and music. And field trips include the zoo, the Junior Museum of Science, Norton Art Gallery, "and other points of interest." All these young folks needed was a little financial assistance and the continuing interest and advice of the council board. Mrs. R. W. Glasner, chapter president, and Mrs. W. Fred Ellington, work closely with them.

...The Virginia Council is putting major emphasis this year on intercultural (multi-ethnic) textbooks for use in public schools. The Council took cognizance of the fact that Virginia's children, Negro or white, could easily graduate from high school, using the texts approved by the Virginia Board of Education, without knowing that Negroes had made any significant contribution to the life and history of America. Further, they discovered that many textbooks are published in two versions: one with biracial illustrations and another lily white. VCHR has just published an attractive printing of its review of Virginia textbooks, including suggested courses of action, and a catalogue of intercultural texts available.

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Ed - Good & encouraging report - Thanks Paul

September 12, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield E

SUBJECT: Field trip to Louisiana

The occasion for this trip was a meeting of the LCHR Board on Saturday, 10 September. I flew over on Thursday in order to work with Pat Miller in New Orleans and in her office.

Pat met me in New Orleans and we visited Attorney Tureaud, Jack Sisson and Jim McGuire in the NCCIJ office, and Helen Mervis and a couple of other CRC leaders in Helen's home. I felt that Sisson and McGuire were especially helpful in suggesting contacts and program possibilities to Pat.

Friday morning: I first saw Pat's office and met her office manager, Mrs. Reynolds. The office is beautifully appointed and equipped at amazingly low cost. It is the most reputable-looking state council office I have been in. Mrs. Reynolds is about 45, white, a Presbyterian minister's wife, and - from my observation - unusually able, as well as personable.

Later that morning I visited Dean Harvey to discuss a better arrangement about check-writing and bookkeeping. Pat had been unhappy about Harvey's close run, but he was tractable and we worked it out and then got Board approval for a standard arrangement.

I lunched with Dr. Dreger at L. S. U. -- to get acquainted and obtain a knowledgeable reading of the situation. It was pleasant and I came away feeling that he will be an invaluable help with the new council.

Friday afternoon Pat and I drove to Lafayette to see Oliver and plan the Board meeting. The trip was uneventful, but we were interesting to a number of people, especially when we stopped for dinner in Opelousas. Great fun.

The Board meeting was better attended than usual. (The Board is too small and they took initial steps to enlarge it.) No one from N. O. was there, however. The more important items of business were plans for an annual membership meeting in Baton Rouge in November and a membership and finance campaign preceding it. Jim Oliver had done some homework and the meeting was harmoneous and fruitful.

Incidentally, there is a good chance they will ask you to speak at the membership meeting. I hope you can and will.

On the whole I am encouraged about the prospects for the Louisiana Council now. Pat is learning fast (although she still has a ways to go). She does provide an attention to detail and a sense of orderliness that is valuable. She is showing some imaginzation about program now, and I sensed a readiness on the part of the Board members to respond to her leadership. Dreger had remarked on Friday that he had misgivings about having a woman and a Negro as their first executive director in such a tough state (although he meant to back her fully), but I think he felt better after the meeting.

Some material from the meeting is attached.

JES;mlm

Attch.

Vol. 2 No. 7 and 8

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

P. O. BOX 2992 — LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS

---that in counties (or parishes) with both federal examiners and Voter Education Project activity Negro registration is the highest, with federal examiners only the next highest, with VEP activity only the next highest, and with neither federal examiners nor VEP the lowest.

---that a year ago when the Voting Rights Act of 1965 became law 30 percent of the Negroes of voting age were registered in the six Southern states; now nearly 46 percent are registered.

---that the shooting of James Meredith from ambush on June 6th was the 17th of such acts of violence in connection with registration and voting since the Voting Rights Act went into effect.

---that fear of reprisal keeps Mississippi's Negro registration rate the lowest in the South, 29.6 percent.

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PLAQUEMINES' PEREZ PROVES POWERLESS

Although in his tight little domain on the lower end of the Mississippi Leander Perez has ruled Plaquemines Parish for 40 years, when he could not be surrounded by his henchmen to intimidate and browbeat, Perez wilted in the federal court in which the Plaquemines Parish school desegregation suit was being tried. He was, first, nearly cited for contempt of court, which was avoided by his apologizing to the presiding judge. Then, his attack on the 14th Amendment which he evidently had prepared carefully to carry out, fizzled when he was told by the judge that arguments on the 14th were not an issue for the courts. Finally, he was told that some sort of desegregation would be occurring in his parish this coming fall. (See elsewhere in this issue for comments on Perez as an independent thinker.)

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SCENE IN MISSISSIPPI

Signs on the federal-state Interstate Highway 55 approaching Jackson, Mississippi, from the south call attention to the fact (or is it?) that the construction is "Another Mississippi Project." Further, the amounts given on the signs omit decimal points in such a manner that it appears that Mississippi and the federal government are contributing the same amounts. One is reminded of the little chap with his hand on his father's suitcase, "See, Daddy, I'm carrying your suitcase."

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NEWSLETTER OF THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS Vol. 2, No. 7 and 8
Published monthly by the Louisiana
Council on Human Relations
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Editor, Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
President, Dr. James R. Oliver
Vice-Presidents, Dr. Murray J. Martin,
Mrs. Barbara Erickson
Secretary, Mrs. Leo Mervis
Treasurer, Dr. Martin L. Harvey

Address all communications to: P. O. Box 2992, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

ONLY THE NAME IS CHANGED

"It is difficult to fully assess the psychological and social cost of segregated schools but the economic cost is clear in terms of the motivation of people trapped in such a system and the lack of human resource development necessary to the total development of the state. North Carolina school districts have complied on paper with federal requirements for desegregating schools, but in terms of the actual number of children affected, progress has been slow. Only 5% of North Carolina's Negro students attended schools with white students in 1965-66. Faculty integration is virtually non-existent, and the two teachers' associations still are very much 'separate but equal' organizations."

---Supplement to the Blueprint for Opportunity,
published by the North Carolina Fund

****

BOYCOTT IN FERRIDAY

Like many other Negroes, those in Ferriday have taken to boycotting the city's stores in order to seek an audience for alleged grievances. Mayor Davis has rather frantically stated that the boycott "wouldn't hurt the white merchants very much." We are scarcely in agreement with the Mayor that any Negro or white person can walk in any street in Ferriday without fear, if Ferriday is like other small Southern cities. Should his allegation that Negroes are being intimidated by NAACP workers be true, we can only agree with his implied conclusion when he asks, "Who is taking your rights away, the whites or the NAACP?" However, again, knowing something about Southern cities, we should judge that long ago the whites took away the rights of Negroes and that the NAACP is simply trying to restore them.

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SIXTH DISTRICT FIRST PRIMARY SURPRISING

In the recent primary election the fact that East Baton Rouge Parish did not vote a majority for Congressman Jimmy Morrison surprised many political prognosticators. As was expected, Negro precincts went heavily for Morrison (though a large number voted for James E. Morrison of Slidell, apparently thinking he was Jimmy Morrison). But a much larger number of "liberal" precincts went for Jimmy Morrison's major opponent than was thought possible. A seasoned politician who himself was running for office stated that he was amazed at some of the people who were going to vote for Morrison's opponent, John Rarick. The two candidates will be running again in the second primary on September 24th.

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ANNUAL MEETING

Watch for announcement of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations Annual Meeting which will take place in the fall. The Board of Directors has planned for a two-day session at which an outstanding speaker will keynote the proceedings, the new Executive Director, Mrs. Pat Miller, will be introduced, progress in human relations in Louisiana will be outlined, and plans for future coordinated efforts throughout the state will be made.

DESEGREGATION PROGRESS--POSITIVELY SO, BUT PAINFULLY SLOW

A recent United Press International release chronicling Louisiana school desegregation progress concludes that school desegregation has come a long way in Louisiana since 1960. In November of that year four little Negro girls began an uphill fight by entering two formerly all-white schools in New Orleans. Since those days, according to the report from UPI, desegregation has been peaceful. And it is true that there have been no more riots of the ugly kind that made New Orleans a bad watchword and the State Legislature as it sought to defeat the Constitution a laughing-stock throughout the world. It is no doubt also true that somewhere near 8,000 Negro school children will be in formerly all-white schools this fall. But it also is true that young Negro students have been subjected to insults and intimidation and in some cases physical violence in some "desegregated" schools, incidents often encouraged by school authorities. And it is likewise true that the great majority of school children do not attend desegregated schools, and that as far as is known every parish in the state continues to maintain a dual public school system, and that the private school tuition grant system continues to operate in express violation of the principle that public funds should not be used to maintain segregation. Yet there is cause for optimism that right will triumph, even though it is nearly six whole years after 1960, and more than 12 years since 1954, and a century since 1863, and three centuries since Negroes were brought to this land. In the latter context the progress since 1960 does give reason for rejoicing.

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Events of the past year call for some interpretive comment in a newsletter published by an organization devoted to peaceful change. Both the Southern Regional Council and the Louisiana Council, offspring of SRC, are dedicated to the betterment of all citizens by peaceful means. Further, neither SRC nor LCHR have given up peaceable methods as has apparently the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) which has changed its strategy without changing its name. We believe that violence begets violence and that only in extremis is it the right of a people to undertake violence, as Abraham Lincoln is reported to have said, "The last right of the people is revolution." But Lincoln also said, "There is no grievance that is the fit object of redress by mob law," and "Among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and . . . they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost." However, without one excuse for the use of violence in attempting to gain human rights, it is necessary to place the violence practiced recently in its proper context.

It first ill behooves those who in times past have either themselves practiced or, just as reprehensibly, condoned violence in order to "keep the Nigger in his place" to condemn those who now engage in violence in a mistaken notion that they can gain their rights in this way. Second, though it would be simple-minded indeed to say that any one cause could be assigned for the violence which erupted in Watts and in Puerto Rican Chicago and elsewhere, to deny that just grievances unheard by the majority of the citizens of the cities involved enter in very strongly to these outbreaks would be just as simple-minded. Third, a very large amount of the violence that has taken place has been initiated by persons seeking to prevent the peaceable exercise of constitutional freedoms of assembly, of speech, and of citizenship generally. Fourth, for public officials and others to say to peaceful demonstrators, "Stop demonstrating until things cool off," is tantamount to saying "Stop putting pressure on us so that we can maintain the status quo," even though there may be sincere desire on the part of some public officials to have a "cooling off" period for the sake of trying to achieve better conditions--"rocking the boat" is the last thing politicians and police officers want to do, and thus no matter how well-intentioned they may be, the last thing they will do is just that, rock the boat or change the status quo without pressure that compels them to act.

Now, having said these things for context, we must add that sometimes there is good reason for not engaging in certain even constitutional acts which might lead to riot. The situation in Birmingham several years ago was not one of these, for the police were not only not seeking to protect the peaceful demonstrators but actively engaged in thwarting and literally beating them; throwing in massive waves of peaceful persons willing to suffer the consequences was called for. The situation in Chicago appears to be different. There are grievous conditions in housing in Chicago. But to draw many hundreds of police and opposing whites into active violence by the very presence of too many demonstrators is self-defeating in a number of ways. A substantial number of demonstrators--500 suggested by Mayor Daley does not seem unreasonable--yet not so large as to invite violence by its very size and uncontrollability can be more easily defended by the police and still make their point. The movement of 500 people in concert, especially if trained in non-violence which a larger mob cannot be, is still newsworthy and about all that can be effective before a realtor's office. But the fact is that the larger mob does contain hangers-on who spoil for a fight, thus inviting violence by violence and justifying the outside mob in their violence when resistance meets them from within. But most important of all from the effectiveness of strategy, the larger mass of persons in the country are lost to the cause of human rights when peaceful demonstrations are pressed to the place where there is almost sure to be violence just because it is announced that uncounted thousands are going to be mobilized for the "peaceful demonstration." Further--and to criticize Dr. Martin Luther King is like criticizing God in some circles--it seems to your Editor it is out of keeping with non-violent philosophy for Dr. King to denounce with intemperate language the court which issued an injunction against massive demonstrations. Indignant words are in accord with the examples of Jesus and Gandhi whom Dr. King purports to follow, but petulant intemperance of language is not, especially directed toward the courts which are the final bulwark of freedom even though they at times err.

Lest anyone misinterpret the ideas set forth above, it must be reiterated that conditions may lead misguided persons into violence, and that such conditions exist here in the South as well as in the North, a fact underscored by a recent publication of SRC and the American Jewish Committee, The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South. To understand these things is neither to condone nor to condemn. Southern Regional Council and its allied state Councils have been working for years to bring about changes peacefully, full well knowing that if they do not come in that way, violence will be the result. It is better, we believe, to take care of unjust conditions before such eventualities occur.

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SISTER STATE MAKING CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

In reports issued by both the Southern Regional Council, a private organization (parent body of the state Council's on Human Relations), and the United States Commission on Civil Rights, the most damning indictments of all made against federal agencies in relation to civil rights were reserved for programs under the Department of Agriculture. Injustices of the rankest variety have been practiced by state-federal agricultural extension services and other agricultural programs. Now comes the report from a 16-man Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, which was appointed by Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, that in Mississippi "A lot of progress is being made." Desegregation of a number of 4-H clubs, election of Negroes to county committees of the Farmers Home Administration, and especially a unique food distribution plan called "Operation Help" were cited by the Advisory Committee. The report is probably fairly accurate, for committee members included representatives who have demonstrated they believe strongly in civil rights. What negatives there are in the Mississippi agricultural picture have yet to be revealed, but it is hopeful to have signs of progress in our neighboring state.

ON INDEPENDENCE IN THOUGHT AND ACTION

Your Editor is moved by recent events in Louisiana and Alabama to make some comments regarding the independence of thought and action displayed by some persons with whom he--as well as presumably the Louisiana Council--otherwise thoroughly disagrees. The ones to whom reference is made are Governor George Wallace and Judge Leander Perez. Both of these men have shown remarkable courage in standing up to the federal government. They have not been moved by the financial inducements or political pressures from many sources in their mistaken, nevertheless admirable fight against federal encroachment. Your Editor finds himself taking off his hat to their independence. He recognizes that it is politically expedient in Alabama's backwoods climate and in Perez' little foreign land within the confines of the U.S. for these men to take the stands they have taken. Yet these two have not succumbed to the argument, "Well, if we don't take the money, others will get it," or to that other, "You can't fight the federal government," while hundreds of others who are persuaded as they are have done so. Some of the Spirit of '76 is seen in the manner in which these two men have declared their principles forthrightly. This Editor views with sadness the facts that the issue of State's Rights with which these two men have been so closely identified (as most Southern politician's have been for many years) is so exclusively tied in with denying individual rights, and that independence of thought and action as demonstrated by Wallace and Perez is so clearly connected with denial of independence for so large a portion of their constituents. Nevertheless, those who bear the scars of battling on the opposite side of the civil rights issue find themselves admiring the independence and courage of a Perez and a Wallace more than the lukewarm beliefs of those who say, "I'm with you, but, of course, I never soapbox," or "You know I believe the way you do, but I have to be careful." (Come to think of it, there is something in the Good Book about "because you are neither cold nor hot, I will spue you out of my mouth.")

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RENEW YOUR LCHR MEMBERSHIP TODAY

If you have not already sent in your membership dues to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, sit down now and do so. Those who belong to a local Council on Human Relations should send their checks to their local Treasurer, who will in turn forward the state share to the state Treasurer. Those who are not affiliated with a local Council, may renew membership by making their checks out to: LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, and sending them to: Dean Martin L. Harvey, Treasurer, Southern University, Baton Rouge. Classes of membership are:

Regular (for one person)	$ 5.00
Family (for adults in family)	7.50
Contributing (for one person)	10.00
Sustaining (" " ")	25.00
Patron (" " ")	100.00

Contributions above and beyond membership will be welcomed. But at the least, renew your membership today.

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GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM HIT IN SUIT

The system of tuition grants to private schools for the purpose of foiling school desegregation will be tested in the federal courts soon. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach has asked to be permitted to intervene in a suit brought by some Negro parents aimed at doing away with these grants. Attention has been called in these pages before to the three school systems operating in the state. Most states find it difficult enough to maintain one school system. But Louisiana and several other states, among the poorest in the nation, have saddled themselves with three systems. It is to be hoped that the federal courts can save us from ourselves by eliminating the grants-in-aid, a fairly easy method of doing away with the third system, then by bringing an end to the dual system which was set up under the false doctrine of "separate but equal."

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For the next few years the eyes of our nation will be focused upon the state of Louisiana; and whether or not it is to our liking, these observations are destined to affect all of our lives. Your state LCHR office files already include letters of inquiry, both from within and outside the state, asking why Louisiana is relatively quiet in the face of riots and civil strife in other states throughout the nation. Some of these letters have been answered, others will be answered through the actions of local councils over the state. We are not so smug as to believe that conditions which bred such explosive outbursts in California, New York and Mississippi do not exist in Louisiana. Poor housing conditions, unfair employment practices, segregation, denial of the right to vote, and police brutality are also inherent in Louisiana social structure. We know that an unforeseen incident could trigger similar incidents in our state.

This period of relative quiet seems to be an opportune time in which the local Councils may speed up their programs to eliminate the need for such expressions of discontent seen in other states.

Presently your State Council is involved in studying programs, planning programs, and making contact with resource persons to be made available for use by local councils upon request. We are anxious to assist you in your efforts to bring about the desired social, economic and political changes in Louisiana.

To add spice to the already hot issue of power--I prefer to think of human relations councils as a Salt and Pepper Power--basic organizations like the Louisiana Council on Human Relations must work hand in hand toward the goal of making Louisiana truly a Sportsman Paradise--in which Negroes are not the object of the sport.

Set your course. Your State Council will support your every effort.

Our problems and coordinated planning for their solution will be reviewed in our annual state meeting scheduled for October. Qualified persons experienced in dealing with such problems will be present to give directions and guidance to our planning.

Patricia Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

LA. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
P. O. BOX 2992
LAFAYETTE, LA. 70502

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING, LCHR

Baton Rouge, La.

Sept. 10, 1966

Proposed Agenda

1. Report from Executive Director
2. New members of the Board of Directors
3. Committee Reports
4. Membership Plans
5. Plans for General Meeting
6. New Releases and Statements
7. Speakers Available
8. Essay and/or oral competition

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Meeting, Board of Directors

Baton Rouge, Sept. 10, 1966

PROPOSED TIMETABLE FOR MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

Now through November 1, 1966

PUBLICITY

Brochures

Submit brochure copy to Board (Mrs. Miller) 9/17/66

Submit brochure copy to printer (Mrs. Miller) 9/26/66

Mail brochure to all members (Dr. Oliver) 10/1/66

Press Releases

Weekly, today then each Wednesday (Dr. Oliver)

Mail to distribution list each Thursday (Mrs. Miller)

PROCEDURES

Board of Advisors - letter soliciting support (Dr. Oliver) 9/15/66
Board of Directors - letter requesting work (Mrs. Miller) 9/15/66
Ministers - letter requesting announcement (Mrs. Miller) 9/26/66
Religious Organizations - letter requesting announcement (Mrs. Miller) 9/26/66
Civil rights groups - letter requesting announcement (Mrs. Miller) 9/26/66
Local Councils - letter with supply of brochures (Mrs. Miller) 10/1/66
Members - letter with brochure (Dr. Oliver) 10/1/66

ANNUAL MEETING

THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Voyager Beach Motel
Daytona Beach, Florida

October 21--22
1966

STAFF:
August H. VandenBosche, Executive Director

LaVert H. Taylor, Rural Advancement Project Director

Ann Garey, Office Manager

Local Chapter Presidents:

Mr. Wilbur Roberts, Bay County
Mr. George Allen, Broward County
Mr. P. Caulfield, Central Brevard (resigned)
Mr. Sherwood Evans, Ft. Pierce
Mr. Hal Lewis, Gainesville
Rev. Sam Paul Combs, Halifax Area
Mr. L. I. Alexander, Jacksonville
Mr. Leo R. Sears, Ft. Myers
Rev. Franklin Smith, Melbourne
Mrs. Betty Newell, Miami
Dr. Lester C. Young, Ocala
Mrs. Harriette Glasner, Palm Beach
Mr. James Sanderlin, St. Petersburg
Mr. Robert Spivey, Tallahassee
Mr. J.D. Marshall, Tampa
Mrs. Sarah Louise Halmi, Upper Pinellas
Mr. Joseph Katz, West Volusia
Mrs. Carl Fowler, Winter Park

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1966

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Vice President	Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks, Daytona Beach
Secretary	Mrs. Eugene Halmi, Clearwater
Treasurer	Mr. Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach

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Mr. George Allen, Ft. Lauderdale

Mr. Peter Caulfield, Cocoa

Mrs. R.W. Glasner, Palm Beach

Mr. Henry Lehman, Daytona Beach

Mr. Hal Lewis, Gainesville

Mr. Ted Nichols, Melbourne

Mr. James Marshall, Tampa

Dr. Richard Moore, Daytona Bch.

Mr. James Sanderlin
St. Petersburg

Mr. John Shelley, Jacksonville

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Dr. Hal Lewis, Gainesville
Mr. Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach
Mrs. Austine Kimball, Gainesville
Rev. H.I. Louttit, Orlando

ANNUAL MEETING

Daytona Beach October 21-22, 1966

Friday Night

5--7:30 P.M. Registration

8:00 P.M. Banquet -- Dr. H. Franklin Williams, presiding
Invocation--Rev. Sam Paul Combs
Dinner
Introduction of guests
Presentation of Charter to St. Petersburg Council
Report of Florida Council's Rural Advancement Project--
LaVert Taylor, Director
Special Music
Address: Mr. Frank Sloan, Regional Director,
Office of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta, Ga.

10:P.M. Reception--Hosts and Hostesses from Halifax Area and
West Volusia Councils

Saturday

7:30--8:30 A.M. Buffet Breakfast

8:00 A.M. Board of Directors Meeting

9:30 A.M. Plenary Session--Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks, presding
"Program Development in the Local Council"
Moderator: Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Southern Regional
Council, Atlanta
Panel--Mrs. R.W. Glasner, Palm Beach
Mr. John Shelley, Jacksonville

11:00--12:30 Seminars

Employment
Frank Ridley, Tampa
T. Willard Fair, Miami
L.V. Davis, Tallahassee
Glover Martin, DeLand
John Shaw, Daytona Beach, Convenor

School-integration
Constance Curry, Atlanta
Harvey Wallace, Miami
Roland Rolle, Miami
Marcus Beck, Miami
William McMillan, Daytona Beach,
Convenor

Housing
Ed Tucker, Miami
Sarah Louise Halmi, Clearwater
James Hibben, Ft. Lauderdale
Shirley Lewis, Miami, Convenor

Inter-group Cooperation
Franklin Wilson, Jacksonville
Marvin Davies, St. Petersburg
Frank Magrath, Miami, Convenor

1:30P.M. Luncheon
Invocation--Reverend Rogers P. Fair
Introduction of guests
Music
Business Session:
Report of Director
Approval of 1967 Budget
Election of Officers
Address: Mr. Vernon Jordan, Voter Education Project,
Southern Regional Council

THE FLORIDA CLIMATE

Florida sells climate, its most valuable natural resource. The state takes its sunshine as it receives it--and 1966 has been a good year. With this gift it has prospered with a record influx of tourists from every state and every nation.

However, in its intergroup climate, Florida has not fared nearly so well. There are those who point to gains in school desegregation, increased equal employment, addtional public housing, stepped-up anti-poverty programs, etc., and state that Florida's climate in race relations is good.

A more realistic measurement of the weather takes into consideration the riots in Pompano Beach, Jacksonville, and Ft. Lauderdale; many injustices on the part of local law enforcement; outright defiance,in some areas, of the laws opening public accomodations; a subtle and not-so subtle evasion in school and hospital desegregation; the fact that the masses of Negroes had high hopes after the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, but have seen so little change; increased urban growth in population and problems resulting in increased ghettoization; a noticeable increase in the activities of right-wing groups; continued paternalism in welfare and charitable services; continuing high incidence of unemployment and underemployment of Negroes while others are in a nearly full employment period; a growing and frustrating atmosphere in which many "liberal" and "moderate" whites in the power structure feel that they have gone fast and far enough and now don't want to "rock the boat"; and the continual use of official bi-racial committees to put out brush fires without looking into the causes and certainly without a serious attempt to eliminate the causes.

There is still work for the Florida Council on Human Relations to do on the state level and in every local community. If we are to establish an inter-group climate in which all feel that they are full members of our citizenry in every area of life, we must be about the task of fulfilling our own responsibilities as we participate in humanity.

Annual Reports from Local Chapters

JACKSONVILLE:

As a result of studies made of the seventy odd children (Negro) in formerly all white schools of Duval County, two programs were considered and adopted by the council--a Summer Enrichment Program and a School Survey Program.

With teachers and basic funds supplied by the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee, the Council formulated a program of tutorial assistance and cultural enrichment for the Negro children of "Swwetwater", a suburban community where the majority of school integration had taken place.

The council co-sponsored with the National Students Organization of the Y.W.C.A. a survey by a group of college students. The project was aimed at interviewing, advising, and encouraging Negro parents to send their children to the school nearest to their home. The areas surveyed were selected for their proximity to white schools.

Both programs undertaken in a forbidding community atmosphere, were highly successful in terms of practical results. The Sweetwater project brought in and involved numerous individuals and groups, and even two white churches in an unexpected way. The school survey involved local college students working with the visiting students. They interviewed about 1500 parents during the eight weeks of their activity. Though enrollment figures only doubled those of the previous year, Negroes were made aware of their rights, perhaps for the first time. The full importance of this point can be realized only when one understands the obstructionist and delaying tactics of the school authorities, and the ostrich-like tactics of the local news media, avoiding all mention of school desegregation. It was as if a Civil Rights Act did not exist as the law of the land. We feel both programs shattered the vacuum of apapthy and reluctance to change that was the hallmark of Duval County.

As well as pursuing its work in the school desegregation area, this council worked in the following ways this past year: Exposed backwardness of Jacksonville by publishing statistics regarding schools etc. in its monthly newsletter--Intercom. supported NAACP in presenting its grievances to the mayor; assisted NAACP in survey regarding Federally funded programs--with results turned over to the U.S. Community Relations Service; formed a coordinating committee on housing which addressed itself to the desperate need for urban renewal and slum clearance, and officially supported passage of minimum housing code; ran a limited cultural enrichment program for twenty children from a very poor area, aimed at lifting these children above their usual environment; sent a letter to the ministerial association suggesting some ways they might improve community relations with those of other races--followed by a panel with ministers of four denominations telling what their churches were doing in this field locally and nationally.

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TALLAHASSEE

Programs during the past year have been centered on such local issues as the city's recreation department, hospitals, housing problems, as well as having panel discussion by civil rights workers in the area.
The council has continued its efforts to urge local officials to re-open municipal pools.

A most successful annual picnic was sponsored by the council giving members the opportunity to come together informally. A November dinner is planned with Mr. H. Locke, administrative assistant of Detroit as guest speaker.

PALM BEACH

The Palm Beach Council has conducted 10 public meetings during the past year. Over 500 people attended the third Gala Dinner to hear Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League

The Youth Council conducted their second summer tutorial and enrichment program, with approximately 117 Negro childred enrolled. The City of Riviera Beach cooperated in clearing an empty lot so that it could be used for a playground. The council purchased athletic equipment and school supplies. Much equipment and supplies such as record players, globes, and reference books were loaned or donated. Several other groups and churches cooperated in providing hot lunches and transportation for a trip to the zoo. The program terminated with a commencement, with each child receiving a certificate. A by-product of this program-one of the white churches has continued contact with the Negro mothers and the two womens groups are planning a rummage sale.

The council has accepted membership on the Palm Beach Community Action Council's Board. The chapter provided the impetus for the formation of a bi-racial committee in Lake Worth, and at their suggestion the name was changed to Community Relations Committee.

A number of complaints have been handled through this chapter--the one receiving the widest publicity concerned the Girl Scouts. During a integrated week-end outing of the Scouts, a school board member, whose daughter was attending, telephoned demanding that the girls be segregated in their rooms. The Council protested this act to Governor Burns and state school superintendent, Floyd Christiansen, and to the local school board. A national staff executive of the Scouts came to the area to investigate and our council was assured this type of thing would never happen again. The council is following this up with a planned meeting with the local Scout board.

Another complaint was filed regarding a restaurants refusal to serve one' of the local council's Negro members. An FBI investigation resulted with the restaurant promising compliance in the future. Another complaint has been filed in a similar situation, but not yet acted upon by the authorities. The council has been asked to investigate police and sheriff practices in Glades and Hendry Counties.

Complaints were filed and acted upon regarding gerrymandering of school sites to circumvent school integration.

The local papers have given this chapter excellent publicity and the chapter is refered to as "the leading civil rights group", and is constantly being consulted and asked to serve on panels.

WEST VOLUSIA

The various committees of the Council met at the last meeting to discuss their goals and define specific tasks for the coming months as follows: Housing--efforts to start an Urban Renewal program; employment--a survey to be made of business firms and empolyers asked for suggestions about job training; a proposal for a privately or Federally funded day care center; panel meetings involving high school students and school board members; the continuing project of the Evergreen Day Care Center is of prime importance and needs $3000· a year to stay open.

HALIFAX AREA

The council which has worked very hard this year on furthering school integration, is planning a real campaign to require kindergarten classes in every elementary school in Florida. They plan to ask the support of The State Office of the Florida Council in this project to ask for legislation to that effect.

Plans are going ahead for their Human Relations Coffee House and Neighborhood Center. About 20 people are meeting to "go ahead" on the problems of: Location , funds, program(promise of student help,here), and renovation and equipment. This is an ambitious and most exciting project and the rest of the state councils shall be most interested in the progress of these plans. The following excerpt from the newsletter, "The Way" describes what the Coffee House can be--
"What's in a Coffee House? The things you want. They might include conversation and coffee and other snacks--and music, a bit of drama, hospitality, a place to "sound off" on poetry or politics, a place to display and discuss your art, communication, exploration, crucial issues--a place to be yourself. And more music.--But not necessarily these. That's the point."

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GREATER MIAMI

The main thrust of the local council this year was in housing--open occupancy housing. A most successful general membership meeting was held on September 15 with close to 200 people attending . Many city and county officials were present, along with representatives from the Board of Realtors. The meeting was a panel type meeting, followed by discussion from the floor. The open discussion involved differing points of view, and proved to be most stimulating, and aired several subjects that are generally considered "touchy". Another meeting is planned that will deal more directly with the problem of getting an open occupancy ordnance passed in Dade County.

The housing committee of the chapter is working in cooperation with the Social Issues Committee of the First Unitarian Church of Miami in compiling a list of names of people who have signed their Open Occupancy Covenant. These are people who have pledged to sell their homes on a non-discriminatory basis, as well as to welcome persons of any racial or religous group into their neighborhhods. They are also trying to find Negroes who wish to move into previously all-white areas--teachers who have been moved to integrated schools, for instance, and literally get these two groups together. The council plans to work with any person who wishes to make such a move. It has also offered its services to newly integrated communities to help "smooth the way", or help in disseminating literature such as the "Myths of Integrated Housing"

The local chapter is also sponsoring a VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) project. At present there are two Vista workers in the Liberty City(a Negro area)section. In cooperation with local college students and some of the area churches they are setting up a Day-Care center, which will hopefully involve some of the parents in a cooperative program. A tutorial program is also planned which it is hoped will grow into a self-help community organization that will continue to function after the two Vita workers have left the area.

UPPER PINELLAS

The following projects were undertaken this year by the Upper Pinellas Chapter: Glen Oakes Golf Course in Clearwater--Committee has investigated alleged discriminatory practices and will file complaint, if it is found to be necessary. This will be done in cooperation with the ACLU or NAACP.

Housing Code for Clearwater--At this time there is no housing code. A committee of the local council is keeping a close watch on the code being drawn up by the assistant city attorney, to be sure that it will be adequate. If it is not, an appeal to the city commission is planned.

Fair Housing Campaign--The housing committee located realtors who would handle sales on a non-discriminatory basis. The committee also keeps current available F.H.A. houses. 30 letters were sent to Negroes offering assistance in moving into better homes. Thus far there has been no response to these letters.

Greenwood Apartments Imrovement Association--200 Negro families live in these apartments. The apartments are in miserable condition. The council organized the Improvement Association and did get the absentee landlord to paint the outside of the buildings.

United Nations Day Celebration--The council joined with 18 other groups in planning this event.

Voter Service Project--Cooperating with the League of Women Voters, use of the voting machine was demonstrated and sample ballots and election information was distributed in the Negro area.

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WINTER PARK

This chapter worked with the Orange County Health Department in disseminating information about a birth control clinic. Their programs and concerns through the past year dealt with the following: School desegregation, juvenile delinquents and their families; a concert for the benefit of a Scholarship Fund--cleared over $400.00; speakers and meetings on civil rights organizations, Annual Brotherhood Dinner, Bi-racial committee of Winter Park, and Citizens Safety Council. This chapter also concerned with the efforts of the Bi-racial committee to work with the 5 largest employers in the area. These businesses have agreed to hire qualified Negroes, and a number of applications are in process. This is a first important step in upgrading of job opportunities for the Negro citizens of this area. Several of the Winter Park council members are on the Mayor's Bi-racial committee.

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FT.PIERCE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION

This group is involved in some important projects affecting the racial climate of the area. The most important of these is the establishment of a state-supported Migrant Health Clinic.. Although only the ground work has been laid, there is hopefull progress in sight.

The groups is also considering changing its present name to "Fort Pierce Human Relations Council."

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

The first nine months of 1966 have been months of orientation for your director. Florida is a large and complex state. It has consumed more time than I had expected just to become acquainted with the local communities in which we have local councils. The ever changing nature of our task in "building bridges of understanding" has demanded much time just in identifying the needs and their priority within the state.

Statistically the task has meant visits of at least a full day's duration to twenty two Florida communities. This has included visits to fourteen of our local councils. It has involved sixty separate meetings, serving as a speaker in a number of varied organizations and churches, participation in a state-wide three day seminar on religion and race, two area workshops in school desegregation, etc. 9,679 automobile miles and 11,200 air miles have been logged. I have made seven out-of-state trips to attend staff meetings and programs which were enriching in the work of our council.

However, statistics are frustrating--they give no real picture of effeciency and most certainly provide no clue to any real values of our state and local councils.

It is my observation that there is no other comparable organization in any local community speaking from an inter-racial base with the specific purposes and aims to serve our society in its most important social need--the counteraction of prejudice and discrimination in that society. We have a relatively broad base with an operation in nineteen different local communities. This foundation offers us a position for operation in the larger community of the area and state. It is in this larger community that we must come to grips with the more serious problems--though never forgetting that if things aren't changed in the local community, they aren't changed at all.

I would further observe that while we operate from a relatively broad base, we do have some serious weaknesses. The greatest is in the ability to go from the conversational level--as important as this is--of people already in agreement, to the program and project level in which real community change can be effected. A second weakness we have is in the area of providing an adequate financial base from our own resources to establish the type of state-wide operation we must develop to fulfill our responsibility to society in our time.

There are many things I would like to say in this report, but it must be limited in its length. May I express my appreciation to the State Executive Committee, The Board of Directors, the officers and members of the local councils and the many more individuals who have shown so many kindnesses, helped so willingly, and overlooked the errors so easily committed by a new person in the office of director.

I would suggest the following goals for the coming year in the order of what I beleive to be a reasonable priority.

1. Development of new councils in at least 5 communities.
2. Increased service from the state office to the local councils in program and project development, membership recruitment and financial counsel.

(continued)

Director's Report--continued

3. The development of state-wide or area projects in housing, employment, school desegregation, and welfare programs in cooperation with other organizations or agencies.
4. A deliberate attempt to discover and define the proper role of the State Council and local councils in order to face systematically and realistically the plethora of challenges to satisfactory inter-group relations.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

Our Rural Advancement Project, which developed in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council and the National Sharecroppers Fund, but is under our administration, was started in February when Rev. LaVert Taylor accepted the position of Director. The following are excerpts from Mr. Taylor's summary report on October 6, 1966:

In February of 1966 I accepted the position as RAP Director with the Florida Council on Human Relations. I assumed this position and started to fulfill the duties thereof in March of this year. All actions relative to RAP position are outlined and discussed in this report. This summary report will cover the following areas of work:

1. Community Organization
2. Co-Ops and Credit Unions
3. USDA Agencies and Officials
4. USCS Elections
5. Evaluation of Progress
6. Future Plans

My work has been centered primarily in two counties. In Jefferson County, county seat,Monticello, approximately twenty-two miles east of Tallahassee, and Jackson County, county seat, Marianna, approximately seventy-two miles west of Tallahassee. The progress made in these counties is as follows:

Area One - Community Organization

We have tried in all counties we have entered, to make it perfectly clear to the "community leaders" that our purpose is solely to work in conjunction with their current programs.

We have, on all occasions, avoided advocating "new" organizations. In most of our northern Florida counties very little effort, if any, has been placed in the area of community organization. There have been several "professional" civil rights groups, all of which remained for a short period of time and were concerned primarily with the establishment of their groups, i.e., CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and NAACP. There is a strong feeling on the part of the local citizens that they have been exploited or neglected by our national civil rights organizations. As a result, they are somewhat skeptical of anyone who advocates a new group. With this in mind, we have tried to discover: (a) what groups were in existence; (b) their current projects; and (c) their weaknesses.

Jackson County:

We were successful in:

A. Reorganizing the Farmers Home Organization and placing within this group an RAP committee;

B. Reactivating the six community development groups;

C. Organizing a volunteer voter registration program through the local NAACP as well as strong assistance from the group in our local ASCS elections.

The Voters League in this county is about the most active group in the county as was instrumental in the successes of the ASCS elections.

One of our major successes was the acquisition of land for the International Paper Company which will be erected in Sneads, Florida. This company will bring approximately five hundred jobs to the county. We are hoping to see a sizable number of Negroes employed there.

Leon County

Of all our north Florida counties, Leon County is possibly the best equipped in terms of leadership potential.

We were fortunate enough to bring the NAACP, Inter-Civic Council of Tallahassee, and The Human Relations Council of Tallahassee to sponsor the North Florida Conference on School Desegregation. It was our desire to bring the communities of north Florida into an awareness of the dangers of failing to push the cause of school desegregation. We had hoped to arouse them to the point where they would organize their community around this issue. Secondly, we had hoped to get sufficient representation from Leon County so that we might formulate, at a later date, a Leon County Program.

Jefferson County

We started our work just before the ASCS elections and have spent most of our time since then working in the areas of voter registration and community organization. Our efforts in the area of ASCS will be discussed later.

Area Two - Co-Ops and Credit Unions

Our work in these areas has been somewhat limited because at the outset our knowledge of these two areas was terribly limited. However, since accepting this position, we have acquired somewhat of a communicable knowledge of Co-Ops and Credit Unions and have tried to do the following things in our two principal counties:

Jackson County

Along with the Farmers Home Organization we sponsored a one day conference on Co-Ops and Credit Unions. The purpose of this conference was (1) to acquaint the individuals in the county with the operation of Co-Operatives and Credit Unions, and (2) to inform them of the responsibility of USDA, principally FHA, to the local farmer.

Jefferson County

There is only one Co-Op in Jefferson County and this is owned and operated by "white folks". Negroes are permitted to join this Co-Op if they care to, but it is sort of an unwritten law that the Co-Op of Jefferson County is not meant for Negroes. We have tried to urge the prosperous farmers of the county to get into this Co-Op, but they are more receptive to the idea of organizing their own.

Our discussions have centered principally around Co-Operatives and Credit Unions and the strongest degree of interest is shown in Credit Unions. This is included in our future plans.

Area Three - USDA Agencies and Officials

We have had no significant problems on the state level with officials of USDA. Our problems have been on the local levels.

Jackson County

Our only problem in Jackson County has been the County Agent. He has posed no major obstacles, but merely refuses to cooperate in any manner.

There is no Negro County Agent and apparently the County Agent has no intention of hiring one. This presents several problems. One of which is that there is no 4-H program for Negro youth. We have reported this to the USDA, but no action has been taken to date.

The FHA office in Jackson County, to our estimation, is probably the best federal agency in the county. They have been extremely co-operative and willing to help whenever possible. The FHA Supervisor and Assistant Supervisors are doing a good job disseminating information about FHA programs.

Jefferson County

Again, we must say that our problem lies not in the FHA Office, but in the Office of the County Agent. The story in Jefferson County is identical to that of Jackson County in that there is no Negro County Agent. The senior County Agent has made no effort towards hiring a qualified Negro, and there is no 4-H program for youngsters.

The FHA office serving Jefferson County is located in Leon County, and we feel that the Supervisor and Associate Supervisors are doing their very best.

Area Four - ASCS Elections

After our last NSF/RAP Staff Meeting, we became interested in ASCS and the upcoming elections.

Jackson County

Our successes, as minute as they might seem, were made in Jackson County. We were successful in electing a Negro Vice Chairman on one community committee and placing two others on the committee as members.

Jefferson County

This was the first time the Negro farmers of Jefferson County had interested themselves in the ASCS elections. We found it somewhat difficult to adequately canvass and speak in both counties prior to the elections. We were not successful in getting any Negroes elected in Jefferson County, but our plans are such, that we can be somewhat assured of some victories in next years election.

Area Five - Evaluation of Progress

We feel that we have made some definite gains in several significant problem areas of north Florida, i.e., employment voter registration, and community organization. The paper company in Jackson County hopefully will provide jobs for a number of young people coming out of high school seeking work, enabling them to remain in their home county and work for its better development.

With the number of unregistered voters in both Jefferson and Jackson Constantly declining, we feel that eventually the Negroes in both counties will have some degree of "political" power.

There is a problem that we do not feel we have adequately touched upon, and that is the problem of the very poor. In our rural areas the very poor are the tenant farmers who work for comparatively nothing. As a solution to their problem, we suggest a push by all agencies concerned for a strong minimum wage bill for farm workers. This should include tenant workers.

It is pathetic to drive along the highways of north Florida and see rows of tenant houses on the verge of collapsing.

The farm problem lies with the farm owner who has tenant farmers and employs farm laborers as well as with the USDA which ignores the degradation and injustice inflicted upon tenant farmers and laborers.

With the addition of Mike Kenney to our staff we feel that our Regional Office is equipped to give each field man adequate time and advice.

Area Six - Future Plans

We plan to do the following the rest of this year, and part of the first six months of 1967:

To spend a great deal of time in the area of Community Organization in Jackson and Jefferson Counties working toward the development of a strong community group.

To establish RAP Committees (similar to those in Jackson and Jefferson Counties) in the Counties of Taylor, Wakulla, Leon, Gadsden and Madison.

To work toward the organization of Credit Unions within Jefferson County. Hopefully, this will come the latter part of this year.

To do recruiting for the SCLC Citizenship Education Program. Individuals recruited for this program hopefully will return to their local communities and establish citizenship education classes.

To work toward the ASCS Elections early next year. To conduct extensive Community Educational Programs and have individuals selected to be placed on the ballots by petition prior to July 1.

To work with the farmers in Jackson and Jefferson Counties in an effort to form strong purchasing cooperatives.

Record of Receipts and Disbursements
January 1, 1966 to September 30, 1966

Receipts

Contributions	6333.07
RAP Grant	9000.00
Expanded grant in aid	5050.00
SRC grant	3450.00
Other grants	1146.80
Meetings & Conv.	731.36
Tax refund	402.67
Miscell.	94.17
Trans. from Fla. Trust	1814.63
	$ 28,022.70

Disbursements		RAP
Rent	65.00	
Trans. from Fla. Trust	600.00	
Prof. Fees	93.75	
Postage	275.47	
Office Supplies	456.96	75.49
Office Equipment	442.59	199.49
Print. & Pub.	472.60	
Travel	4494.29	2011.75
Director's Salary	7499.97	
RAP Dir. "	4375.00	4375.00
Office Mgr.	2911.27	
Emp. Soc. Security	586.10	183.82
Phone	643.66	60.00
Miscell.	156.28	
Conv. & Meetings	1020.97	22.72
Books & Pamphlets	71.91	
Extension	172.50	
Payroll Taxes	2265.79	
Tax. Adjustment	366.63	
Insurance(office)	76.88	
Insurance(personal)	71.76	
Utilities	111.63	
Repair & Maint.	254.26	
Program	695.00	45.00
	$28,180.27	
with held taxes	— 2,530.80	
travel credit	— 90.38	
	$25.559.09	$6.973.27

Balance on hand in Lincoln National Bank as of Sept. 30,1966 $2026.74

CONTRIBUTED BY CHAPTERS THROUGH OCTOBER 15, 1966

CHAPTER	PAID	QUOTA
Bay County	21.00	150.00
Broward County	76.00	500.00
Central Brevard	15.00	500.00
Ft. Pierce	70.00	750.00
Gainerville	105.00	500.00
Halifax Area	1561.50	2500.00
Jacksonville	597.00	1000.00
Lee County	91.00	500.00
Melbourne	242.00	750.00
Miami	1426.50	4000.00
Ocala	71.00	200.00
Palm Beach	825,00	2500.00
St. Petersburg	15.00	250.00
Tallahassee	150.00	300.00
Tampa	83.00	500.00
Upper Pinellas	1086.00	2500.00
West Volusia	377.00	400.00
Winter Park	260.00	500.00
Miscellaneous	179.07	

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BUDGET--1966

EXPENDITURES

Salary	Executive Director		$10,000.00
	Associate Director		5,000.00
	Office Secretary		3,640.00
Travel	Executive Director	$3000.00	
	Associate Director	2000.00	5,000.00
Printing	Newsletter	550.00	
	Special Bulletins, Pledge cards, Miscellaneous	200.00	
	Stationery	250.00	
	Brochure	400.00	
			1,400.00
Rent			780.00
Office Supplies			200.00
Postage			500.00
Telephone			800.00
Annual Meeting			200.00
Insurance			65.00
Miscellaneous			500.00
Auditing			150.00
Surplus to 1967			100.00
			$28,335.00

Estimated Income

Southern Regional Council	$4600.00
Foundation Grants	1735.00
Migrant Workers--Overhead	2000.00
Pledges and Contributions	20000.00
	$28,335.00

PROPOSED BUDGET--1967

Salaries and Travel

ExecutiveDirector, Salary	$10,000.00	
" " Travel	3,000.00	
Office Manager, Salary	4,420.00	
Insurance-Med. & Life	531.36	
Soc. Security, Employers	462.84	
	$18,414.20	18,414.20
Assoc. Director, Salary	$ 5,000.00	
" " Travel	2,000.00	
Soc. Security, Employers	210.00	
Insurance, Med. & Life	265.68	
	$ 7,475.68	7,475.68
		$25,889.88

Operation and Program

Telephone	$700.00	
Utilities	275.00	
Insurance	75.00	
Postage	400.00	
Printing	600.00	
Office Supplies	720.00	
Repairs and Maint.	200.00	
Equipment	500.00	
Annual Meeting	200.00	
Program	750.00	
Miscellaneous	790.12	
	$5,210.12	5,210.12
		$31,100.00

ANTICIPATED INCOME--1967

Local Chapters	$15,000.00
Special Contributions and Grants	2,500.00
Southern Regional Council Grant-in-aid	4,600.00
Expanded grant-in-aid	7,000.00
Rural Adv. Project	2,000.00
	$31,100.00

Expanded Grant in Aid.		$7,000.00
	Assoc. Dir. Salary	$2,500.00
	Office Manager	2,000.00
	Travel	2,500.00
		$7,000.00

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT BUDGET 2/28/66--2/28/67

Director, Salary	$7,500.00	
Soc. Sec., Employer	277.20	
Travel, Director	1,500.00	
Secretarial	2,000.00	
Office Supplies	200.00	
Postage	100.00	
Telephone	200.00	
Miscellaneous	222.80	
		$12,000.00

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
Proposed Budget--1967

Salary, Director	$7,500.00
Social Security	277.20
Insurance	265.68
Travel	1,500.00
Office Exp.	457.12
Administration FCHR	2,000.00
	$12,000.00

BY-LAWS
of the

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(A corporation not for profit)

(Adopted, January 23, 1965)

PREAMBLE

The purpose of this organization, in accordance with its charter, is to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, national, or ethnic group membership.

Article I

Membership

Any person of good moral character and reputaion who is in accord with the purposes of the Florida Council on Human Relations and who pays dues determined by the Board of Directors may become a member, but the Board of Directors, or a Committee appointed by it, shall have the right to refuse membership to any person if it is deemed in the best interest of the organization .

Article II

Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Council shall be members of the Board of Directors at the time of their election.

Section 2. All officers of the corporation shall be unpaid, and do the customary work of their offices.

Section 3. The preseident shall be the Chairman of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee.

Article III

Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting should be held sometime between Labor Day and Thanksgiving, with a provision that a meeting be held in the fall of 1966 to initiate the starting of the operating year 1966-1967. (as ammended, Jan.1966)

Section 2. One other Membership Meeting may be held each year at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall meet at the Annual Membership Meeting and approximately six months afterward.

Section 4. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Chairman or on request of at least five members of the Board.

Section 5. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once between Board meetings. Special meetings of the Executive Committee may be called by the Chairman or upon request of at least four members of the Executive Committee.

Section 6. Board meetings shall require at least 30 days notice. Executive Committee meetings shall require at least 10 days notice. In each case, due notice having been given, a quorum shall consist of members present.

Article IV

Board of Directors

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall consist of from thirty to sixty members widely representative of the population of the State of Florida. Board members shall serve for three-year terms on a staggered basis. The immediate past president shall be a member of the Board.

Section 2. The Board of Directors shall direct the affairs of the Council according to the provisions of the Charter.

Section 3. Vacancies may be filled by the Board between Annual Meetings.

Article V

Executive Committee

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, twelve other members of the Board of Directors and the immediate Past President.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall direct the affairs of the Council between Board meetings in accord with the policies of the Board and the provisions of the charter.

Section 3. Vacancies may be filled the Board between Annual Meetings.

Article VI

Elections

Section 1. The election of officers and members of the Board of Directors shall be by ballot at the Annual Membership Meeting; a majority of the votes cast by those members present shall be necessary to elect.

Section 2. One=third of the Board Memebers shall be elected by the membership at each Annual Membership Meeting; more or less than one=third may be elected provided that the limits set in Article IV, Section I, of these By-Laws are not exceeded.

Section 3. Nominations for offices and the Board of Directors shall be made in the following ways: The Nominating Committee shall present nominations for the offices and the Board; Chapters of the Council may present nominations through their duly authorized representatives to the Board of Directors; any member may submit a nomination from the floor.

Section 4. The Nominating Committee shall present nominations for the six members-at-large of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall be elected by the Board of Directors at its meeting held in conjunction with the Annual Membership Meeting.

Section 5. Officers, Board members and Executive Committee members shall take office at the close of the meeting at which they shall be elected.

Section 6. No officers may serve in the same office for more than two consecutive years.

Article VII

Committees

Section 1. Committees shall be appointed by the President or Executive Committee as needed.

Section 2. A Nominating Committee shall be appointed by the President at least sixty days prior to the Annual Membership Meeting.

Article VIII

Executive Staff

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall employ such executive staff as may be necessary to discharge its duties under the Charter.

Section 2. Employment and personnel policies pertaining to the executive staff shall be a delegated responsibility of the Executive Committee.

Article IX

Chapters

Section 1. Chapters of the Council may be chartered by the Board of Directors. Chapters shall be autonomous with the exception of conformance to Sections 2 and 3 of this Article.

Section 2. Constitutions and By-Laws, policies and activities of Chapters shall be in harmony with the Charter of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

Section 3. A Chapter shall select its own name, but shall identify itself either in its name or in a sub-title to its name as "A Chapter of the Florida Council on Human Relations".

Section 4. A duly authorized representative of a Chapter shall attend meetings of the Board of Directors as a non-voting delegate.

Section 5. The Charter of any Chapter may be revoked by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Directors.

Article X

Affiliated Organizations

Section 1. The Board of Directors may accept any organization as an Affiliate of the Florida Cooncil on Human Relations.

Section 2. An Affiliate may identify itself as "An Affiliate of the Florida Council on Human Relations".

Section 3. Annual dues may be assessed each Affiliate by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. An affiliation may be terminated by vote of the Board of Directors.

Article XI

Cooperation with Organizations and Agencies

Section 1. The Florida Council on Human Relations, an independent and autonomous organization shall cooperate with the Southern Regional Council.

Section 2. The Florida Council on Human Relations may cooperate with other organizations and agencies in pursuit of the purposes set forth in its charter.

Article XII

Tax Exempt Status

Section 1. The Florida Council on Human Relations, having conformed to provisions of the Internal Revenue Service Code, shall operate as a tax exempt organization.

Section 2. As a tax exempt organization, the Council shall not engage in political activity except in conformity with the provisions of the Internal Revenue Service Code, Article 501, C.3.

Article XIII

Finances

Section 1. The fiscal year of the Council shall be the calendar year.

Section 2. Members shall support the Council to the extent of their ability by payment of freely given annual pledges or donations. It is understood, however, that no one shall be excluded from membership by reason of his inability to make such payments.

Section 3. A budget for each year's operation shall be prepared by the Executive Committee or a delegated Finance Committee and presented for adoption to the Board of Directors and the membership at the Annual Membership Meeting of that year.

Section 4. It shall be the responsibility of the Executive Committee to maintian budgetary control and to make necessary re-allocations of funds within the adopted budget.

Section 5. An annual audit shall be made of the books and submitted to the Board of Directors at the time of the next Annual Membership Meeting.

Section 6. An audit of the books shall be made at such other times as the Board or the Executive Committee shall direct.

Article XIV

Amendments

These By-Laws may be amended by the Board at any meeting, provided that the proposed amendments shall be submitted in writing to members of the Board at least 30 days prior to the meeting. A two-thirds vote of Board members present shall be necessary for adoption.

Article XV

Parliamentary Authority

The Rules contained in Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall govern in all cases wherein they do not conflict with the rules of this organization.

File / Prospects / Fed & Activities

ES — Excellent — Thanks PA

MEMORANDUM

October 24, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Florida Council Annual Meeting

There was evidence at this meeting that the Florida Council is responding positively to our emphases on local support, increased membership, and local council programming. VandenBosche is pushing these things, as can be seen from the prominence given them in the program and in the two mimeographed pieces attached hereto. He is backed up by Dr. Williams, of course, and by Herbert Davidson, who clearly stated to the Board--without prompting--the temporary nature of our current aid to their general operation and called for increased support from the locals.

It seems likely that donations will equal or exceed those of last year. The budget for next year calls for a 50% increase. (Also announced in Augie's report was the intention of major emphasis on forming new councils and assisting existing ones with program.)

There are no remarkable statistical results, as yet, in terms of contributions. Yet it seems to me that a solid basis is being laid--a strong Board, administrative emphasis and procedures, etc.--and the attitude of the membership is positive. Some of them are rather precious liberals, but they <u>are</u> involved.

Note especially the neat, orderly packaging of information in Augie's mimeographed program booklet.

One interesting incident: There was an attempt at the business meeting to block re-election to the Board of Bishop Louttit of the Episcopal church because of his attempts to get Bishop Pike tried for heresy. Dr. Williams, Caxton Doggett, and others persuaded the majority that the FCHR did not need to take up a denomination's doctrinal disputes.

Unfortunately, I had to leave to catch my plane just before Vernon spoke, but am sure it was a "save" for the meeting as far as speakers are concerned. Frank Sloan cancelled and sent DuPree Jordan instead. Jordan is a deputy director of O.E.O. He departed not one iota from the official line--strictly a canned public relations speech.

File Projects Field Activities

MJ - file

MEMORANDUM

October 25, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

T. Franklin Williams called me this afternoon. He was changing planes at the airport and wanted to comment on my report on the meeting of the Special Committee to Study the Relationship Between SRC and the State Councils.

He expressed agreement with all points made, but felt that H. Franklin Williams' point six, while good as far as it went, was not strong enough. ("There should be no interruption in other projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved, where possible.") He thinks it should be "mandatory" that state councils be consulted before SRC initiates any field project that would involve their state. The planning should be joint planning and the decision to launch a project a joint decision. (A possible exception, he said, would be a purely research matter.) He personally would favor making the state councils the preferred agents of these programs, but would settle for joint planning as a minimum.

He tied this in with the point about membership participation for both state councils and SRC. "People participate," he said, "when they are responsible -- really, actually responsible -- and they do not participate when they are not."

I thought it an interesting conversation and, with his approval, pass along this summary for whatever it is worth.

file / Projects Field activities

November 2, 1966

PW - see pp 3-4 - MJ - /el

Confidential

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Field Trip to Alabama

I was in Alabama Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of last week. Primary purposes were to look into the problem with Jerry Roden and Bob Valder about which I talked to you briefly and to visit Lewis Black to check on the continuing dissatisfaction of Jac Wasserman and NSF with his work.

In Auburn I was relieved to find, first, that Bob Valder is in much better spirits about the whole thing than he was when I talked to him here. He described himself as having "re-entry problems," meaning that he was suffering from disappointment at having the office load to carry again when he had thought himself free of it, finally. Now that he knows where he stands again, he says, he has readjusted.

Second, Jerry brought up on his own initiative the subject of his being unable to fulfill to his satisfaction the obligation he had undertaken. He said he felt that the Alabama Council was "drifting." He felt that Bob had grown a great deal just in the four months that he has been working with him and that Bob's relationship with Dr. Gomillion had become one of greater mutual respect. In view of this he proposed the possibility of naming Bob Executive Director, bringing in a new Associate Director, and having himself put back on the Executive Committee with special responsibility, on a volunteer basis, for organizing new local councils. I agreed to explore the possibility tentatively with Bob and with Dr. Gomillion.

Bob thought it over for a few hours, then answered (with a good-natured demeanor) that he simply did not wish to consider or to be considered for the post of Executive Director. He commented that Jerry had discussed his idea with him already and that he thought it inappropriate that it should come from Jerry. He added that he felt little in common with executive directors of the other state councils and, also, that he would not wish to continue as Associate Director under Jerry, if Jerry does accept the position on a permanent basis in June. He is content to fulfill his obligation under the present setup, but at this point is of a mind to seek another position starting next June.

(He suggested that he would like to consider a position with SRC, if one suitable to his abilities and interests should open.) He also commented that he is under some gentle pressure from Jan (his wife), who just wants to get closer to her "home" in Iowa.

I reported his reaction to Jerry and said that I would nevertheless put the matter before Dr. Gomillion. I felt that if Dr. Gomillion had indeed changed his mind about Bob's inclinations to the extent that he would be willing to urge Bob to consider the Director's job, Bob might be persuaded.

I talked to Dr. Gomillion on Thursday. He responded that he still was concerned, not about Bob's ability--for which he expressed admiration--but about certain individuals toward whom Bob seemed to be drawn and about his inclination toward staff-oriented program and corresponding disinclination to work with local council volunteers. Under the circumstances he favored keeping the present arrangement over naming Bob Director or bringing in another Director. The only thing that might make him favor a change at this time, he said, would be an indication that Jerry did not intend to take the position permanently after completion of his graduate study.

The decision has been made, then, to let the matter rest for the time being. Jerry has promised to make some decision about his future intentions after the first of the year.

I discussed with Bob and, in Greensboro, with Lewis Black Wasserman's chronic complaints about Lewis' work, which boil down to two: (1) he does not respond to NSF's satisfaction to requests for investigation of complaints; (2) he is too involved as a leader in Hale and Perry Counties and does not work over a wide area, evoking leadership elsewhere in the state. (Jac describes what he calls "a leadership syndrome" by which there seems to be one Negro leader in each county--Lewis Black being the one in Hale County--so that it appears to be bad form to encroach on another's bailiwick without specific request or approval.)

It was apparent that Jac had not discussed these complaints with Lewis. Except for his problem about sending in written reports, Lewis was unaware that Jac had any major complaints. He was appreciably disturbed about them. (I have subsequently mentioned this to Jac. He claims that he felt obliged to work through Jerry and Bob. I tried to suggest that there is a distinction between giving directions and offering constructive advice and criticism.)

For his part, Lewis thinks that the NSF program is too complaint-oriented. If they did not have the Department of Agriculture to nag, he says, they wouldn't have a program. He has, indeed, devoted much time to trying to secure a CAP agency in Hale county, to school desegregation efforts, to a local credit union and a local cooperative supermarket. But he has done so deliberately and with forethought. He says Negroes have been disillusioned with the promises of the Civil Rights Act about their "rights." Many have been forced to revert to "the Man" out of sheer economic necessity. Unless there are long-term, substantive programs to provide a way of living other than the white man's paternalism, Lewis argues, there is no use talking to Negroes about legal "rights."

As for the "leadership syndrome," there is a large measure of truth in Jac's analysis. However, there are compensations. One is that Lewis Black is manifestly in the Black Belt to stay, and, while the process might be slower, the influence of successful leadership might very well spread more surely through his approach than through that of wide-ranging do-gooding. Besides, he claims (and Bob Valder confirms) that he does in fact get around more than he gets credit for.

I suspect that much of the difficulty lies in the fact that writing is difficult for Black and therefore he does not satisfy Jac in the matter of reports. I think that he does more than enough good to justify his salary. And the Alabama Council Board and staff are clearly more than satisfied. Consequently, I am suggesting to Jac that he give Black more time in field visitation, trying to build up a mutual confidence. Black just is not going to fit the NSF mold, but he has--of course--a profound understanding of the realities of life for Negroes in the Black Belt which could be unusually fruitful if NSF could see itself providing technical assistance to his program instead of seeing him as a leg man for theirs.

PW

I stopped in Selma overnight and got a most interesting "Cook's Tour" from Cap Swift, the city councilman and business man whom I met there during the demonstrations. Cap pointed out the paved streets in the Negro sections of town, the new lighting, the improved sanitation service, the 35 Negro children now attending Parrish High, the fact that there are now 400 city employees compared to 200 two years ago, the fact that he and other city fathers had secured a surplus food program by putting pressure on the county commission via an official of Hammermill Paper Company. He pointed out the Negro cop that the city has hired. And I confirmed personally (what he had bragged) that the town was so booming that there were no rooms available except on weekends. (I got one of the last two left even in the ramshackle Hotel Albert.) Besides Hammermill, Dan River is building a plant nearby. And Hammermill already has on the drawingboards an expansion of the $65 million plant they have not yet finished.

Wilson Baker dropped into Cap's drug store while I was there and confirmed Cap's statement that his prospects look good. About half (more or less) of the whites in the county will vote for Baker and, they claim, virtually all of the Negroes, who now match the whites in voting strength.

I had no opportunity to talk to anyone in the Negro community, and there are a lot of questions I would like to have answered. Is it true that Hammermill is hiring on a non-discriminatory basis? At what levels are Negroes hired by the city? Are the improved services costing the town anything, or is it all federal money? It seemed to me that the improvements made thus far (and they are improvements) are still in the paternalistic mold and that Selma white people still little comprehend the root of the community's problem.

If it is not already in the works, I would like to suggest a "special report" on the aftermath in several cities which have been the scenes of direct action campaigns--St. Augustine, Albany, Birmingham, Selma, and perhaps others. I think I would enjoy doing Selma, Watters could do a couple of them, etc.

Field Projects / Field Activities

file

M E M O R A N D U M

November 10, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

I called Helen Mervis between planes in New Orleans today. We discussed our proposition in reference to John Pecoul.

It is a sticky proposition for her. Not only is she on the Personnel Committee of Urban League (Chairman, in fact), but she also says that some Leaguers have accused her of using Urban League programs for CRC activities--in competition, so to speak. She is going to an Urban League meeting in New York next week and was going to discuss the situation with Whitney Young. This, she says, will make her situation even stickier. (She claims, incidentally, that the job openings for John in New Orleans are there because he had talked to her about his wish to "return" about a year ago, she had been impressed, and had spoken to the OEO director and Urban League in his behalf.)

Anyway, she tells me that you are expecting her Tuesday night and can then go into the matter, including her relationship to the state council, to Pat, to SRC, to Urban League, etc. I told her I would leave a message for her at the hotel. Perhaps the three of us could have dinner.

I had previously talked to Pat and Dr. Oliver about it. Dr. Oliver's initial reaction was that it seemed like a good idea, although he would need time to think it through. Pat seemed to have reservations about it. She claims no doubts about her ability to work with John--only about the effect on the LCHR. I had difficulty in getting her to see that the move would have benefits for the rest of the state as well as for New Orleans. She was afraid, for example, that the LaFayette area crowd would resent the hiring of staff for New Orleans after "losing" the office to Baton Rouge.

There is always the possibility, of course, that Pat still feels too insecure to take on additional staff, preferring to try to stabilize to existing operation first. That is understandable.

All things considered, I have to recommend--reluctantly, and subject to change after our talk with Helen--that we let this idea rest.

First, I don't think it could be done in time to get John without our "selling" it pretty hard. There are too many complications, hesitations, etc., to be worked through, and it would be hazardous to brush them aside or push the principals to a hasty decision.

Second, I begin to feel that Pat's instincts might be good, even if defensive. If she had sufficient experience and confidence, adding John to the staff would be superb strategy. As it is, I myself am afraid that John's presence might weaken Pat, who has a feminine tendency to lean on any strength available. So, while it might mean losing John from the SRC network temporarily, maybe it would be better to let LCHR have a longer shakedown cruise.

We certainly ought to keep this in mind as an experiment we need to try, and we should continue to incubate the idea with CRC and LCHR and Pat--hoping to get a John Pecoul and better circumstances to arrive at the same time. I definitely do think we have to plan something creative about New Orleans within 12 to 18 months, lest we lose LCHR entirely.

File SNC Projects Field Activities

M E M O R A N D U M

November 21, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Trip to Birmingham, Saturday November 19, 1966

This trip was to assist with a briefing session for local-council chairmen for the 1967 finance and membership campaign of the Alabama Council.

Only the two smallest chapters (Talladega and Montgomery) were not represented. Goals were set--with consent of local council representatives--totalling $25,000 and 1600 members.

We had a careful review of the campaign plan and there was good interest and response. I think there really is a good chance of success provided they can find an additional $3,000 to $4,000 in business or big-donor contributions.

Gomillion and I had a session with Raden, and Jerry committed himself to accept the Executive Director's post, if offered and barring unforeseen circumstances.

In view of Valder's outstanding work on this meeting--as on so many other things--I am frustrated over being not quite able to suggest him for South Carolina or elsewhere (he does know USDA and ASCS ropes, and he does work well with a policy board). Somehow I still hope he will come around. Once during this meeting he commented about what the Huntsville Council had accomplished and remarked that it "shows how much a chapter can do with the right people--which sort of belies my theories." Maybe a down-to-the-mat conversation with him would be in order in a couple of months.

James and Kathy Wood send their regards.

Birmingham Post-Herald

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER—TELEPHONE 323-5381

JAMES E. MILLS ..... W. H. METZ
Editor Vice President

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"Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way"

Shriver Puts Back the Money

Many of the protests concerning the War on Poverty are wrapped up in the grants for operations in Lowndes and Wilcox Counties just reinstated by Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

These grants, involving more than a half million dollars, were held up last summer when Governor Wallace protested that programs in the two counties were dominated by "black power" operatives.

Mr. Shriver now reports that he has found "no basis" for these charges and so will start passing out the money.

Though he said he "found no basis," he also said that changes have been made involving those in charge. Three board members in Lowndes have resigned "in order not to embarrass the program through exercising their political rights."

* * *

AND ANOTHER BOARD member, Robert L. Strickland, probably the most controversial of those involved, has resigned as vice president of a Lowndes County Freedom Organization—identified as one that "supported candidates for local political office under local election laws." But is that any assurance that he will not be taking part in political activities?

Strickland, originally identified by the governor as director of the program in Lowndes County, also served a term on a murder charge.

But Shriver brushes this aside by saying that he had received a full pardon after serving five years of a sentence. He also denies that Strickland had ever been director of the program but he seems deeply involved in this operation.

* * *

THESE PROJECTS strike us as being of the type that will be spending money largely along racial lines, despite Shriver's assurances that a cleanup has been made.

And they follow the premise that passing out large sums of Federal money will solve any and all problems.

Many of the people of Lowndes and Wilcox Counties need help, but these programs do not appear to be the ones that will provide it.

The people of this country in this fall's elections were saying to the Government in Washington, among other things, "Let's end this waste and useless spending. Let's not use Federal funds to promote racial conflict."

When the new Congress meets it should take steps to deny Federal money for such projects.

The OEO needs a thorough revamping and it is up to Congress to see that it is done.

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Kathleen Wood, President
Joan Lamb, Editor

Vol. II, No. 6
November, 1966

Meeting

8:00, November 22 — Church of the Good Shepherd
605 Donald Street

Speaker: — Mr. William B. Crane
Mobile County School Board

Topic: — Mobile County School System

We all complain to one another about our schools. Tonight is our opportunity to complain to, and learn from, the management! Mr. Crane has been a member of the School Board forthe past ten years and is eminently qualified to answer our questions. He will explain the new school desegregation plan, how the new school lunch program will be used in our schools, and school board policies regarding the use of federal funds for programs for the culturally disadvantaged and answer any other questions which you might have. This is a most important meeting: we hope you will plan to attend.

Once again, we would like you to submit written questions to avoid duplication and to insure that the questions are of general interest. We will call for questions from the floor as time allows, just as we did last month.

Library

Our library is in operation now, although only about one-third of the books have arrived. Members are invited to browse through the library and to check out any books which interest them. Books checked out at one meeting will be due at the next meeting and there is a limit of two books to a member.

Negro History Program

We have had an excellent response to the first two sessions of our history series. There has been a true interest shown and we feel that we are meeting a real community need. This is information which was not presented to any of us in school.

The November 7th program was a film strip on Negro history in America: about 45 attended, most of them students from Central. Some of the material was familiar to some of us; none of it was familiar to all of us. Did you know, for example, that the first wheat crop in the New World was planted by a Negro? or that 30 Negroes were with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean?

Over 60 people attended the second meeting where Miss Winnifred Galloway, an instructor at the University of South Alabama, spoke on early African history. She gave a vivid description of African civilization from a period long before the birth of Christ down to the time of the slave trade. Miss Galloway, who spent two years with the Peace Corps in Africa, also showed us some of the beautiful fabrics which are woven and dyed today much as they were then.

The dates and topics of the next four programs are:

Nov. 21 -- Explorers and the American Frontier
Nov. 28 -- The Freedom Movement - 1775-1865
Dec. 5 -- The Freedom Movement - 1865-1966
Dec. 12 -- The Arts

If you are interested in any or all of them, don't hesitate to come at 7:30 Monday evenings at the Church of the Good Shepherd. What would you think of having these repeated as Council programs?

Preview of Things to Come

Our December meeting will take place the second Tuesday in the month, December 13. We plan to combine small discussion groups with an informal Christmas party. Our history series grew from suggestions made at our last discussion meeting: now the Board would like further help in planning our activities in the field of education for the balance of the year. We hope that with the information gleaned at our two meetings on the schools and our experience with the history series that we can arrive at plans for really constructive action in 1967.

In January we will again have our covered dish supper to open our annual finance and membership drive. This will be held on the third Tuesday, January 17, to give us more time for the drive before we have to report on our success at the state convention in February. If you haven't finished paying your '66 pledge, do so now so that you will be ready for the new year. Start thinking, too, of friends you want to bring to the dinner. It is an excellent introduction to the Council.

A Sad Story

Joe Care is a responsible citizen. He cares about his community and he knows that informed participation in government is important if we are to keep our country strong and responsive to the needs of all the people. When election day rolls round he is first in line at the voting booth.

One bright election day, when Joe gave his name to the poll worker he was told that his name was not on the list. Joe could not vote! He had failed to re-identify. He had known he had it to do, but he put it off too long.

Don't be a Joe Care. If you registered to vote before February 1, 1966, you must re-identify at the Board of Registrars at the Court House on or before January 31, 1967. Don't put it off like Joe Care. Re-identify this week!!

YOU ARE INVITED

All interested Alabamians are invited to a week-end workshop at the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church in Gees Bend in Wilcox County to be held December 9, 10, and 11. Participants will spend Friday and Saturday nights at the workshop and leave after church Sunday (about 2:00 pm) If necessary it is permissable to leave Saturday night.

The workshop is being sponsored by the Selma Inter-Religious Project and the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church. Father Walter is responsible for recruiting participants and inviting the lecturers. The church is supplying the building, arranging hospitality, and recruiting resource people for the discussion groups.

It was hard to find a name for the workshop -- A NEGRO LIFE WORKSHOP, A SCHOOL FOR WHITE PEOPLE, or A RURAL LIFE SCHOOL are all approximations It will be a week-end of seminars, informal lectures, inspection tours and recreation; all designed to give the participants an appreciation of what it is like to be black in the changing rural sections of Alabama. Without understanding the agricultural roots of the American Negro one can't really understand the Movement, the urban ghetto, or white economic and cultural reaction to the Movement.

Noted local community leaders will give short lecturers and lead discussion groups in such subjects as: "The Growth of the Movement in Wilcox County -- Problems and Progress", "Tenant Farming: How It Works, Why It Is Dying Out, What Takes Its Place", "Credit: How It Controls the Negro Community," "The Operation of a Rural Church", and "The Cooperative Movement". There will be opportunities to visit local farms, take part in a coon hunt, enjoy dinner on the grounds after church on Sunday, and to meet all sorts of people.

If you would like to know more about this country's most pressing domestic issue -- more than your family maid or any Alabama newspaper will tell you -- fill out the registration slip below. The deadline for applications is December 5.

Bring warm informal clothes for the workshops and one set of good clothes for church on Sunday. Bring a flashlight. All meals and expenses are included in the $5.00 registration fee.

A map and directions are on the back of this page.

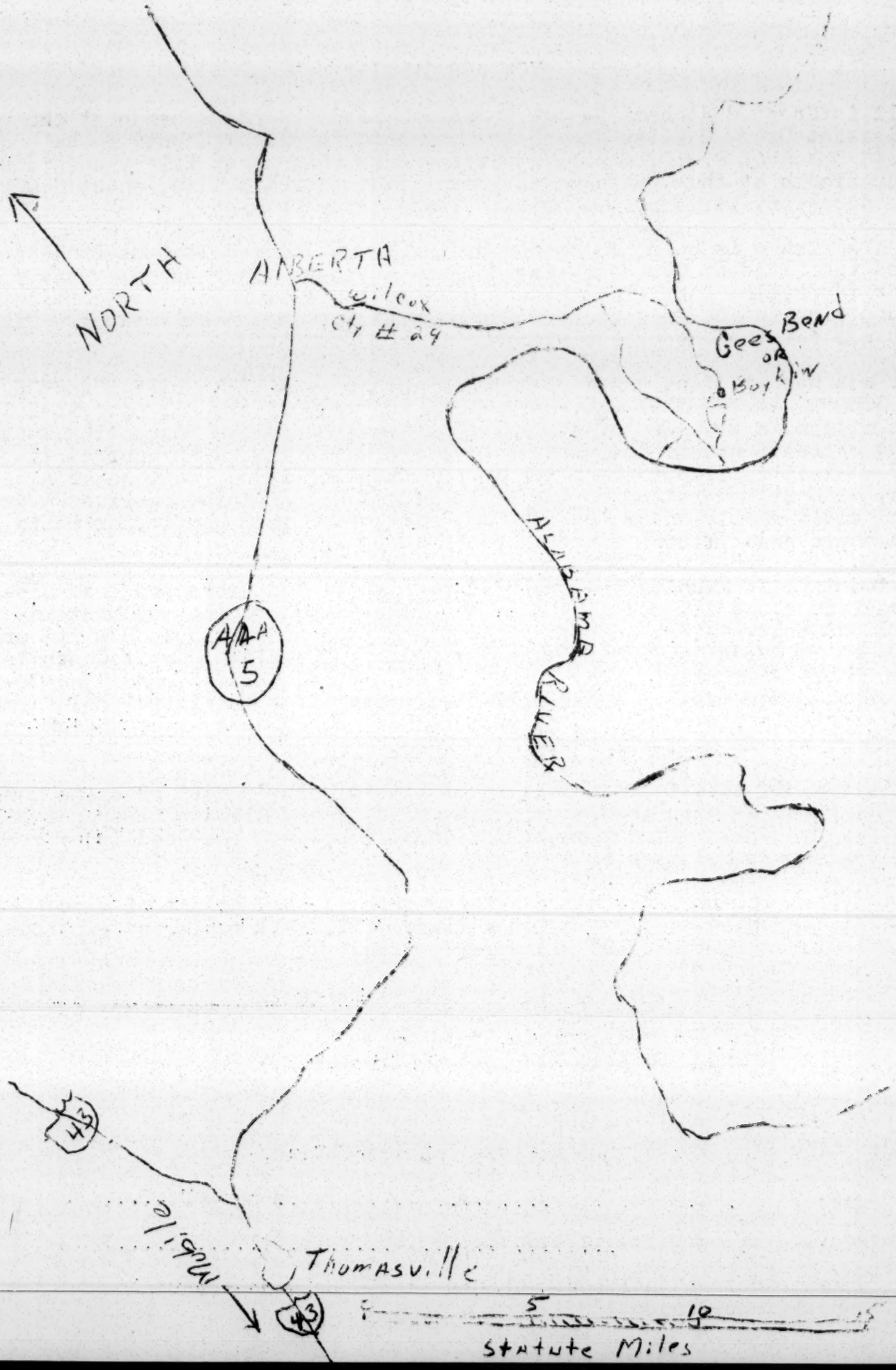
Mail to: Selma Inter-Religious Project
The Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Negro Life School: Pleasant Grove Baptist Church

Name .....Phone No.....

Address.....

$5.00 registration enclosed. Checks should be made payable to "Selma Inter-Religious Project."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Wilcox
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Geers Bend
or
Boykin
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Thomasville
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Statute Miles

1966 FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN RESULTS

	FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN			MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN		
	Total Pledged & Rec'd	Total 1966 Goal	Per Cent of Goal Pledged & Rec'd	Total Pledged & Rec'd	Total 1966 Quota	Per Cent of Quota Pledged & Rec'd
GREATER BIRMINGHAM	$ 952.00	$ 2,800	34%	125	200	63%
EAST ALABAMA	3,254.00	4,600	71%	352	400	88%
HUNTSVILLE	1,573.00	1,600	98%	90	100	90%
MOBILE	1,793.50	2,600	69%	150	150	100%
MONTGOMERY	821.00	1,300	63%	52	75	69%
MUSCLE SHOALS	1,717.50	1,900	90%	89	100	89%
TALLADEGA DISTRICT	591.00	700	84%	71	50	144%
TUSCALOOSA	1,445.00	2,100	69%	126	150	84%
SPECIAL GIFTS	4,758.14	10,000	48%	56		
AT LARGE	88.50			17		
TOTALS	$16,993.64	$28,000	61%	1,128	1,250*	90%

*Includes 25 for Enterprise

about $12,500 actually paid

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

1967 Membership and Funding Campaign

INSTRUCTIONS FOR VISITORS

1. Study the contents of the Alabama Council brochure, provided, and these instructions. Don't memorize them, but be so familiar with the contents that you can use them naturally.

2. Be sure to make your own pledge first. You cannot reasonably or convincingly ask another to do what you have not done yourself. You may very well be asking others to give more than you can give, but you should first commit yourself to a donation according to your means.

3. Call only on prospects assigned to you. If you have a friend or acquaintance whom you think a likely prospect for a membership or contribution, clear with the chairman to be sure he is not assigned to someone else. Duplicate visits can be annoying.

4. Be sure to call on all persons or families assigned to you. If you do not find a prospect at home, make a return visit. But do not give up until you have some result to report--even if it is negative (which is unlikely).

5. Make a personal visit to the home of each prospect. At the very least make a special call on him in his office or other place of employment for this sole purpose. This is not a casual matter, so please do not deal with it in a casual telephone call or chance meeting!

6. Ask for a definite amount--and know what you will ask for before you go. The Campaign Committee of your chapter should have noted a suggested asking on your pledge card. If there is no such notation, consult the chairman. The "asking" should be the estimated largest amount that the prospect could give if so disposed. (For example, if John Doe could readily give $10 per month, don't ask him for $5. He may only give $5 per month. But if you ask only $5, chances are he'll still dicker with you!)

7. Make pledging as effortless as possible to the prospect. Have the pledge card filled out with address, occupation, etc.--all except the amount and the signature.

8. Be pleasant but purposeful. It is fine, for instance, to take your spouse along, if you are calling on another couple--but have it understood that there is not to be a second conversation going on while you are talking about the human relations council!

9. Be appreciative. If your prospect made a contribution during 1966, or if he is a good worker in the local council, thank him for what he has done.

10. Get to the subject. You might begin by saying, "George, I'm here today about the Alabama Council on Human Relations. We are rather proud of what the organization has accomplished during the past year, and we are eager to be even more effective in 1967." At this point you might show him one of the fact sheets which have been given to you by your campaign chairman and say, "This is just a partial listing of the things the Alabama Council has done in 1966." Talk about any of them in which the prospect is interested. Then talk about 1967. Empahsize the fact that the Rural Advancement Project was begun last February, and that the grant which makes it possible will be renewed for one more year provided the basic operation of the Council remains strong enough to administer it effectively. You should also explain that your local chapter will be able to become much more active than in the future if this financial campaign is a success. This is so because starting this year rebates from the state council to local chapters will be increased significantly if the local chapter is successful in its campaign (this year the local chapter will receive back 10% of all that it raises and if it goes over its quota then the chapter will receive back 75% of all the rest it raises). It should also be emphasized that financial assistance from the Southern Regional Council depends upon our success in fundraising, e.g., the better we do the better are our chances for a substantial grant-in-aid from SRC and the poorer we do the poorer our chances.

11. Get to the point--the point of decision, if you will. Something like this: "So we feel that we have a great chance in 1967 to make the Alabama Council an organization that will make a big difference in the state. But we all know that this will take a lot of doing. So we are trying to get everyone to be more than members this year. We are asking for regular support." (If your prospect is already a regular giver, you should change this, of course: perhaps, "So we are asking for increased support this year-which we think the record justified." At about this point pull out the pledge card with the prospect's address filled out on it. With a pencil check the category you had previously decided to suggest (e.g., "$60 Sponsor" or $36 Underwriter"). And say: "We are asking you to be among those giving $5.00 per month-- or $15.00 per quarter, if you prefer." Or, "I wonder if you would like to be among those giving $3.00 per month in 1966."

PERIOD!! Don't say another word! Wait for him to respond! If he says, "Well, yes, I think I could do that," you say, "Fine. Just sign the card and the state office will bill you on the first of each month (or quarter). You can make the first payment now or later, as you prefer." If he says, "Well, I have a lot of organizations to give to, but I guess I could manage the $6.00 each quarter," you might say, "Well, that would certainly be a big help, too. Just sign the card . . ."

12. Check the pledge card to be sure that all pertinent information is on it. Be sure that the donor has indicated clearly whether he wants statements monthly, quarterly, or on some irregular dates. Be sure to note any cash payment as "Paid herewith $_____." And be sure to get the ZIP CODE.

13. Report promptly to your campaign chairman. Turn in completed pledge cards and any cash or checks collected as soon as you conveniently can, even if you have not finished all your calls.

14. Take satisfaction in having done well something that is important and worthwhile. You may not be much of a salesman. And maybe you never thought you could raise money. But if you have followed the suggestions above, chances are you and your group have been astonished at the results. Why? Because beyond and beneath the mechanics and techniques of soliciting funds, you have had going for you the fact that a lot of people in Alabama are genuinely and deeply concerned about human relations in this state and realize, however vaguely, that they have a rare opportunity and urgent duty just because they live here. Thus, in one sense you have not asked for anything. You have offered an opportunity, a tool for creative effort, a meaningful approach to problems about which the donor is deeply concerned. Maybe some people who gave even thanked you for asking them . . .

TENTATIVE BUDGET FOR 1967

Executive Director's Salary	$ 5,500.00*
Associate Director's Salary	7,500.00
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00
Fringe Benefits	2,200.00
Staff Travel	5,000.00
Rent	1,620.00
Office Supplies and Equipment	2,000.00
Telephone	1,500.00
Postage	1,000.00
Printing	700.00
Literature	150.00
Accounting	200.00
Petty Cash	100.00
Student Work	250.00
Subsistence and Allowances	300.00
Conferences	1,250.00
Board of Directors	1,000.00
Refunds to Locals	1,000.00
Salary Increases	1,500.00**
Miscellaneous	1,300.00
TOTAL	$37,670.00

* Based on approximately seven months--any earlier hiring of an executive director would necessitate an increase of this figure.

**An approximation that might be shifted up or down contingent on possible personnel changes.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS INC.

1966 FACT SHEET

This is a brief summary of some of the more significant activities which the state council and the state staff participated in during 1966.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT:

Our Rural Advancement Project was started in February with Mr. Lewis Black from Greensboro, Alabama as its Director. A partial list of his activities and accomplishments includes: (1) *extensive work in voter registration activities prior to the May primaries.* This work included drafting proposals in five counties for financial grants for voter registration programs--two programs were funded; (2) *extensive work in organizing credit unions for poor people.* To date he has been able to get two Federal credit union charters approved in Demopolis and York and charters have been applied for in Tuscaloosa, Wilcox County and Clarke County. He has also made trips to Huntsville and Auburn to help organize credit unions there; (3) *work on school desegregation in the Black Belt;* (4) *helping with a crisis in Monroe County resulting from a severe beating inflicted upon a Negro resident by the mayor of a town there;* (5) *extensive involvement in Hale and Perry Counties in attempts to obtain anti-poverty programs.* He has been instrumental in forming a Community Action Program in Hale County and also in attempting to obtain a surplus commodities program in Hale County; (6) *talks to a number of different groups including ACHR chapters, civil rights groups and numerous other meetings across the Black Belt;* (7) *extensive travel throughout the Black Belt and many out-of-state trips including two to Washington (one to attend the White House Conference and one to see anti-poverty officials);* (8) *full-time work for almost three months in 12 Black Belt counties as the "coordinator" of an effort to obtain Negro representation in a very important election conducted by the U. S. Department of Agriculture--the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections.* He and the Associate Director of ACHR were responsible for obtaining a grant of $1,650.00 for this effort; (9) *efforts have been started to begin a farm cooperative and some market development efforts have been made for a co-op in Hale and Perry Counties;* (10) *working on a $250,000.00 proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program for persons from the ten poorest counties in Alabama, which will be funded through Miles College.*

THE STATE COUNCIL OFFICE AND STAFF:

Activities and accomplishments of the state council staff (excluding those of the Rural Advancement Project) during the past year include: (1) *sponsoring a student conference on human relations which attracted about 80 students and faculty members from 12 different colleges and universities;* (2) *our annual meeting which was attended by over 200 persons from 40 cities in Alabama.* Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights was the featured speaker and Assistant Attorney General John Doar was present to receive a statement of appreciation from ACHR; (3) *monthly newsletters have been sent to all members of ACHR;* (4) *co-sponsoring two state-wide conferences on school desegregation which were well attended;* (5) *moving the state office from Huntsville to Auburn in order to have a more central location in the state;* (6) *helping 1,128 members contribute to a better Alabama;* (7) *attempting to assist two local chapters in starting credit unions;* (8) *extensive staff work on the ASCS elections, particularly in Macon County.* This work included distributing funds from a $1,650 grant to ASCS workers in eight Black Belt counties; (9) *helping the Freedom Quilting Bee, a cooperative composed of poor people in Wilcox County, with organizational matters;* (10) *representing ACHR at various meetings including the White House Conference, school desegregation conferences, conferences of other organizations and meetings of the Southern Regional Council and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights* and (11) *working with local chapters on local activities.*

PLAN AND SCHEDULE FOR THE 1967 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

STEP ONE

TO BE TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT (JOINTLY WITH MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE CHAIRMEN IF YOU HAVE THEM)-- TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN ONE WEEK BEFORE DATE OF THE MEETING IN STEP TWO BELOW.

Appoint a campaign committee and designate a chairman if you have not yet. The committee might include all of the Board.

STEP TWO

TO BE TAKEN BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE -- TO BE COMPLETED BY FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1966.

Part 1 -- Explain in detail the general idea of this plan and emphasize the importance to the state and local council of a successful campaign.

Part 2 -- Choose a date sometime between January 3 and January 27 for your 1967 "Challenge Meeting." The best time for it is a weekday night. Start the preparation for it which would include naming a "Challenge Meeting Chairman." The Challenge Meeting should take the place of your regular meeting in January. It is highly desirable that the Challenge Meeting be a dinner meeting -- perhaps a covered dish dinner. Chapters which had the covered-dish dinner last year found it valuable in itself. The best, and easiest, way to insure having a succesful campaign is to go all-out in publicizing and getting people to the Challenge Meeting. This saves you the effort of going to see them.

Part 3 -- Go over the list given to you on November 19 in Birmingham on 3x5 cards and then do three things -- very important things!! (1) Think of new membership prospects and add them to the list on your own 3x5 cards; (2) find as many people as you can who heretofore have only paid a membership fee, but who could be asked to contribute-- perhaps becoming a "ten-percenter" or "five-percenter " as outlined below. This is very imprtant. Each year we lose some members and some contributors. New ones have to be found--even if we only needed to maintain our present levels of strength and effectiveness and (3) decide how much each person on all the 3x5 cards should be asked to give and so note that on the tab of the pledge card -- then give these pledge cards to the visitors discussed in Part 5 of this step at the training session following your challenge meeting.

Next, select your advance gifts donors. This is of the utmost importance. You cannot expect to succeed if you do not find these donors to "set the level of giving." If you do, you will be able to announce at the Challenge Meeting that you already have pledged 50% of your goal! Find:

At least one person, but hopefully two persons, who can be asked to give 10 per cent of your donations quota.

At least six persons (if you had two ten-percenters) or eight persons (if you had only one ten-percenter) who can each be asked to give 5 per cent of your donations quota.

Your committee may very well know members who should be asked to give more if their donation, in the light of their ability to give, is to be a worthy expression of their concern for better human relations in Alabama. And your committee may very well know more than the number of persons suggested above who should be ten-percenters or five-percenters. You should never "under ask" of course! Moreover, every member that you know to be capable of giving as much as 5% of your quota should be asked to do so. We are only saying that you ought to raise 50% of your quota in the first eight or ten gifts. You may very well be able to beat that!

Part 4 -- Members of the campaign committee should be assigned to call personally on each of these individuals before the date of the Challenge Meeting. Before calling on anyone else, one should make his own commitment. During these calls, the campaign committee member should review the program of ACHR in 1966, both state and local, and tell what is forthcoming in 1967. Use the fact sheets given to you. He should tell briefly that we are in the midst of our annual membership-funding drive and give the date, place and time of the Challenge Meeting. Then he may say something like this: "If these goals are to be reached, if the Council is to increase in size and effectiveness, and if we are to secure still more special projects, such as the Rural Advancement Project, we must have continued strong support from members and Alabama residents. In order to set the level of giving--to put the "challenge" in our "Challenge Meeting"--we need a few substantial pledges before that meeting. We need you to help set this adequate level by being one of those giving $_____ in 1967. That would be $_____per month, or $_____ per quarter, if you prefer." (Then you should pipe down. It's his move).

Part 5 -- At this same meeting, after you have selected and assigned to the Campaign Committee members the advance gifts prospects, go over the list to select a number of notably good, reliable members of the chapter to help with the general solicitation visits after the Challenge Meeting. Everyone on the list who does not renew his membership and/or make an over-and-above pledge at the Challenge Meeting is to receive a personal visit. You should have at least one visitor or husband-wife team for every 10 persons on your list of prospects. (After subtracting those who join and/or pledge at the Challenge Meeting, each caller may have only 5 or 6 visits to make.) Each prospect must be assigned to one of the persons chosen for solicitations at the training session following the Challenge Meeting. The campaign committee should not necessarily plan to do this calling, even if it should be feasible. Let more people participate. The more participation the better.

Part 6 -- Stress the use of the pledge card wherever possible. It helps more to pay $2 per month or $6 per quarter than to pay a $5.00 or $8.00 membership fee. We want all the members we can enlist! But a membership fee scarcely covers the cost of serving the member with newsletters and notices. We need contributions from as many as possible. This is very important. We know that many persons who are only members can well afford and will be happy to be contributors if only they are asked.

Part 7 -- Select two of your ablest members to speak at the Challenge Meeting on the subjects "ACHR 1966--A Great Council Year," and "ACHR 1967--Why It Needs Planned Giving." The second should plan to ask those present to fill out the pledge-card forms. Bob Valder will be available to speak before these members, if desired, but one of your local members should actually issue the "challenge."

A few suggestions about how a Challenge Meeting can be most successful (we tried this in one chapter last January and it really worked!!)-- (1) have a well-planned covered dish dinner; (2) work hard at getting a big crowd there; (3) do not pass out anything at the door except the "fact sheets"; (4) only after your second talk -- "ACHR 1967-Why It Needs Planned Giving"-- should any cards be passed out; (5) before they are passed out the second speaker should explain that when he finishes, pledge cards will be passed out (have a few persons ready to help expedite this), he should not even mention memberships at any time -- just contributions (if someone asks about memberships -- which is unlikely -- he can explain that then), he should explain that the pledge cards are to be filled out then and there and that they will be picked up in about five minutes and then pick them up in a few minutes. He should explain that they can pledge the full amount of the contribution or pledge part and pay part (those that pledge should indicate what amount they want their payments in and at what intervals they wish to be billed); (6) have someone ready to quickly add up and announce the total amount pledged and payed at the meeting. IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT YOUR SECOND SPEAKER BE COMEONE WHO CAN "TELL IT LIKE IT IS" AND WHO ENJOYS AND IS GOOD AT THIS KIND OF THING.

AGAIN IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS STEP, IN ALL ITS PARTS, IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PLANNING YOUR ADVANCE GIFTS SOLICITATIONS. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A PERSONAL VISIT TO EACH PROSPECT FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF TALKING A ABOUT ACHR AND ASKING HIM TO GIVE OR JOIN. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR DESIGNATING A PARTICULAR AMOUNT THAT EACH VISITOR IS TO SUGGEST TO THE PROSPECT. AND THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A WELL-PLANNED CHALLENGE MEETING.

STEP THREE

TO BE TAKEN BY THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE -- TO BE COMPLETED BY SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1966.

Make the calls for the advance gifts pledges. A good time to do this would be during the week following Christmas. Be sure to

report the results of your advance gifts effort to the state office by December 31. We want to put out a special memorandum reporting the progress of the campaign, and the other chapters will need your encouragement. This is also important for a second reason -- these larger donors may wish to make an extra donation during 1966 for income tax purposes; so it is important that these solicitations be made before the year ends.

Also, you should have asked and secured a commitment from your local Challenge Meeting speakers by this date. And all of your follow-up visitors should have been recruited and asked (1) to attend the Challenge Meeting and (2) to remain for 45 minutes after that meeting to receive instructions. (This is an important bit which many chapters omitted last year. A little training will help a lot.)

STEP FOUR

THE CHALLENGE MEETING FOR ALL MEMBERS AND PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS -- TO BE HELD NO LATER THAN FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1967 -- BUT EARLIER IS BETTER.

It would be much better to have the Challenge Meeting earlier, so that there would be more time for the follow-up visits. The follow-up can be completed in a couple of days, however, provided there is careful planning and organization.

Be sure to make arrangements for a quick tally of the memberships and the pledges made on the night of the Challenge Meeting, so that those attending can share in the achievement. Don't forget to plan the 45-minute training session after the meeting for your follow-up visitors.

Be sure that everything mentioned in Part 7 of STEP TWO above is carefully planned and understood before the Challenge Meeting and done at the Challenge Meeting.

STEP FIVE

TO BE TAKEN BY THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE AND THE ENLISTED VISITORS -- TO BE COMPLETED BY MIDNIGHT, TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1967.

Final report on the follow-up visits should be in the mail to the state office by midnight, January 31. This will enable us to complete the report on the campaign for the whole state and announce it at the Annual Meeting on February 3-4.

You should carry through on the follow-up, of course, even if your whole quota of members and funds should be attained by the end of the Challenge Meeting. Everyone who can give to the support of ACHR, its purpose and its program, needs to do so and should be given the opportunity to do so.

CHECKLIST OF DATES

_____ At least one week before the meeting in step two the Chapter President has appointed a campaign committee and designated a chairman.

_____ December 18. Board of Directors and Campaign Committee meets. Choose the date of and chairman for the Challenge Meeting. Select your advance gifts donors. Committee members have been assigned to visit the donors. Follow-up visitors have been selected and assigned to someone to recruit. Local chapter speakers for Challenge Meeting have been chosen and detailed planning for the Challenge Meeting have been made.

_____ December 31. Advance gifts pledges have been secured and results reported to the state office. All follow up visitors have been recruited and commitments secured from Challenge Meeting speakers.

_____ January 27. (But preferably earlier). Challenge Meeting has been held.

_____ January 31. Follow-up visits have been completed and final report mailed to the state office.

_____ February 4. Victory announcement at the statewide Annual Meeting.

"THE SECRET OF SUCCESS IN ANY UNDERTAKING IS NOTHING MORE -- OR LESS -- THAN DOING WHAT YOU DON'T WANT TO DO WHEN YOU DON'T WANT TO DO IT."

File Projects

M E M O R A N D U M

December 8, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield E

SUBJECT: Paperback Books Project

The Paperback Books Project is gathering momentum rapidly. The word seems, at last, to have drifted down to community organizations and local councils, as well as to all kinds of schools with weak libraries or no libraries, and we are getting so many requests that Louise and I are afraid there will soon be a lot of disappointments.

Although it is too soon to expect evaluations of the various local projects, we ought to begin thinking about a request for renewal of the grant and, perhaps, an enlargement. I have asked Louise to give us a report on current status as soon as possible.

A lot of questions arise. Should we encourage the donor to consider the need of the many schools, public and private, which simply need to augment their libraries--without a sponsoring citizens' group? Should we consider the possibility of decentralizing the operation, with the next grant, so as to make the state councils the source of the books for local groups within their states? (This might be done either by having them develop a working arrangement with a local distributor or by standardizing the ordering procedure and having them send orders direct to Atlanta News Agency, which would also bill them direct.)

(Louise just came in. She calculates that we have ordered some 53,000 books thus far and that they have billed us for only about $6,000 worth. Allowing for $4,000 backlog, it appears that the books are costing only about half as much as we expected on the basis of the rule of thumb that Elson gave us. I will try to check this more carefully.)

Ed good - but check this carefully - I'm concerned that we don't commit ourselves

→ Return to me

Paul

Make file
~~Paperback Project~~
File under Paperback Proj

Frank Bowles, Pres, Fund for Adv of Educ
"Presidential Grants"
-10M-

Paperback Book Project Report

Southern Regional Council

The paperback book project is sending books to 50 community groups and schools and the 11 State Councils on Human Relations. In addition to various types of tutorial and supervised study hall programs, many of these organizations are using the books as an integral part of other activities under their direction. For example, a group originally organized for the purpose of encouraging voting will be using books on community improvement, political education, and American history (including a large number dealing with the Negro). Several community centers which have health, family, and vocational training programs will be using books which cover these subjects.

The advantage here is one of overcoming the more artificial atmosphere of learning how to read and study in the abstract. Methods like the ones just mentioned would seem to heighten the possibility that the people themselves will make the connection between being able to read and being able to control their lives and enlarge their choices.

The books are in the states of Alabama (7 projects), Arkansas (5 projects), Florida (3 projects), Georgia (16 projects), Louisiana (2 projects), Mississippi (2 projects), North Carolina (5 projects), South Carolina (4 projects), Tennessee (3 projects), and Virginia (3 projects).

The total number of books ordered for these projects is 58,000.

We received ~~16~~ 26 requests which we were unable to process because we had used up our funds.

Attached is a list of the projects.

32. Harriet Tubman Branch YWCA
Durham, North Carolina

33. YM-YWCA Tutorial Committee, University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

34. American Friends Service Committee-VISA Program
Charlotte, North Carolina

35. SPEED-UP
Columbia, South Carolina

36. CONCERN, Inc. (O.E.O.)
Columbia, South Carolina

37. Farm Workers Educational Center, S.C. Commission for Farm Workers, Inc.
Ravenel, South Carolina

38. South Carolina Commission for Farm Workers, Inc.
Sumter, South Carolina

39. South Street Community Center
Nashville, Tennessee

40. North Nashville Project
Nashville, Tennessee

41. L.B.J. and C. Development Corporation-VISTA Tutorial Program
Monterey, Tennessee

42. Westminster Presbyterian Church Study-Tutorial Program
Charlottesville, Virginia

43. Schuyler Elementary School
Schuyler, Virginia

44. Broadus Wood Elementary School
Earlysville, Virginia

-- 11 State Councils on Human Relations

As of December 15, 1966, the total number of books ordered is

58,000.

(next page)

PAGE (s) MISSING

45. Henderson Middle Grades School and
W.C. Henderson Junior-Senior High School
Starkville, Mississippi

46. Deltas Book Project
Jackson, Mississippi

47. Fulton County Jail
Atlanta, Georgia

48. North DeKalb Chapter, Georgia Council on Human Relations
Atlanta, Georgia

49. Inman Park Elementary School
Atlanta, Georgia

50. Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Inc.
Salisbury, North Carolina

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[redacted] 30303
[redacted]2-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

December 27, 1966

New SRC Publications

Our mail room is a study in creative disarray these days as the Southern Regional Council is issuing a rash of new publications.

Our Voter Education Project has recently put out a county-by-county list of registration figures covering the whole South, with figures for the white voting age population, Negro voting-age population, number of each group registered, and percentages registered. They have also published an eight-page mimeographed analysis of the November election results, focusing on participation of Negroes and its effect, titled "What Happened in the South, 1966." (The VEP has been responsible for programs through which 100,000 voters have been registered during the past year.)

"School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing" is just off the press. A "Special Report," it tells the dismal story of the South's all-too-successful efforts to avoid significant integration of its school systems. It estimates that ten to twelve percent of Negro students in the South are in schools with whites, with figures like 2% for Mississippi, 2.9% for Louisiana, and 2.4% for Alabama offset by 34.6% in Texas and 21.9% in Tennessee.

"Public Assistance in the South," another Special Report, points out that 21.8% of all expenditures for public assistance payments occurred in the South, reflecting the South's 25.9% of the population. But nearly half of the poor people of the nation are in the South. Another fact brought out is far more is spent in the South on aid to the aged than on aid to dependent children -- despite the fact that there are many more impoverished children than impoverished elderly people. This reflects the political utility of aid to the voting elderly. This report is

loaded with information. For instance, although I suppose I knew it all along, it came as a bit of a shock to me to see from one of the tables provided that, among 50 states and the District of Columbia, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi rank 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, and 51st, respectively, in per capita income! That's what I like about the South -- we're consistent.

And then there is the excellent publication of our Special Project in Housing and Urban Planning, "A Home of Our Own: A Guide for Home Buyers." (In the light of those per capita income figures, that title almost sounds like a cruelty joke!) It has a chapter on the advantages and disadvantages of buying a home, one on what to look for in shopping for a home, another on "Closing the Deal," and a chapter on breaking racial barriers. There is a glossary of terms and a list of helpful pamphlets and articles.

"State Councils' Dinner" at the SRC Annual Meeting

For the benefit of readers who were not there, I want to tell briefly about the "State Councils' Dinner" which was a feature of the Southern Regional Council's Annual Meeting in November. All of the executive directors and the president or vice-president of each state council were present and seated at the head tables. The program was quite simple, consisting of presentation of the George Mitchell Award (for largest percentage increase in membership) to the Arkansas Council by Mr. Marion Wright and the field activities report. A few statistics from the latter:

"...Membership now stands at approximately 11,500, and increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation for raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members."

"At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately."

"The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends -- an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,00 -- a leap of more than 25%."

The Paperback Books Project

It took a little while for the word to get out, apparently, but during the past couple of months we have had a tremendous increase in the number of inquiries about our Paperback Books Project and requests for books. In fact, the demand has been so great that it is necessary to delay further orders until the backlog is diminished and we can assess the situation. It is our hope that the proposals we are receiving, even if we are not able to answer them affirmatively at this time, will help us to secure funds for a renewed and enlarged program in 1967.

Notes on the State Councils

I have let so much time elapse since my last newsletter, and the state councils have been doing so much meanwhile, that I cannot begin to do them all justice. I'll have to mention only a few items of particular interest.

The Arkansas Council has secured a Research Assistant, Mr. Paul Williams, who joined their staff on September 26. Mr. Williams was born and raised in Fort Smith. He recently was graduated from Hendrix College in Conway, where he majored in history and political science. He did the research for the Arkansas Council's "Background Report on Arkansas Prisons" and is working with a penal reform group which the Council helped to set up. He is also working with students and local councils.

I don't ordinarily like to receive unsigned letters, but a recent one was a pleasure. Signed only "A(rkansas)CHR," it said only, "It appears that Human Relations are improving in Arkansas. What about Georgia?" Enclosed was a newspaper clipping about the appointment of Negro lawyer Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., as deputy prosecuting attorney for Pulaski and Perry Counties. Prosecuting Attorney-elect Richard B. Adkisson, in making the announcement, said that Mercer would be the first Negro deputy prosecuting attorney in history for the two counties and that he probably would be the first Negro deputy prosecutor in the South in modern times. Among other distinctions, Mr. Mercer worked for two years on the staff of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Council continues to have the luck of the Irish (viz. Baxton Bryant) in their staffing. Not long ago the Inter-County Improvement Association, an organization of approximately 200 Negroes with headquarters in Ripley, made an unusual proposal to the TCHR. They asked to become a chapter and offered to put up $3,000 (cash!) if the Council would find another $6,000 and hire a man to work full-time in rural west Tennessee. The Council

appealed successfully to the Field Foundation and has hired The Reverend Isaac Richmond, Jr., for the job. Mr. Richmond, 28, is a graduate of Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee, with an A.B. in history and sociology. He also has a Master of Religious Education degree from ITC in Atlanta. He has long been active in civil rights efforts.

The Virginia Council instigated and did most of the administrative work for the Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia which was held at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on November 28-29. 1,075 people registered for the conference, which was sponsored by all of the major religious groups of the state. Speakers included Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University; Dr. John F. Cronin, assistant director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta; Warren H. Turner, vice-president, Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York; and Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of the Institute for Services to Education, Washington.

Annual Meetings of the Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia Council

All three of the above councils have had excellent annual meetings recently. I won't try to go into detail about each of the programs, but will risk a generalization based on my subjective impressions from attending the South Carolina and Florida meetings and a reading of the minutes of the Georgia one (which, regrettably, I missed). At all three there were reports from local councils that indicate an increasing amount of involvement and important work on the part of their members. How do you measure interest and enthusiasm, except subjectively? But I came away from the meetings greatly encouraged, with the feeling that there are great many people -- white people and Negroes, poor people and economically comfortable people -- who are willing (yearning, even to work together on the problems of community where they live. If that is so, it bodes well for the state councils on human relations, for, as far as I am concerned, that's what they are all about.

And a Bit of Humor

I guess I got a kick out of this story because of the way Yankee liberals have been hanging back on civil rights lately. (This is aslightly adapted version.)

December 27, 1966

It seems that a white southerner moved to Chicago and was determined to get along with the natives. He walked into a local bar, struck up a conversation with the guy on the next stool, and in due course observed, "If you ask me, all Ku Klux Klansmen are S.O.B.'s." His new acquaintance got up, slugged him, and stomped out.

The southerner rubbed his chin and turned to the guy on the other side. "Man, what a character. But I still say all members of the KKK are S.O.B.'s." Whereupon he also flattens him and walks out.

He picked himself up, ordered another drink, and observed to the bartender, "I wouldn't have thought this was Ku Klux Klan territory."

And the bartender replied, "Who said it was? This is S.O.B. country!"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

File Field Activities

Files

M E M O R A N D U M

January 18, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield E

SUBJECT: Mobile -- January 17, 1967

Richmond Flowers was the principle speaker at the Mobile Council's fund-raising dinner. It was his first address, after leaving the Attorney General's office yesterday, and he took the occasion to announce that he was running for governor. Incidentally, he is to speak to the Florence Council Thursday and to the Montgomery Council next Thursday.

The dinner was successful. There was a demonstration to protest the Woods' leaving, with people carrying signs saying "SRC Unfair," "Boo Bunge," and one carried by Richmond Flowers read "Ala. Needs Woods and Flowers." All very touching.

There were nearly 200 people there, estimating conservatively, and by the end of the evening more than $2,000, cash and pledges, had been raised for the ACHR.

File Field Activities Newsletters

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30310

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

January 20, 1967

New Executive Assistant at SRC

James N. Wood of Mobile has been employed by the SRC as Executive Assistant to the Director. Jim was born in Richmond some time ago. He was graduated from Fluvanna County High School and then enlisted in the Air Force. He served overseas in World War II as a fighter pilot and was discharged as a captain in 1945. He received his B.A. degree in psychology from the University of Virginia in 1950. Since 1952 he has worked in Mobile in the grain merchandising and ocean freight forwarding business, which involved work with small, country grain elevators over an area including northwest Florida, southern Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, western Tennessee, southeast Missouri, and northern Louisiana.

Jim has served as director of the Mobile Area Committee for Training and Development, which operated a rural training program for approximately 100 migrant farm workers under Title III B of the Economic Opportunity Act and is currently operating an experimental and demonstration project for 280 trainees, with a budget of about two million dollars.

Together with Mrs. Wood (Kathie), Jim has long been active in the affairs of the Mobile and Alabama Councils on Human Relations.

He will take up his duties at the SRC office in late January.

School Desegregation Boon

Human relations folks should be mindful of the beneficial effects of a recent decision and decree by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on school desegregation. All school systems under court-ordered plans in the fifth circuit are now required to desegregate under approximately the same rules set forth in Office of Education guidelines for Title VI compliance. This simplifies the task of those working for school desegregation. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is reopening all fifth circuit cases. The fifth circuit covers Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and parts of Texas and Florida.

Southern Interagency Conference

The Southern Interagency Conference held its first meeting of 1967 at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on January 18-19. Most of the meeting was given to presentation and discussion of A "Freedom Budget" for All Americans, a program for the eradication of poverty recently proposed by the A. Philip Randolph Institute. Bayard

Rustin, Executive Director of the Randolph Institute made an overall presentation. Vivian Henderson, economist and president of Clark College, spoke on the "Freedom Budget" as it pertains to full employment and its proposal of a minimum annual income. Frank Smith, ex-congressman from Mississippi and now a T.V.A. Commissioner, talked about the Budget's proposals for regional development and conservation of natural resources. (SRC is the "secretariat" for the Southern Interagency Conference, a loose organization of some forty intergroup relations agencies for exchange of information and ideas.)

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

The TCHR Annual Meeting has been scheduled for January 28 and 29 at the Andrew Jackson Hotel in Nashville. Outgoing president Martha Ragland will address a luncheon meeting on Saturday. John Dyer, former director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for Tennessee, will speak that afternoon on utilization of available federal programs. Dr. Leslie Dunbar, director of the Field Foundation, will be speaker for the annual banquet on Saturday evening.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations

The Georgia Council has employed a new assistant to the director. The Reverend Al Henry will begin his work with the council in February. Al will come to Atlanta from Koinonia Community Farm of Americus, Georgia. Trained as a Southern Baptist minister, Al served the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Birmingham during the days of Bull Conner and the demonstrations. He was active in the Alabama Council there. The bulk of his efforts with the Georgia Council will be devoted to development of neighborhood councils in the Atlanta area. Al is married and the father of four children.

I have previously mentioned the booklet titled Know Your Rights which was published cooperatively by the Georgia Council and the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, utilizing an initiating grant from SRC. It has been a phenomenal success. Designed primarily to help poor people who have trouble dealing with the police, it uses drawings and basic-vocabulary text to clarify the rights of persons stopped or arrested. More than 30,000 copies have been printed and distributed. (The South Carolina Council is distributing the booklet with its own imprint--an arrangement available to other groups, also.) Somewhat to everyone's surprise, it got a favorable reception from police departments. Mrs. Florence Robin of the Georgia ACLU attributes this fact to its emphasis on the policeman's rights, as well as the rights of citizens. Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins ordered 1,000 copies and instructed all officers to read it. Police departments in towns like Augusta,

Gainesville, and Alma are using it, too. ACLU and the human relations council are holding a number of clinics around the state to explain citizens' rights, using the booklet and slides.

The Georgia Council has also expanded its program of education on welfare rights and will press school desegregation efforts again this year. Although many of us are disappointed with the weakness of "freedom of choice" desegregation plans, the GCHR feels that it is important to continue efforts to secure transfers during this year, lest momentum be lost and Negro parents be even more discouraged. In a series of five area meetings throughout the state the desegregation "rules" will be explained and community leaders instructed in the techniques of organizing for desegregation.

The Houston Council on Human Relations

The Houston Council has a new Executive Director. He is The Reverend Jack Murray, a Lutheran minister. Mr. Murray, who is originally from New Haven, Connecticut, has long been an active member of the Houston Council. He is an Air Force veteran and a graduate of Bethany Lutheran College and the Lutheran School of Theology at Rock Island, Illinois. He has been pastor of Augustana Lutheran Church in Houston since 1960. He has served on the faculty of Houston's Institute on Desegregation for School Teachers, Administrators and Counselors.

The Houston Council has developed an interesting program called "Meet the Mayor." It consists of a series of public meetings at regular intervals at which the Mayor speaks for about 20 minutes on some aspect of the city's administration or problems and then opens the meeting for questions. The Mayor brings along a secretary to help record complaints. The complaints are referred to appropriate departments of the administration and so far have been acted upon with approximately 60% completions, according to Frances Dukler, Acting Director of the Houston Council. Average attendance at the meetings has been 300. The project was initiated last summer when tensions were high. "We cannot take credit for a summer of tranquility because of these programs," writes Frances. "However, we will take credit that 1500 people sat down and talked with the Mayor about common problems, and this was a first for all of us."

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

The Annual Meeting of the Arkansas Council was held at the Albert Pike Hotel in Little Rock on Saturday, January 14. Keynote speaker at the dinner meeting was Stephen N. Shulman, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was a luncheon speaker.

The Arkansas Council has come out with a mimeographed Handbook for Local Councils on Human Relations, another of the commendable steps they are taking to organize and service local chapters. Incorporating materials previously prepared by the Florida and Houston councils, it includes specific suggestions of things to do in the areas of (1) education and public schools, (2) voter education, (3) labor and employment, (4) welfare and poverty programs, and (5) housing. Addresses of appropriate resource-agencies for each program area are given. There is also a sample constitution for a local council on human relations. The handbook is well done and seems to me to be a good idea for any of the state councils.

Among other things, the Arkansas Council is working extensively and effectively on prison reform and is in the process of forming chapters in El Dorado, Camden, and Arkadelphia. They have also been given a small special grant by SRC to conduct a study of welfare programs in three counties in eastern Arkansas.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

In her quarterly report, Alice Spearman says:

"In the main, most decision-making in South Carolina is done quietly and behind-the-scenes, presumably by a relatively small group of people. To say how much this is because of accepted power patterns, lack of faith in democratic processes, or actual fear of the uneducated, uninformed masses would merely be to hazard a guess. Much evidence points to the need for building a widely representative, informed, and socially motivated citizens' movement. Granted such a process would be slow and require adequate resources and skill, we believe that this should become the articulated, long-range goal of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations."

The SCCHR has made a commendable start in that direction. A year ago they had 957 dues-paid members living in 80 South Carolina communities, and there were eight organized chapters. Now there are 1,178 members from 153 communities and 12 active local councils. In addition there are ten affiliated Rural Advancement Project groups and eight student human relations groups.

A Couple of Movies

For church groups...Aubrey Brown of the Virginia Council, who headed the planning committee for the "Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia," says that a movie shown at the conference seems to have made a great impression on those who saw it. Titled A Time for Burning, it was produced by the Lutheran Church and tells the story of a minister who tried to lead his congregation to come to grips with prejudice and discrimination.

In the end he is pressured into resigning, and the film portrays all of rationalization by some and growth by others in the process. It may be obtained at $20.00 per showing from Contemporary Films, 267 West 25th Street, New York 1, New York.

On conditions in the rural south...Francis Walter of the Selma Inter-religious Project highly recommends Lay My Burden Down, a 16 MM documentary film of social and political conditions among rural Negroes in the vicinity of Selma, Alabama. One hour in length, it illustrates how little recent laws have changed the lot of Negroes in Alabama, what Selma is like now, and the circumstances which drive rural Negroes into city ghettoes. The film may be ordered from National Educational Film Service Audio-Visual Center, c/o Mr. James Cole, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Department of Humans Related

A story in the Charlotte Observer about South Carolina Council director Alice Spearman, written by reporter Jack Bass, was headlined "SOUTH CAROLINIAN DOESN'T PUSSY-FOOT ABOUT LIFE" (in huge type). Because the wirte-up was so fascinating and because it says something about, as well as to, the kind of folks involved in human relations in the South, I want to quote the first few paragraphs here--and hope that I don't get into trouble for plagiarizing.

"For almost three years as a young woman, Alice Buck Norwood traveled the world, living on skimpy savings, $500 from her father, and by her wits.

"She spent six weeks in Russia with a student group in 1930 and later found herself branded a Communist as a result.

"To save money, she slept on the floor of train stations in India--with hundreds of the native poor.

"Through it all, the South Carolina banker's daughter developed a sense of compassion, a rejection of race as a measure of individual worth, and a desire "to teach people to raise hell and do something."

"As Executive Director of the S. C. Council of Human Relations, she took over a sickly organization in 1954 with 78 members and has given it her own drive and vitality.

"She has been Mrs. Eugene Spearman for almost 30 years, a smartly-tailored--but not overly stylish--animated aristocrat committed to democracy.

January 20, 1967

"Strangers meeting her for the first time usually guess she is in her early 50s. It is almost unbelievable that she will be 65 next year--a fact she easily volunteers--and is talking of retirement.

"'You have only one life to live and you have to choose whether you want to go around pussy-footing about what you believe is right,' Mrs. Spearman says."

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

File
Field Activities

M E M O R A N D U M

February 1, 1967

Confidential

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: The Tennessee Council and Its Annual Meeting

Along with the attached materials and Martha Ragland's speech, which I have already passed to you, I want to make a few comments about the TCHR's annual meeting and the situation in general.

The meeting itself was a good one. There were at least 200 people in attendance (170 bought luncheon and banquet tickets). For the first time, according to Kelly Miller Smith, there were more Negroes than white people there. Two or three chartered buses brought people from the West Tennessee area. Both Martha's and Les Dunbar's speeches were moving and provocative. You have seen a copy of Martha's. Les dwelt at length on the CDGM developments and commented morosely on the faltering confidence of the poor in the resolve of the federal administration to improve their lot.

Baxton was especially proud of the materials prepared for distribution at the meeting. Notice the accompanying folders on housing and welfare, the "Special Gifts Campaign-Guide," and "The Coordination of Anti-Poverty Efforts." (See comment below.)

You know about the communist-influence charge leveled by the Knoxville Journal, which happened to break on the morning of the meeting (Saturday, January 28), and no further comment on that is necessary.

In the matter of Council business, William Pollard of Oak Ridge was elected President. A budget of $66,600 was adopted. The most significant thing about this budget, in my opinion, is that it commits the TCHR to raise $33,100 locally--and calls for employment of a "Director of Development" and an additional secretary as prerequisite to raising the budget. I was present in the business session when the budget was discussed and adopted, and I observed that while $33,100 should not be exceedingly difficult to raise in Tennessee, on the basis of the record their raising it would require a most definite new departure in purpose and work, and I warned them that they had a lean budget except for the projected new employees--so that,

if they employed these people and failed nevertheless, they would be in serious trouble financially.

One thing that bothered me was a continuing and distinct difference of opinion between Baxton and Martha (along with some others on the Board) about the method of the Council's operation and the precise function of the proposed "Director of Development". This was not openly discussed in the meeting, but Martha, arguing for the Director of Development, did comment that "our staff is definitely program-oriented, and we cannot hope to raise significant sums without an additional staff person for that specific purpose." What disturbed me about this was that Baxton had commented earlier--and privately--when I asked him about this budget, that he was not even present when the budget committee planned it and that I "should not worry about it, because that is really to be a man to work in East Tennessee."

In that same conversation with Baxton I had commented that my impression was that his tension with his Board had been reduced. He assured me that this was so and that he had an excellent relationship with Martha, Whit Stokes, and all the rest. But Martha and I had a few minutes together subsequently, and she expressed grave misgivings about Baxton's lact of administrative concern (which Baxton openly admits) and his concentration on staff-oriented programs both for his own work and that of Harry and Jerry Wiersema. She said she was afraid that they were going to lose Juanita Wright because Baxton was driving her crazy. Martha's manner in saying this was somewhat agitated. Juanita came up while I was talking to Martha, by the way, and when I commented that she certainly must have been working very hard and asked if she would be able to rest soon, she said, "Well, I told Baxton that I am going to take a vacation next month. I <u>told</u> him. I didn't ask." So Martha's assessment seems to be pretty accurate.

The situation is a quandary to me. On the one hand, there is little doubt that the program of the TCHR under Baxton's leadership, considered in a vacuum, is better than it has ever been. He and the staff are making an impact in Tennessee. He has won the enthusiastic loyalty and confidence of many, many Negroes, including the poorest and the most militant. This sort of vigorous involvement was definitely needed and I would consider it prerequisite to formation and nurture of strong local councils. If it were a prelude to enlistment of volunteers and to patient organization and involvement, I would say it is good.

Yet, on the other hand, I share Martha's doubt that the "follow-through" will ever come. For instance, the new manuals on welfare, housing, and anti-poverty programs--although ostensibly intended to give guidance to local councils--strike me as being pitched at a professional or semi-professional level. (The fund-raising manual is much better, much more specific guidance.) If, now, Baxton and his staff were willing to lead council members through the steps to meaningful involvement, working more or less in the background, letting the members do what they can do when they can do it, educating them along the way, then strong councils would be built, I think. But Baxton seems to me constitutionally unable to let people muddle through, fail, foul up, and start over. What is at issue is much too important, he seems to think, and he takes over and bulls it through, pushing his potential constituency ahead or aside, as required. His people seldom (as it seems to me) get a chance to exercise responsibility and therefore to grow, because he sees too keenly the need running ahead of their capacity.

My evaluation, in sum, is that Baxton is essentially right as to the kinds of things the Tennessee Council and its chapters ought to be doing--which makes it awkward to argue with him about his program. But his temperament is such that all concerned, including his Board, have no alternatives, but to act in his way and on his schedule or to step aside. And my fear is that a great many will choose the latter alternative. And even if they choose the former one and are, so to speak, driven before him or dragged after him, I am afraid that the resulting organization will be nothing more than Baxton's vehicle and will depart with him.

Given that Baxton and his followers are so right, given that Martha and others on the policy board are so right, given that so many good things are being done, and given that everybody concerned is so sincerely dedicated in purpose, it bothers me greatly to have to predict that there is trouble ahead at best and that, at worst, the Tennessee Council may end in a shambles.

File - Field Activities

(5)

M E M O R A N D U M

February 6, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Trip to Alabama--February 2, 3, 4, 1967

I traveled to Auburn on Thursday in order to have lengthy conferences with Bob Valder and Jerry Roden prior to the annual meeting in Birmingham on Firday evening and Saturday. You will recall, I am sure, my telling you that Jerry had decided to withdraw from consideration for the position of Executive Director.

I found both Bob and Jerry handling themselves and the situation with considerable grace. It was clear to me, however, that Jerry was deeply hurt. Italked to the two of them separately and as I reviewed the situation and the possible alternatives with each of them, pointing out the difficulties in all of the various options, I found that Jerry, although without any bitterness-- and I think he was sincere in that--had very serious reservations about the possibility of Bob's becoming Executive Director at this time and under these circumstances. Bob, for his part, seems to have changed his mind about resigning as Associate Director and at this point would disposed to remain in Alabama and to work for the Alabama Council. I became convinced, indidentally, that there was no deliberate effort on Bob's part to bring about this development. It is incidental, but perhaps significant, that both Bob and Jan are very unhappy with their location in Auburn. They dislike this small town very much and they feel like outsiders in an academic community.

As a result of all these conversations, all concerned agreed that it would be inadvisable to have the issue brought up at the board meeting on Friday night because the matter was too fresh to be dealt with constructively by a meeting involving the entire board. We therefore recommended to Dr. Gomillion that he call a meeting of the executive committee within a month, and Jerry and Bob agreed simply to postpone communicating any decisions officially. This plan was carried out and the executive committee meeting is scheduled for March 4, 1967. I am planning to attend at their invitation.

The annual meeting at the Tutwiler was disappointing in many respects. I felt sorry for Bob because he had worked very hard to plan it. Both Herman Long and Frank Smith made thoughtful speeches and in my judgment both of them had something important to say, but unfortunately they said it on a rather abstract level and with poor delivery. There were only about 90 to 100 people present at best. And, of course a lot of them were program resource persons. Bob told me that they sold only 75 luncheon tickets at $3.75 a piece and I was dismayed to hear him say that he had guaranteed the hotel 200 for lunch. This attendance at the annual meeting is especially disappointing in view of the fact that the challenge meetings in all of the local chapters which have been held during the month of January were successful, by and large.

Huntsville, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Mobile all had record attendance at these meetings and the response to appeal for funds was good although not phenomenal. None of us were able to come up with any explanation for the small attendance except for the fact that the main speaker was not a very well-known figure.

At the business meeting on Saturday afternoon, a resolution was passed to set up a committee of the Alabama Council to consider the possibility of a libel suit against the Birmingham Independent or to take other suitable action to refute their charges. The resolution also requests that the Southern Regional Council give serious consideration to a libel suit against the Birmingham Independent. The motion was made and passed because the Independent had run again this year the same old story alleging communist domination of the SRC and therefore the Alabama Council. I have passed to you a copy of the current issue including the story.

This motion was made by Evelyn Falkawski. As you know Evelyn sometimes has some wild ideas. In this case, however, I think she has a valid point. At any rate, Jerry Roden agrees with her and cites examples of people whose reputations have been somewhat tarnished, and damagingly so, because of charges of this sort. The motion did pass unanimously and there was evidence of some considerable feeling that we have had enough of this stuff and that SRC and/or the Alabama Council should take definite and firm action.

I am, of course, aware of all of the problems involved with any legal action, but I would recommend and urge that Mr. Haas be asked to give careful consideration and that the executive committee at their meeting on the 13th be asked to give very serious thought to the possibility of legal action in this instance. As I said in the case of the Knoxville Journal story and J. R. Rutter, I think we owe something to the people whose necks are already stuck out enough just by virtue of the fact that they have joined the Council.

File - Field Activities

File

MEMORANDUM

February 13, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield E

SUBJECT: Meeting of State Council Directors in Washington, February 8, 9, and 10

Attached are copies of the two news releases about which I have told you and the clipping of the news story in the Washington Evening Star which was the result of the Council Directors' news conference.

As I indicated I attached no particular significance to this conference with newsmen although, as you suggested, it is a little bit nerve-racking as one waits to see what some of them might say next. If it has any significance, it is that the news conference was symptomatic of a beginning on the part of the state council directors to speak for themselves and collectively. This struck me as a new wrinkle which may have developed in part because they were meeting for the first time away from Atlanta. They expressed great appreciation for our making it possible for them to meet in Washington this time, and they officially asked that we annually hold the first meeting of the year in Washington.

They passed several requests and recommendations to the Southern Regional Council. For one thing, they voted to suggest that the Southern Regional Council hold, on a regional basis, a conference once a year centered around some current issue or concern--such as the multi-ethnic textbook problem. Three other suggestions had to do with publications and grew out of some of the concerns that came out in their conversations. They felt the need for special reports or other publications on (1) the problems and inequities connected with the various plans for merging white and Negro state teachers' organizations; (2) the growth of private schools set up to avoid desegregations and, in general, the problem of withdrawal of whites from public school systems; (3) a study of "tipping" of schools from all white to all Negro under freedom of choice desegregation plans--that is, a study of resegregation and how much of it there is.

By the way, the directors expressed great interest in Emory Via's kit on the new minimum wage laws. I think it is going to be a popular item.

They also expressed a wish to do something that might be troublesome, if they carry through with it. I don't think they will carry through. They resolved to explore the possibility of setting up a lobbying arm of the State Councils, such as NAACP and AFSC have. As I say, I don't think anything will come of this, at least in the near future, but it may be significant as an indication of the mood of the state council directors.

Wash. Evening Star

U.S. Guides Suggested On Bias in School Books

2/10/67

By LARRY A. STILL
Star Staff Writer

Federal legislation to provide guidelines for textbook treatment of minorities was urged today by spokesmen for human relations directors of 11 Southern states if there is not enough voluntary progress in "desegregation" of school materials.

Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and chairman of the 11-state Board of Councils, said that legislation "to withhold federal tax dollars" for the purchase of school literature should be considered unless officials follow the lead of such states as Virginia.

More than $200 million annually in federal funds is used to purchase textbooks for state schools, he said.

Legal action to block the use of "segregated" textbooks in Virginia was being considered until the state board of education agreed to put 30 multi-ethnic books on the approved list, said the Rev. Robert Coombs, executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The state still uses a segregated Scott-Forsman fourth grade reading book which is printed in two versions, Mr. Coombs said.

One version has a bird on the cover and the other shows the moon coming over a mountain, he said. "The only difference is that one has no stories written about or by Negroes" and no pictures of Negroes, the minister said.

Mr. Coombs could not recall which version excludes Negro references, but said the Virginia council publishes an annotated list spelling out the differences between all segregated materials used in the state's public schools.

The minister emphasized that he was not picking on the Scott-Forsman Publishing Co. since "there are other segregated versions of books" used in the Virginia schools.

However, the Virginia Board of Education "has been very cooperative" with the council, he said.

The Council on Human Relations is still meeting with state board officials to seek approval of more multi-ethnic literature, he said.

Compulsory guidelines to prevent use of "segregated" or exclusive texts would not be censorship, since many state school boards already have strict guidelines for the selection of school material, Mr. Coombs and Bryant said.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AND THEREAFTER

Washington, D. C. (Friday, February 10, 1967, P.M.)

The executive directors of the State Human Relations Council in the Old Confederate States of America in staff conference at the Statler Hilton released a statement of concern for the development of the Community Action Agencies under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The executive directors of the state councils, working in association with the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a voluntary, non-profit, interracial organization based in Atlanta, Georgia, interviewed officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity to express a deep concern felt by the members of the eleven state councils about the reduced momentum of the anti-poverty programs in the South.

The executive directors said:

The Community Action Agency concept of "with" instead of "for" has bridged old prejudices, crossed class and racial barriers, and helped to make American communities know themselves for the first time in American history. Many members of communities have become aware that each has a contribution to make to the welfare of the community. From the banker to the sharecropper, from the teacher to the functional illiterate, from the doctor to the welfare recipient, from the salesman to the purchaser, and from the

minister to the storekeeper, a re-vitalization of American democracy has been taking place. The Community Action Agency has been at the center of this refreshing mid-sixty process.

The job of fighting poverty through public health, education, employment and other services has been slow and results at times disappointing. But the benefit derived from communities fighting common enemies rather than each other is our best hope for an orderly transition in the South. This effort should be strengthened and receive the full support of the Congress and the people of the South.

We are concerned (1) about the apparent attempt to reduce the appropriations of federal funds to combat poverty (2) about the transfer of anti-poverty programs to old line government agencies which have lost the faith of the poor and in some cases are unresponsive to their many needs (3) about the apparent failure of state poverty program offices in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to promote Community Action Programs in some areas of highest concentration of the poor and (4) about signs of unrest and frustration in the professional staffs of the Community Action Agencies in the various Southern States.

The State Human Relations Councils pledge our continued support and commitment to the Community Action Agency approach. The work should be redoubled, the American people's commitment renewed, and positive action continued to end poverty and lethargy in this nation.

File
Field Activities
Newsletter

Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] [illegible]A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

February 16, 1967

Helpful Publications from the Tennessee Council

In January the Tennessee Council on Human Relations put out four mimeographed publications which human relations councils may find helpful. Two of these are tailored to Tennessee, but certainly would be suggestive for councils in other states. They are preliminary draft of a Welfare Study, by Jerry Wiersema, and Housing Handbook, by Harry Wiersema, Jr. Excellent and generally applicable is The Coordination of Anti-Poverty Efforts. State and local councils working or planning to work in these areas of concern can order these from the T.C.H.R., 1207 - 18th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee 37212.

And deserving of a special paragraph is Special Gifts Campaign Guide. Every state and local council needs to be interested in that one. Order from the same address.

And from SRC's Urban Planning Project

Three brand new publications:

MR. MAYOR - SLUM GHETTOS IN YOUR CITY, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? This is a guideline for city officials in facing the total problems of slums. (50¢ single; 40¢ bulk)

Neighborhoods - Where Human Rights Begin. Experiences and evaluation of three interracial neighborhoods. (50¢ single; 40¢ bulk)

A Guide to Programs for Better Homes and Neighborhoods. A layman's guide to government and private housing programs. ($1.00 single; 75¢ bulk)

(Published toward the end of last year were Neighborhood Stabilization, 30¢, and A Home of Your Own, 60¢.)

February 16, 1967

"Know Your Rights"

I mentioned last month the phenomenal success of Know Your Rights, a guide to citizens in confrontation with law officers, published by the Georgia American Civil Liberties Union and the Georgia Council. But I forgot to say how and from whom to order it. Order from A.C.L.U. of Georgia, 52 Fairlie Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. If you want it reprinted exactly "as is," the price is 9½¢ for any quantity over 500. If you want text changes (to substitute references to Georgia and/or to put your organization's imprint on the back cover), the price is 10½¢ and a minimum order of 2,000.

New Rural Advancement Project Director in Florida

Mr. Gye L. Long of Jackson County, Florida, will soon become the new director of the Florida Council's R.A.P. Mr. Long received his elementary and secondary education in Jackson County schools. He took a B.S. degree in natural science from South Carolina State College, and he holds a Master's degree in school administration from Florida A. & M. He served in the army during World War II and has taught in Jackson County since 1952.

Annual Meetings

The Alabama Council had its annual meeting at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham on February 3 and 4. Featured speakers were Dr. Herman Long, President of Talladega College, and Frank Smith, T.V.A. Commissioner and former Congressman from Mississippi. Dr. C. G. Gomillion was re-elected president.

The Louisiana Council will hold its annual meeting in Baton Rouge on February 25. Speakers will be Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Father L. J. Twomey, Director of the Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University. There will be workshops on school desegregation, employment, and voter education. This will be the first meeting of the L.C.H.R. since their staff was employed and the office opened in Baton Rouge.

Executive Directors Meet in Washington

The executive directors of all ten state councils and the Houston Council met in Washington, February 8, 9, and 10. They had consultations with officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Meeting in the conference room of the Potomac Institute, they also had conversations with Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President of that organization and a past executive director of Southern Regional Council.

On the 9th and 10th they attended a conference on "The Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks and Other Training Materials," sponsored by the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association. At the end of the conference the directors held a joint press conference at which they issued two statements.

In one statement they "called upon the state textbooks committees and commissions in their respective states to begin intensive analyses leading to the adoption of textbooks which adequately reflect the multi-ethnic nature of American society." Proper recognition should be given to the contributions of Negroes and other minority groups, the directors said, for the good of children of all races. "If our white children are to be adequately prepared for a world in which they are the minority," they added, "the textbooks and training tools used in their education should reflect the more realistic, multi-ethnic point of view."

The second statement expressed "a deep concern...about the reduced momentum of the anti-poverty programs in the South." The directors lauded, despite all admitted problems, "the benefit derived from communities' fighting common enemies rather than each other," calling such programs of community action "our best hope for an orderly transition in the South." They noted apparent attempts to reduce appropriations for the "war on poverty," the transfer of anti-poverty programs to "old line government agencies," failure to secure poverty programs in the most impoverished rural areas of the South, and "signs of unrest and frustration" among anti-poverty workers in the South.

Which Way the Movement?

Bayard Rustin is one of the germinal thinkers of The Movement. At the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference in January he made a presentation of the "Freedom Budget" proposed by the A. Philip Randolph Institute. He graciously agreed to a suspension of the SIC rules, in order to speak "on the record," and his remarks were so stimulating that I would like to review (from my notes only) some of the things he said.

The Movement's dynamism, he pointed out, has heretofore been based on the brutality of southern whites, not on analysis of conditions and political realities. We can no longer rely on this dynamism. We now need a document of priorities, analysis of cost, and systematic planning. Changes in the economic and social structure cannot be wrought by casting the struggle in terms of civil rights alone. Basically, he added, we have two jobs to do: (1) implement what we now have in principle and (2) place everything else to be done within a framework.

He refuted the notion--fanned by right wing conservatives--that "Negroes are trying to get something for nothing." It is always supposed that the poor are poor because of some flaw in them. The fact is that no immigrant group has ever "pulled itself up by its own bootstraps." But previous immigrant groups have

had "stairsteps" available to them--steps which no longer exist and must be replaced if the poor of the present are to enter the mainstream of American life. These opportunities, which were available to other groups and have never been available to Negroes are: (1) plenty of virtually-free land, (2) salability of muscle power (only skill is valuable now), (3) low taxes, (4) wide-open market for speculative investment, and (5) a burgeoning trade union movement for organization and protection of the poor masses--which automation now makes impossible.

Among the new "stairsteps" which he deemed necessary, and which the "Freedom Budget" calls for, are: (1) minimum wage provisions adequate in level and coverage; (2) redefinition of "work" ("if by 1975 half of the population will be under 25, we must redefine study as work--and pay young people to go to school"); and (3) full employment for all able to work, with a guaranteed annual income for all unable to work.

He called for the nation to stop kidding itself with half measures. What value is training without a plan and program to maintain full employment? Of what value is Head Start, if children must go back to slum conditions? War experience has shown, he said, that people can be trained quickly when the job is there to be done and people are hired and trained on the job.

The Movement, Rustin said, must face up to the political reality of a need for broad alliances. We must act politically--protest alone is not enough. Realistic steps must be taken to secure political power and economic resources--and that means forming coalitions, even with groups which may at other times be opposed. "The key word," he concluded, "is coalition."

I was interested to hear Dr. Herman Long make about the same point in his speech to the Alabama Council membership two weeks later. The papers, he said, lead us to believe that the picture today is one of total polarization, with "black power" on the one hand and "white backlash" on the other. That is a distortion, and we need constantly to review our assumptions, which may be false. We must "seek to strengthen the bases of commonality, of identification."

Speaking of Great Speeches....

Martha Ragland, outgoing president of the Tennessee Council, laid it on the line in her address to the Annual Meeting of the TCHR. Speaking of the rising tide of unrest among the colored peoples of the world, she said,

> We started this revolutionary era with our own American Revolution. It was not just a revolt against England. It was a revolt against the whole idea of an elite who would run things by and for themselves.

> It is a dark irony that now we so often seem to be cowering in neurotic fear before the forces to which we gave the original impetus.
>
> ....
>
> The question is: are we going to square our traditional American high profession...are we going to square our big talk with reality and make this truly a country where all men are created free and equal and where all can share in the bounty of our society?
>
> I think we have talked ourselves out on a limb and are going to have to put up or shut up. A world, largely colored, and torn by revolution bears in on us.

She then described the powerful efforts of right-wing groups to frustrate all progress toward social justice by means of discrediting all who work for civil rights or peace or economic opportunity for the poor. And she concluded:

> This element in our society is stronger now than it has ever been. Can this challenge be met? At this point I am inclined to doubt it.
>
> Yet here we stand, the chained giant, the richest country in the world, faltering in its long-overdue efforts to equalize opportunity. And as we falter, the lustre surrounding our country since its founding is fast eroding.
>
> Because in the end what we do about race and poverty will determine our role in the world--or whether we even will have a role.

Thunder on the Right

We here at SRC have had brought to our attention a new outbreak of bewhiskered and libelous charges of communist influence in the SRC and the state human relations councils (apropos Martha Ragland's comments, above). All such charges are demonstrably false, and in fact we have been successful in securing full retractions and apologies when, in two or three instances, they have appeared in reasonably responsible papers. It is a different problem, however, when such charges are made through completely irresponsible hate sheets--of which there are many in the South. A number of sound, practical considerations make it the policy of our executive committee not to seek legal redress in such instances. We would be happy to supply documents, however, to any group or individual wishing to set the record straight. These would include reprints from the Congressional Record and the

above-mentioned reputable newspapers giving the proud and honorable facts, and information about the founding and history of the Southern Regional Council.

Department of Humans Related

The February 20 issue of Newsweek contains an article about my friend Father Brice Joyce, ex-pastor of Our Lady of Grace Mission, Sheffield, Alabama, and for a number of years a vice-president of the Alabama Council. He recently was ordered by Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen to return to his monastery (his is a Benedictine), leave the state, or be stripped of his priestly functions. He chose to leave the state "after a rousing fried-chicken farewell dinner from his flock," and hopes to continue his work for social justice in his native Pittsburgh.

Father Brice was assigned to the Sheffield mission "to give Sheffield-area Negroes a church of their own." However, he soon was escorting Negro children into formerly all-white schools and beleaguering administrators in two area hospitals for non-discriminatory treatment for Negroes. Such activities caused many white Catholics in those parts to refer to him as the "Nigger" priest. He preferred to be called that rather than "Father," saying, "Only God is your father."

He soon had an integrated congregation. Scores of white Catholics came to see what the "nigger priest" was up to and stayed. One white parishioner is quoted in the article as saying, "When you hear the colored people singing 'Out of the depths I have cried to you, O Lord,' you can't help but feel closer to God."

It was all too much for the Archdiocese of Mobile-Birmingham.

Father Brice was never one to pussy-foot around an issue, and I fondly remember his telling me about his sermon to a white congregation in a nearby church where once he celebrated Mass. "I just told them straight," he said. "'You can't be a segregationist and a Christian too. If you're going to be a segregationist, go on over to the Baptist Church and go to hell on you own time.'"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Field Activities

File

M E M O R A N D U M

February 20, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield E

SUBJECT: Trip to South Carolina, Sunday, February 19, 1967

This trip was interesting and worthwhile, I think, but for reasons largely unrelated to its purpose. Alice had billed this Board meeting as "quite possibly the most important in the history of the S.C.C.H.R." She did not specify, and I was foolish enough to take her at her word, supposing that they were going to interview candidates for the executive director position or something. As it turned out, that matter was not even mentioned in the meeting, which was a rapid sequence of committee reports. It was good, however, (and this was why Alice thought it important) in that it reflected some serious wrestling with program concerns on the part of Board members--and an effort to feed program possibilities to local councils. Areas dealt with included a compulsory school attendance law, local and county jail reforms, a poverty program which need backing ("T-squared"), and several others. (See attached agenda)

The S. C. Council has a good president, now, in Dr. Wesson, who is a professor at the University.

The trip was worthwhile, if for no other reason because of Dr. Pitts' speech at the "Brotherhood Week" meeting and the opportunity to talk to him, flying over and back on the same plane.

The speech was a moving one, delivered out of the depths of his own being. Intensely personal, it used the refrain "Hear me, America," and concluded that our choice was between "brotherhood or death."

Dr. Pitts was emotionally keyed by the fact that seven (7) Negroes have been shot by Birmingham police within the past four months. He told me on the way over that he expects demonstrations to begin in Birmingham again this week. One of his students, a man in his forties who is a vice-president in Shuttlesworth's organization, had come to him to let him know that Fred had called to order preparations and that picket signs were being prepared by students. New demonstration, he said, would be taxing to him physically and could disrupt the college's drive for accreditation. He attributes the new outbreak of brutality by the Birmingham police to their resentment over hiring of the four Negro policemen. (I suppose that would be hard to document, but it figures.)

February 20, 1967

By the way, you would have appreciated Dr. Wesson's observation in introducing Alice to the crowd at the "Brotherhood" meeting. He said, "Mrs. Spearman generates ideas at such a pace that talking to her makes me feel somewhat as I did when, as a child, I tried to step on my shadow."

The man has the soul of a poet!

Please return attached material

See Field Activities

PA file

M E M O R A N D U M

February 23, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: The Baker County Meeting

The meeting was well attended with perhaps eight independent Negro farmers of the county present, twelve or fourteen women, about eight people who were working with Charlie Sherrod, including the seminarians, and a number of agency representatives. The latter indluded Frances Pauley and Hubert Thomas of the Georgia Council, Jac Wasserman and James Mays of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Dorothy Cotton and Septima Clark of SCLC, Winifred Greene of the American Friends Service Committee, and Thad Olive, Marvin Wall, and myself from our shop.

There was a great deal of discussion including some philosophizing about the question whether poverty programs helped or hindered. Some argued that the hiring of a few of the most able Negroes only took away the leadership that was necessary really to organize the Negroes of the county for significant progress. Jac Wasserman and other maintained that the same could be said for any job; that is, that a person who has been without work when he gets a job will naturally have less inclination to do battle. The meeting resulted in an agreement to make another proposal to the Field Foundation--a committee was appointed for

this purpose. Three felt-needs of the group were stipulated: (1) a youth center which would double as a community center, (2) voter registration and education, and (3) adult education and training. Marvin and Thad explained that the voter education project had done about all that it could envision doing for Baker County, hence the wish to seek supplemental funds for this purpose from the Field Foundation.

Les Dunbar's purpose, as stated in his letter transmitting the $5,000 grant to the Georgia Council, was "to test whether a rural, impoverished, black belt county can, without further displacement of people, be made a viable cultural and economic unit." It appears to me to be a foregone conclusion that it cannot. None of the proposals that this group came up with could, as it seems to me, do any more than provide symptomatic relief for the problems of Baker County. Charlie Sherrod explained that about two-thirds of the land area of the county is in plantations owned by absentee landlords, such as the Woodruffs and the Melons. Only about one-third of this plantation land is under cultivation, the rest being used as hunting preserves. There are a few independent Negro farmers, but even if these got nondiscriminatory service from the Department of Agriculture and so forth, it still seems to me that the county can never be "a viable economic unit" on an agricultural base alone. Sherrod dreams of getting enough political power to break up these large

landholdings through tax assessment, but I think that's only a dream. Even if the land could be put into agriculture through that means or through some sort of appeal to Woodruffs and the Melons, I doubt that it could be made to support any significant number of people given the mechanized methods of agriculture today.

On the other hand, the county has no transportation facilities or other resources that would make it appealing to industry. Thus, all the training and education that is done has to be in preparation for such things as jobs in adjoing counties, assisting the farmers to diversify or go into truck farming. Small industry cooperatives, credit unions, training programs, and improved education will help to make less painful the necessary transitions, bu the future of the people does not lie in Baker County. I understand that the Negro population of Baker County is small now--only about 2,000. The number for which Baker County might conceivably provide a viable existence is very much smaller. For the rest I see nothing but the prospect of commuting to a reasonably good job nearby, coupled with a little truck farming, or eventual removal to a city and a good job in industry.

This is not to say, of course, that nothing can be done. Much can and should be done. But so much of the problem cannot be treated in isolation in Baker County--or even Southwest Georgia--that I think it will be disappointing to focus effort on that county in the hope of creating "a viable cultural and economic unit."

I might add that this meeting had its heart-tugging moments as such meetings always do: the women explaining that they had trouble getting the men to register to vote because they could not get off from work; the men who were there explaining that there were not more men there because they were helping with the hunts.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

Sec Projects - Paperback Prof

February 28, 1967

Miss Louise Cole
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Cole:

This is in response to your letter of February 15, 1967.

Five Economic Development Regions have been designated under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. They are the Ozarks, New England, Upper Great Lakes, Four Corners, and Coastal Plains Regions.

I am enclosing a press kit on the designation of the Coastal Plains Region and maps of the other four Regions.

The Ozarks Regional Commission was formally organized on September 7, 1966. It hopes to have a regional plan ready by mid-summer. The other four Commissions are in varying stages of the organizational process.

Other questions posed by your letter are academic at this time.

Sincerely,

Rose McKee

Rose McKee, Director
Office of Public Information

Enclosure

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

COASTAL PLAINS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGION
FACT SHEET, BASED ON 1960 CENSUS

79,493 square miles in the Coastal Plains Region
137,613 square miles total territory in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia

10,881,865 persons in the three States
4,987,115 persons in the Region

79 persons per square mile in the three States
63 persons per square mile in the Region

763,194 out-migration from the three States from 1950 to 1960
507,079 out-migration from the Region from 1950 to 1960

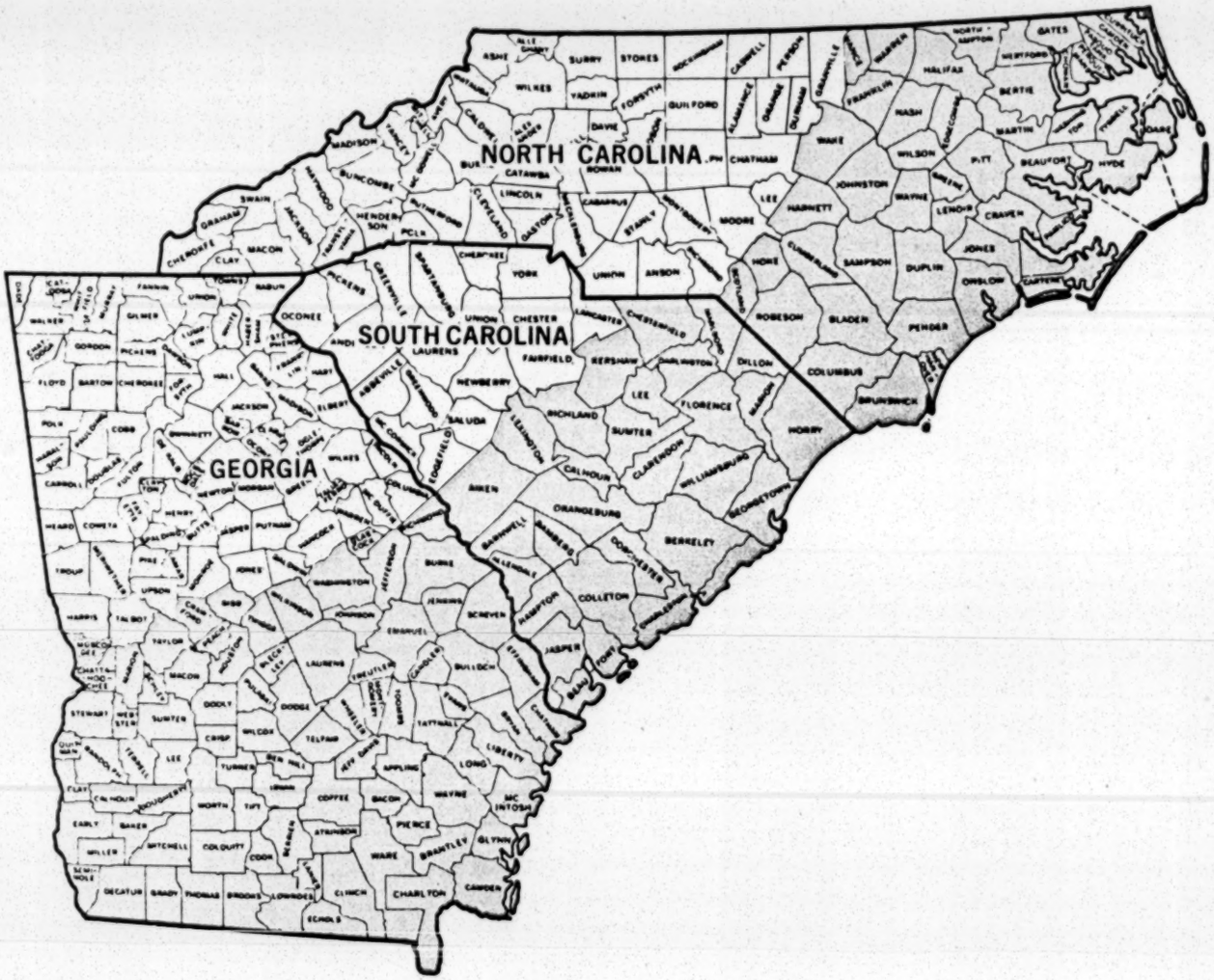
$3,459 median family income in Region
$5,660 median family income in U.S.

Region is primarily an agricultural area with tobacco, cotton and peanuts as the three major crops. Advance in mechanization of farming has taken jobs of many small farmers and farm workers. This trend is expected to continue.

Some of the more important industries which have a potential for development in the Region include: food processing, wood processing, seafood processing, tourism and recreation, chemicals, transportation, minerals, electronics and metals fabrication.

COASTAL PLAINS

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGION



Designation by Secretary John T. Connor, with concurrence of the States, in accordance with the provisions of the "Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965," (PL 89-136).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

PAPERBACK BOOK PROJECT

REGARDING

Request for renewal of paperback project and report sent to Frank Bowles 3/9/67

DATE

3/9/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION 1967

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Paperback Book Project (Field Activities Department)

REGARDING

Original funding, etc., reports, correspondence related to the project.

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Foundations: FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

File of Field Activities "Newsletters"

Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

March 27, 1967

Another Helpful Publication

Most enthusiastically to be touted to local human relations councils is a brand new publication by SRC's Labor Project, of which Emory Via is Director. It is a Minimum Wage Kit providing everything--except motivation--that a group would need to organize an effort to secure full utilization of the new minimum wage law in its locality.

I am enthusiastic about it because such an effort seems to me an excellent way to render valuable service to, and thus perhaps to form a coalition with, laboring folk--especially those in the low-income levels. And, as Bayard Rustin keeps telling us, at this stage of the movement, "coalition is the key word."

The "kit" includes an outline of a way to proceed and things to do, a fact sheet on the new Wage and Hour Act, an illustrated pamphlet titled More Money For You? Your Rights Under the Minimum Wage Law (somewhat in the format of the Know Your Rights pamphlet with which some of our readers will be familiar) for distribution to workers and others, a list of field offices of the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor, a sample form of information useful in developing a complaint, and some data on the extent of wage-hour violations. All of these items were prepared by the Labor Project. In addition there are samples of important and appropriate government publications.

The complete Minimum Wage Campaign Kit is available at $1.00 from the Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Northwest, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. The pamphlet, More Money for You? is 15¢ per copy, 10-50 copies for 10¢ each, over 50 copies at 8¢ each.

Film on The Mercer Project Is Available

The Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice has produced and is distributing a 25-minute black and white 16 mm film titled The Mercer Project: A Path to Peaceful School Desegregation.

This film was produced in Macon, Georgia. It is the story of the efforts of the Macon Council on Human Relations to organize and conduct a project that would help smooth school desegregation in the city.

Macon's schools were desegregated under a court order calling for freedom of choice. The first year of school desegregation was 1964-65. Only a handful of Negroes took advantage of the plan. Fear by Negro students of not being able to do well in the white schools was a major source of the reluctance.

The Mercer Project was conceived to help alleviate this fear. Members of the Council asked themselves what they, as private citizens, could do to facilitate school desegregation and accomplish this end in a manner that would not disrupt the order of the community.

The film shows how a tutorial project was undertaken, financed through private efforts and using volunteer tutors. It touches on the fears of Negro parents and also on the problem of teacher training in the South and the reaction of white teachers to their first formal contact with Negro students. The documentary is designed to stimulate discussion on all of these problems. Discussion guides are available from CRS, along with the film.

For further information or to borrow the film (free), write to Media Relations, Dept. MP, Community Relations Service, Washington, D. C., 20530.

What One Council Did

Thinking of wage-hour concerns, I remember a remark of Dr. C. G. Gomillion, President of the Alabama Council and member of SRC's executive committee, to the effect that a lot of good things are done by individuals who belong to the human relations councils because of ideas and friendships created through the councils. These may not be "council projects," he commented, but nevertheless probably would not have happened had the council not existed.

A case in point is an organization in Huntsville called "The Sisters of Concern Club" (SOCC). Sometimes called a "maids' union," SOCC has more than 200 members. Its organization was actively assisted by members of the Huntsville Council on Human

Relations. It was formed last summer, and one of the first things it did was to conduct a survey which showed that many maids, motel and hotel workers, and cafeteria workers in Huntsville (which has the highest income levels in Alabama) were putting in a 60 hour week for $25 to $32 per week. These workers banded together and have been successful in demanding a minimum of $1.25 per hour. They have an executive director who negotiates with employers and a field worker who organizes the employees. Since getting to work is a problem, the club has organized car pools. They are also forming a credit union, in order to escape the clutches of loan sharks, and are now applying for a federal charter for the union.

On Public Assistance Problems

Most of the state council directors have copies of the Welfare Manual issued last spring by the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Local council leaders, however, may not know about it, and they should, for it is a great aid in asking the right questions about your state and local welfare operations. (It is written for Georgia, of course, but the federal requirements would be applicable everywhere and the manual will suggest the kinds of information one would need to work on public assistance problems in his own state.)

Prepared with the help of the Columbia University School of Social Welfare, the manual describes fully the rights of families and individuals under the following programs: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and the Surplus Commodities and Purchase Food Stamps Programs.

Plenty of illustrative examples are included to help the reader understand the rules, regulations, and policies described.

More Audio-Visual Aids

I recently ran across a catalogue of National Educational Television films and highly recommend the use of these films by human relations councils. Write for their catalogue titled Issue-Oriented. Notice especially the films on "The Negro in America," "The Disadvantaged," and "Cities." These documentaries are cheap to rent and, properly used, could be valuable educational tools for use in your council meetings and with appropriate groups. The address is:

NET Film Service
Indiana University
Audio-Visual Center
Bloomington, Indiana

Notes on the State Councils

... Robert Valder, who has been Associate Director of the Alabama Council since the summer of 1965 has been named Executive Director.

... Glennis Barnes, who is currently teaching school in Vicksburg, will become Assistant to the Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations about June 1.

... The state council directors will meet at SRC in Atlanta on April 6 and 7.

... A new chapter of the Florida Council has been formed at Lakeland under the leadership of The Reverend Caxton Doggett, who is on the Board of Directors of both the Florida Council and SRC. More than 50 Lakelanders are already members. The local paper, The Ledger, has taken favorable editorial note. The Florida Council has 19 local chapters now.

... The Annual Meeting of the Louisiana Council, held on February 24th had 103 people present who registered their attendance. (Some late-comers did not register.) This was their first annual meeting since beginning staffed operations, and, judging from participants' comments, it was a good one. Among the speakers was Paul Anthony of SRC, who outlined three significant features of the current race-relations situation in the South: (1) The poor are no longer staying "considerately out of sight"; they are getting angry and demanding justice. (2) The white South has changed tremendously, and they honestly think that Negroes now have an equal chance--and that nothing else is needed or justifiable. (3) Negro Americans are disillusioned, even embittered, and questioning the validity of the whole organization of our society.

... On February 8-10 the state council directors met in Washington. In addition to conducting their own business, they attended a National Education Association conference on "Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks." At the end of the conference, they held a press conference and issued two statements, one on textbook bias and one on curtailment of the community action program of OEO.

... At the press conference just mentioned, I was struck by the fact that, as reporters drifted in and asked preliminary questions, they repeatedly wanted to know how the state councils were financed. I have heard this question often before from people hearing about councils on human relations for the first time. It is as if they want to find out if such biracial groups are really indigenous to the South or exist only because of "outside agitation."

Speech Fodder

I liked this from an article titled "Foreign Policy and the Crisis Mentality," by Senator George McGovern of South Dakota in the January issue of The Atlantic:

"But there is a disturbing American tendency to overreact to certain ideological and military factors while overlooking issues of vastly greater relevance to our safety and well-being. A civil insurrection in Santo Domingo or Vietnam is dramatic, but what is its significance compared with such quiet challenges as the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the surging nationalism and social upheavals in the developing world, or the mounting crisis of hunger and population? What, too, is the relationship of the quality and strength of our own society to our position in the world? How will the world see us if we succeed in pacifying Vietnam but fail to pacify Chicago?"

Or, as Another put it, "What will it profit a man, (or nation?) if he gains the whole world and forfeits his own life?"

Along that line, while I was in North Carolina recently, I landed in Wilmington on the night that Howard K. Smith, the ABC news commentator, was speaking at the local college. At the beginning of his speech he expressed alarm at the "deterioration in the quality of our national life." If we had sufficient sense of urgency about it he said, this nation could correct our problems of poverty and the like "almost with ease." "Last summer," he added, "there were erruptions in 38 American cities. I will venture the prediction that, unless action is taken soon, we shall see disturbances in approximately 60 cities this summer."

And Then There Was...

... the argument of Georgia House of Representatives member Tom Palmer against inviting the Wallaces of Alabama to address a joint session of the state legislature. He said it would lay the General Assembly open to snide remarks. And he added, "You are all familiar, I am sure, with the giant billboard outside Chicago which says: 'I dreamed I was governor of Alabama in my Maidenform bra.'"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

File
Projects -
"Paperback Project"

LC ✓
ES ✓
MT - file

March 30, 1967

Mrs. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Dabbs:

Bless you for your effective work and warm letters. It is very encouraging to know how important a little help can sometimes be. To our great disappointment, the Fund for the Advancement of Education has no more money, and, therefore, cannot finance any further work in this project. In time, however, I do hope we can find some source to continue this project.

I quite agree that Louise and Ed have done an excellent job with this, and I am happy to share your letter with them.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Edith Dabbs

RIP RAPS PLANTATION · MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

3/24/67

Dr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Bless your big ever-lovin' brown-eyed heart! I never saw such a Christmas. The first shipment was a miracle and this is a double one. This time we get scads of beautiful wonder books for the little tots--such books as neither they nor their parents knew existed. You never saw such excitement among the people who know of it as this has aroused. I do hope the follow-up will be all it should. It's maddening to have to depend on other people for so much when I'd like to go down to the school house with my little mop and paint brush and do the job I want done.

I understand that the trade school class has at least partly put up the shelves but are getting it done slowly because they have to work it in between classes--or something. When I finish this I'm going down there and get some answers or build a fire under somebody. And when things really get into a swing, however slow the action may seem at first, I'll let you know what goes on. Meanwhile, please thank for us all the folks who worked on this project. I think that's Louise Coles and Ed Stanfield. They did a fine job beyond the line of anybody's duty and we appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Edith M. Dabbs

File
Paperback Proj
note: copies sent to John Scanlon, Ford - G. S. Griffiths, Ford
4/11/67.
mf

Robert L. C. Williams, Director
West Jacksonville Association For
A Better Community Inc.
805 Line Street
Jacksonville, Fla. 32209

Miss Louise Cole,
Paperback Book Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Cole,

I am so grateful and appreciative for the books that has been contributed to our neighborhood organization. With this large number of books I have been able to go beyond the normal reading program which was first envisioned. Such as not only to people of color, but some books on Negro History have been loaned to some persons in the white area. This I feel is most important, because so long there has been a vast vacuum of ignorance or rather misunderstanding of the heritage of Black people among ourselves and those we must live with. Likewise, so much of this History has been purposely left out of the public schools.

Yes, it is my sincere conception, that the more white and Black people understand one another, the better Race relations are apt to be.

Enclosed is a news writeup by one of the local interested papers.

In less than thirty days, we should definitely know what action is to be taken as pertaining to budget request being made to OEO Atlanta.

Again, thanking you and all others concerned for everything.

Respectfully yours,

Robert L. C. Williams

Robert L. C. Williams, Dir.

P.S. Something like 900 books received to date.

Better Community Unit Now Has Own Library

By GEORGE HARMON
Journal Assistant City Editor

A West Jacksonville neighborhood has a new library, with paperback books that lean heavily toward volumes on Negro history and job opportunities.

The library is housed in West Friendship Baptist Church, 945 Carrie St.

The books are valued at approximately $2,000 and were provided free of charge to the West Jacksonville Association for a Better Community.

Donor of the books was the Southern Regional Council, headquartered in Atlanta, which provided the Better Community organization's chairman, Robert L. C. Williams, with a list of 5,000 volumes and told him to take his pick of 1,000 books.

Williams and Rev. Richard L. Wilson, pastor of West Friendship Baptist Church, said five teachers who live in the neighborhood have volunteered to set up a card-file system for the books and to operate the library after school hours and at night.

The church already houses a Saturday study hall organized by the Better Community organization, and a basic adult education program that has an enrollment of 25 grownups who meet with a county school-system teacher two nights weekly.

Agreeing with the claim that Negroes don't know enough about their own history, Williams chose several titles on that topic and obtained several copies of each title.

Among the books in this category are several which have been widely read and some which have attained the rank of classics in the field of race relations. They include:

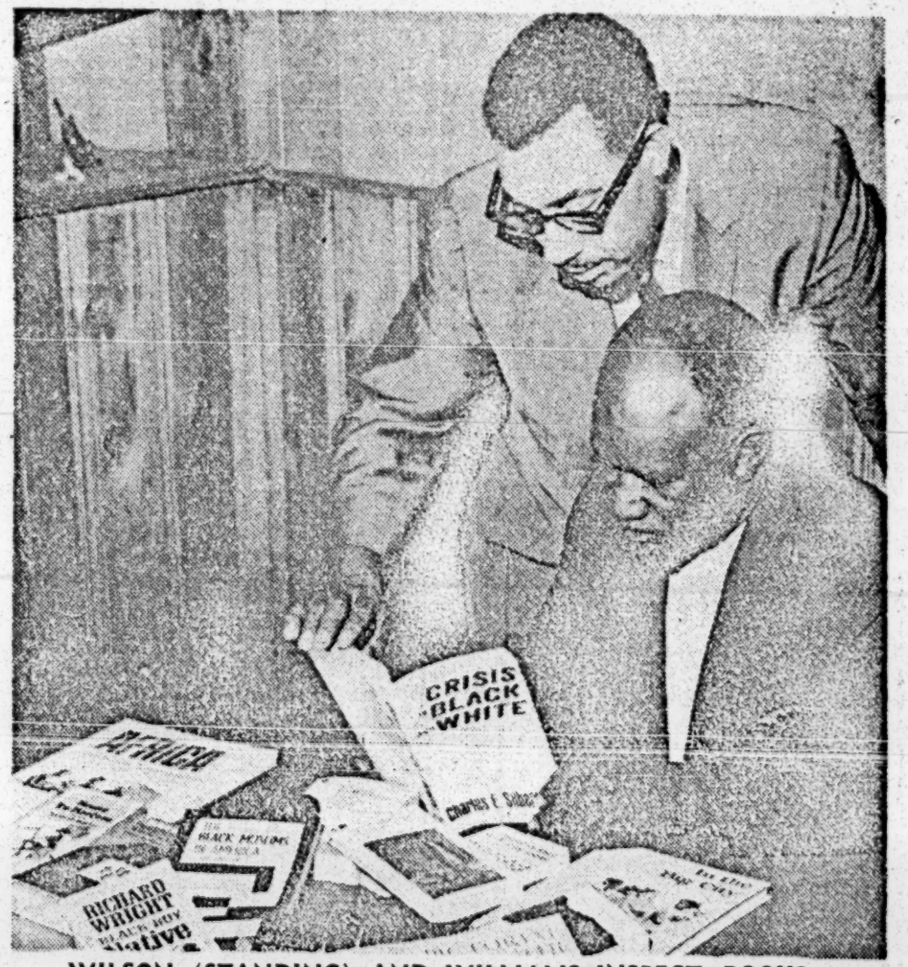
"Crisis in Black and White," "Black Reconstruction in America," The Wasted Americans," "Up From Slavery," "The American Negro," "Home to Harlem," "In White America" and "Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1964."

These books on career opportunities, said Williams, are intended to make the neighborhood's Negro children—many of whom are impoverished—aware of the wide range of occupations available in modern society.

Slum children, he said, often have low levels of ambition because the adults they see are often mostly laborers or other persons in lower pay scales.

For that reason, said Williams, children at the Saturday study hall have been studying electronics diagrams and making copies of them.

"I'm not trying to teach them electronics," said Williams, a postman. "I just want them to grow up knowing that there are such things as jobs in electronics."

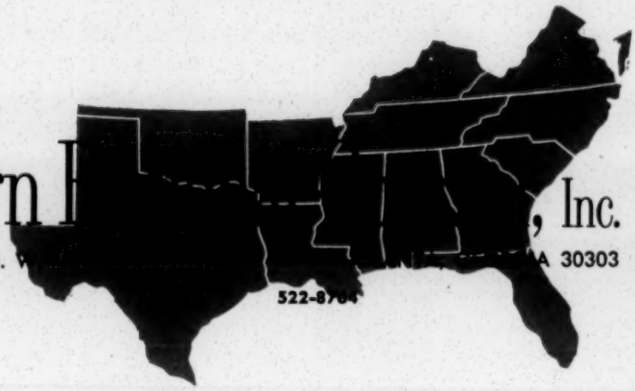


WILSON (STANDING) AND WILLIAMS INSPECT BOOKS

Journal Photo

4-6-67

PA



Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible]A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

See Field Activities Memos.

MEMORANDUM
April 11, 1967

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize a few of the ideas and suggestions coming out of our recent staff meeting, lest they slip our minds.

You voted to try for a joint SRC-HRC retreat of about four days length to be held preferably in the North Carolina mountains and preferably in the first half of September. I shall try to nail down a precise place and exact dates as soon as possible. Meanwhile, we should use caution about committing ourselves during those two weeks.

We at SRC have taken under advisement your request that our grant-in-aid stipulations include a requirement that state council officers consult with the staff of the Southern Regional Council before hiring or firing professional staff members of the state councils.

Concerning promotion of NEW SOUTH, the state council directors agreed to add to application forms for membership in the state councils a line suggesting subscription to NEW SOUTH. We suggest the following notation:

> _____Check here if you wish to subscribe to NEW SOUTH at $3.00 per year. You will be billed by the Southern Regional Council.
>
> Published quarterly by the SRC, NEW SOUTH provides members of the _____ Council in-depth coverage of our changing region.

In addition, you reacted favorably to the idea of finding a key person in each chapter who would take subscriptions to NEW SOUTH at each annual meeting of the local council. You are to send us the names and addresses of these persons as you secure them and we are to provide promotional literature and sample copies of NEW SOUTH to each such person. It was further suggested that special tables be set up at each annual meeting to promote NEW SOUTH and take subscriptions and that subscribing to the magazine be constantly suggested through your newsletters.

It was suggested that each of you supply me with the names and addresses of people in your councils whom you would like to receive the SRC Field Activities Newsletter. We will check these names against our present mailing list and add those who are not on it.

It was suggested that each of you send copies of your quarterly reports, if feasible, to all of the other state council directors. I would suggest that you also send a copy of every

publication, including newsletters, program materials, forms, etc., to each state council director if you are not already doing so. I believe this cross fertilization of ideas will be very helpful.

cc: Paul Anthony
Pat Watters
Bob Anderson
Jim Wood
Vernon Jordan
Marvin Wall
Emory Via
Al Ulmer
Moreland Smith
John Boone

See Field Activities "Memos"

M E M O R A N D U M

April 17, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Southern Consumers Cooperative (Lafayette)

I called James Oliver and Father McKnight, as you requested, to ask about the trouble Southern Consumers Cooperative is having with District Attorney Bertrand DeBlanc. (See attached clippings for background.)

Both describe it as a continuation of the harrassment action which closed down the O.E.O. program in southwest Louisiana (Acadiana Neuf). About two months ago members of the Lafayette newspaper raised charges of communist influence in Acadiana Neuf and the S.C.C. as a single-purpose agency and called for an investigation by the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. The investigation resulted, McKnight said, in a clearing of the Cooperative.

The District Attorney then sent the Southern Consumers Cooperative several "interrogatories," which, under Louisiana law, they had to answer. He called not for a complete financial statement or balance sheet but for a list of all monies paid to individuals for salaries, etc., and a list of all monies received since May, 1966. Since this did not include money paid to corporations for purchases and services, he jumped to the conclusion that there was a discrepancy of about $80,000. He ordered the records impounded and went on television to say, "If we find

any evidence of wrong-doing, we will...." etc., etc. (Dr. Oliver explained that there is an election coming up and the DA is running.

The Cooperative had just had an audit by federal auditors who had found everything in order. But the DA insisted that he had to have local auditors go over the books.

With the help of theLawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee (New Orleans office) the Cooperative has filed for an injunction against the District Attorney in federal court. Also, they have the help of theCitizens' Crusade Against Poverty, which has asked for an investigation of these goings-on by the Justice Department.

Father McKnight commented, "I certainly hope this does not hurt us with the Ford Foundation, because that is our only life-line right now."

POVERTY WAR WILL BE VIEWED

Times-Picayune

LAFAYETTE, La. (AP) — A joint committee of the Louisiana Legislature will take a look at the manner in which Southwest Louisiana has waged its anti-poverty campaign Wednesday and Thursday.

The two-day hearing is the outgrowth of The Daily Advertiser identifying a key anti-poverty worker here as a former member of a New York-based policy committee recruiting young people for a Communist-dominated World Youth Festival.

Lafayette Parish legislators asked for a probe of the six-parish poverty program. And the Louisiana Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution directing the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate.

The hearing will open in the War Memorial Building here at 8 a.m. Wednesday. Sen Jesse Knowles of Lake Charles is committee chairman.

Knowles said the auditorium doors will be closed when the 100 seats inside are filled.

ANTI-POVERTY RECORDS EYED

Prv. La.

Dist. Atty. DeBlanc Subpenas Books

Times-Picayune 4-12-67

LAFAYETTE, La. (AP) — Dist. Atty. Bertrand DeBlanc Tuesday subpenaed the records of three controversial anti-poverty groups in southwest Louisiana.

The 15th Judicial District attorney said he would order an overall audit of the agencies. DeBlanc said any misconduct of financial activities will be prosecuted.

DeBlanc said he took his action on the findings made by a certified public accounting firm. He said he would use a CPA firm that has not been identified with the war on poverty.

The three agencies are Acadiana Neuf, Southern Consumers Cooperative and Southern Consumers Education Foundation.

The education foundation handles Head Start operations in five parishes, a sweet potato project, three remedial reading groups in St. Landry Parish and a credit union in Vermilion Parish.

Acadiana Neuf has been audited periodically by a firm in Lafayette and Southern Consumers engages another CPA firm.

There has been no single overall accounting of the financial transaction of the three agencies.

In a partial audit of SCEF by the New Orleans CPA firm of Marwick, Mitchell and Co., SCEF was cited with having general ledgers out of balance, questionable entries on travel expenses, and lack of final executive approval in cash disbursements.

Operations of Acadiana Neuf are being phased out by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The OEO ordered the agency to shut down for failure to give the poor a bigger voice in administration.

DeBlanc's study comes on the heels of a two-day hearing by the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee looked in the poverty programs and said it would issue a report to the legislature this May.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible]A 30303
522-8764
PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

April 24, 1967

SRC Executive Director Honored

Most of our readers will already have heard, what I foolishly neglected to mention in the last newsletter, that Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, received an honorary doctoral degree from Miles College, Birmingham, on March 17, 1967. In conferring the degree Dr. Lucius H. Pitts said:

> That element which produces man's humanity to man is far too often a heartbreaking lack. It is an event when a fresh and fervent young person emerges on our scene with the courage and energy to devote his life to what could be a society of men who know and practice mutual respect, who undertake mutual goals for the good of the whole....
>
> It is fitting that...you are the director of this great Council which has continuously contributed to the improvement of human relations in the South.... The Southern Regional Council has already prospered under your direction and will continue to develop as a force in southern life - indeed as a force for good in the nation.
>
> Thus, Paul Anthony, in recognition for all the personal sacrifices you have made to improve citizenship in the South, for your creative work in human relations, it is a deep and personal pleasure to confer upon you by the authority vested in me by the Board of Trustees of Miles College, the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters....

Notes on the Human Relations Councils

The Houston Council's Housing Committee has completed a report on the need for low-income, low-cost housing in Houston. Some members of the council are contemplating formation of a non-profit corporation to sponsor a pioneering housing project. The chairman of the housing committee, Mr. John Stewart, was recently appointed Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Housing. Other programs of the Houston Council include:

-- A series of bus tours through slum areas of the city for education of middle-class citizens. 250 persons have taken one of the five tours conducted last quarter.

-- Sponsorship of 22 VISTA workers in poverty areas of Houston.

-- The MacGregor Tutorial Program, which buses 149 children from an elementary school four afternoons each week for tutoring in math and English by education majors at the University of Houston.

-- Efforts by their new Police-Community Relations Committee to recruit Negro policemen, secure a human relations course in the police training school, and provide education about dealing with the police for minority-group citizens.

-- Continuation of their programs of neighborhood stabilization and conciliation.

The Reverend Jack Murray is Executive Director of the Houston Council.

The Arkansas Council has a new chapter at El Dorado. About 25 people regularly attend meetings. "Magnolia, Hot Springs, Camden, and Arkadelphia will soon be ready to organize local affiliates," says Elijah Coleman, Executive Director. The state council has also completed a thorough investigation of a Title VI violation in Palestine School District and has secured the promise of an investigation by the Department of H.E.W., and they have concluded an eight-week survey of public assistance administration in St. Francis and Phillips Counties. The latter survey, conducted by Howard Himmelbaum, revealed, among other things, that "too many people are afraid of the welfare workers. anticipating embarrassment and rejection, and hence do not apply for assistance. Too many are unaware of their rights and responsibilities under the existing welfare system."

The Florida Council has two other communities, Stuart and Pensacola, "well on their way" toward formation of local councils. (The formation of the Lakeland chapter was mentioned in last month's newsletter.) Preliminary work has been done in four more communities, also. August VandenBosche, Executive Director, has been instrumental

in forming a Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers which has achieved some results in migrant organization and anti-poverty programs. Organizations involved include the NAACP, Miami Diocese Human Relations Board, Florida Christian Migrant Ministry, AFSC, Citizens Committee on Agricultural Workers, Community Action Fund, IUD -- AFL-CIO, and the Florida Council on Human Relations.

The Georgia Council held six area meetings on school desegregation in the state last quarter. Representatives of 63 towns in 44 counties attended the meetings. The council has continued its work in public assistance studies and "Know Your Rights" clinics. A project to provide basic education and job training for 50 heads-of-families, including 19 who are white, in Baker County has begun as the result of some hard work by Hubert Thomas, Director of Georgia's Rural Advancement Project. The project was funded at $89,000 by the OEO.

The Mississippi Council has received, at last, a tax-exemption certificate from the Internal Revenue Service as a "non-profit educational association." They finally took that route, after trying in vain for more than two years to secure a corporation charter from the state of Mississippi. Ken Dean, Executive Director, has been very busy with the open meeting on public assistance sponsored by the Citizens' Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights on February 17-18, emergency work in Natchez following the Wharlest Jackson murder, and assistance to a number of "visiting firemen"--including Senator Clark's sub-committee on poverty. (A picture in the New York Times showed Senator Robert Kennedy, father of ten, chatting with residents outside a general store near Greenville--while bachelor Dean dandled a chubby baby in the background!)

The Virginia Council is currently without an Executive Director The Reverend Robert Combs resigned in March, after two years in that post.

Title VI and School Desegregation

Of 4,143 school districts in the South (including Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia), 39 have had federal funds terminated by the Office of Education, another 214 have been cited for hearing, 1,421 desegregation plans have been or are being reviewed, and 296 plans have been found inadequate. 209 systems are desegregating under court order.

Sometimes You Wonder...

...at the naivete of government planners whose "War on Poverty" strategy was to "mobilize the forces of the community" so that political leaders, economic powers, and poor people would work

"together" to eliminate poverty. It is becoming increasingly evident that in sections of the South where poverty is greatest the establishment not only will not cooperate in, but also tends to oppose actively, any effective effort to improve the lot of the poor.

Item: The now-famous CDGM controversy in Mississippi. At the Clark sub-committee hearing mentioned above Senator Stennis was still tossing around accusations of "throwing money away, payment of exorbitant sums for rent," a discrepancy of $500,000 in 1965 and $600,000 in 1966, etc., etc.--although the highest total of unaccounted funds ever mentioned by the OEO was around $650,000, and they were careful to say that this was not an accusation of misappropriation but an indication of poor record-keeping and that an audit might account for most of it. The audit did.

Item: The swooping of Alabama's two senators and four of its eight representatives upon the Office of Economic Opportunity to oppose funding of a $500,000 grant to the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association--at the bidding of Selma's Mayor Joe Smitherman and other Black Belt Alabama leaders. SWAFCA is a ten-county organization of low-income farmers. Their proposal was designed to enable them to purchase equipment and supplies, find assured markets, and secure necessary credit on a cooperative basis, so that they could switch from traditinnal cash crops like cotton and peanuts to vegetable growing. The need was desperate, for automation and the use of chemicals, together with some reprisal for exercising civil rights, have come to mean serious unemployment and underemployment. Within three years the cooperative could be self-sustaining. OEO's Washington and Atlanta offices had both agreed that the plan was workable--no mean achievement in itself. And they were ready to fund the organization when the powers-that-be got wind of it. Now everything is held up. And since it is planting time, a little delay is as good as a year.

Item: The Lafayette, Louisiana, Daily Advertiser conjured up the ubiquitous spectre of "communist influence" in anti-poverty programs in southwest Louisiana--and secured a two-day hearing by Louisiana's Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. About a month later, District Attorney Bertrand DeBlanc of Lafayette, who is running for re-election, sent "interrogatories" to the Southern Consumers Cooperative about the finances of their Head Start projects and other war on poverty programs. The interrogatories, which must be answered under Louisiana law, did not ask for a complete financial statement, but on the basis of the partial report he had requested, DeBlanc ordered the cooperative's books subpoenaed, promising that "any misconduct of financial activities will be prosecuted." He ordered an audit by a CPA firm of his choosing, although the OEO had just completed an audit which found everything in order. DeBlanc said he "would use a CPA firm that has not been identified with the war on poverty."

So I Reckon That...

...the mood of the "new South" is fairly well captured in a bit of doggerel attributed to an anonymous OEO worker and quoted in Paul Hemphill's column in the Atlanta Journal, April 17, 1967:

We don't rave and we don't hate,
Lord knows we don't discriminate;
Black and Tan, Snick and CORE,
We love'm all, just so they're poor.

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

File Field Activities "Memos"

PA 1-6

MEMORANDUM

May 1, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Report on Field Trip to Austin, April 28-29.

Arriving in Austin about noon on the 28th, I attended a seminar for education majors from Texas colleges and universities in which Dr. Joseph Witherspoon (Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Citywide Committee for Human Rights) was participating. After a brief tour of the Negro and Latin sections of the city we met with the board briefly, then proceeded to an interview with a newspaper reporter (see attached clipping), had dinner with Mr. Martinez and Mr. Brown (members of the Board), and then went to the open forum at which I spoke. Dr. Witherspoon and I had several talks as he was driving me from and to the airport and between all of these meetings.

Austin, like most Texas cities, has a second minority group, the "Latins," which is approximately equal in size to the Negro minority. Together the two groups are about 25 percent of the population--not only in Austin, but also throughout Texas and the Southwest. The Latins are somewhat lower than the Negroes in educational attainment, but are better off (slightly) in terms of job opportunity and income. There has been virtually no cooperation between the two minorities, each tending to accept the majority-group's prejudices with regard to groups other than their own. The development of leadership in both groups (other than the "political brokers" or pseudo-leaders who infest both), and the development of cooperation among the two and white liberals are major purposes of the CCIOHR.

In general the CCIOHR is doing, in my judgment, an unusually effective job. (See attached letter summarizing their activities.) I saw their "Human Rights Center" and watched their tutors in action--tutoring not only high school students, but helping adult drop-outs study for a high school equivalency certificate. While we were in the Board meeting Dr. Witherspoon was called upon to help a woman in the community who was having trouble with the law over an alleged bad check--and he responded. I understand that the group has the confidence of both minority communities and that calls for help of this kind are quite common.

Further, they have enlisted the help of a large number of students from the religious groups on the several campuses, as well as legal-assistance volunteers from the law school at U. of T., in which Dr. Witherspoon teaches.

I have an equally favorable impression of Dr. Witherspoon as an individual. He is personable, committed, and very able and knowledgeable. If we should succeed in securing some working relationship with the group, he might make a valuable member of the SRC Board after a couple of years.

There is a "rival" group in Austin. I do not recall its name, but it was set up as sort of an "unofficial official commission" at the request of the Mayor and city council. It is a private corporation with a governing board composed of ten "leading citizens," plus one Latin and one Negro, both of whom were "carefully" chosen--so I was told. They have a budget of $25,000, but no professional staff. They have a plush office in one of the upper floors of a bank building, and they get very few complaints because Negroes and Latins have no reason to trust them.

I would make four suggestions:

1. We should try to find at least $1,500 to $2,000 to assist this group in equipping an office and employing a secretary-administrator as soon as possible. I relayed your suggestion along this line, and the Board seemed to think it would be a good first step. Dr. Witherspoon and the others are devoting an incredible amount of time to the sort of administrative detail that could be handled by a sub-professional employee. They seemed to think that they might have no trouble finding an able woman who would like to work, perhaps, half time for little more than her expenses in maintaining her home with her working outside. I told Dr. Witherspoon that I would talk to you further about this, then write to him specifically about timing and procedure.

2. We should try to secure for publication in New South a revision or condensation of the first chapter of a book Witherspoon has written on federal administration of the civil rights laws. It is to be published in December or January by the U. of T. press. The germ of his thesis is in an article he published in the Yale Law Journal in June, 1965. His idea is that since civil rights laws are designed to correct a character-flaw of the majority, rather than that of a minority of citizens, they cannot be really enforced except by effective local effort; therefore, instead of using cumbersome, drawn-out complaint procedures or legal processes, the federal executive should concentrate on securing, financing, and regulating, as to composition and mandate, federal-local human relations commissions with adequate enforcement powers. (His book includes extensive study of the experience of

state commissions vis a vis city commissions. State commissions have worked well only where their formation was preceded by numerous local commissions which continued to function, leaving only cities with no local commission to be served by the state group. Example: Pennsylvannia.) I have spoken to Pat about this, and believe he is going to write to Witherspoon.

3. Witherspoon has been toying for some time with the idea of a statewide conference for jurists, lawyers, and law professors on civil rights and the law profession. He says that the University can successfully attract such persons to such a conference, but they would need our advice and assistance to get appropriate intergroup relations people involved. We should follow up on that idea. He tells me that the U. of T. Law School is one of the five or six top law schools in the country. I suspect that it is at least about as good as there is in the South.

4. A minor suggestion: We should at least occasionally consider the problems of Latin American ethnics in New South and other publications, if we are serious about securing a base in Texas. (Some of the same differences in problems might apply to other southern minorities, such as Cubans in Florida and Cajuns in Louisiana. Maybe an issue of New South could feature two or three articles on "the other southern minorities.")

—Black power advocates believe that white society is not capable of dealing with its historic problems.

—Whites have neither the wisdom or courage to do the right thing and must be forced to act correctly.

—Prejudice is functional, and its function is to defend certain interests, such as economic power.

—The white community will change only when given a clear choice between desegregation voluntarily or by force.

Stanfield said, "The only refutation" to the black power argument "is to permit the full exercise of the rights of minorities — before we have to."

Stanfield's organization, which he said was founded by and for Southerners and works about the same way as the Austin Citywide Committee, strives to create a dialogue between the different ethnic groups of the South. It has directed its activities toward the creation of "an open, equal, unsegregated society."

His group operates through research, education via literature, community organization and the like. It has been active in voter registration of Negroes.

While, Stanfield said, his organization has met with "high hostility" from Southern whites, especially toward those members of the Council who are themselves white, during its 23-year history, there is hope that Southern whites may be worked around to a different viewpoint.

"While the relationship between Southern whites and Negroes has not been right," he said, "it has been a relationship — if we ever find a way to nurture the spark of decency, we can make great strides."

He said there was an "awful lot of Southerners who have seen the effects" of prejudice "in Negroes they know, and somewhere, deep down, many of them are capable of being nurtured toward openness toward their fellow man."

Stanfield said the Southern

Austin American-Statesman
7/29/67

Black Power Said To Be Unrealistic

By TOM BARRY
Staff Writer

A man deeply involved in the race problems of the Deep South said Friday here that the black power concept is "not viable."

J. Edwin Stanfield, of Atlanta, Ga., field director of the Southern Regional Council, told this reporter that "black power is unrealistic."

"I'm grateful for idealists," Stanfield said, "but at this point it is not fruitful" to continue the "struggle for human dignity" in the South in terms of civil rights and protest alone.

He said, "There has to be analysis, planning and coordination of the Negro with other groups — who from time to time have common interests."

Stanfield, who is white, was in Austin to address a forum Friday night at Huston-Tillotson College's Science auditorium under the auspices of the Citywide Committee of Individuals and Organizations for Human Rights of Austin.

He said Julian Bond, a Negro legislator in Alabama, has intellectually dissected the black power movement thusly:

Regional Council has had many good results from its work.

"In many communities, the local State Councils on Human Relations in 10 Southern states (affiliated with his group) have been about the only loci of dialogue across racial lines . . . no one knows how many Negroes have been (thus) prevented from saying, 'To Hell with white people.' They know that there are at least a few whites they can talk to," Stanfield said.

He was particularly proud of the Council's voter education program from 1962 to 1963, which, he said, resulted in the registration of about 700,000 voters, mostly Negro, "before the Civil Rights Act of 1965."

Stanfield said, "If we can't live together in this country, with all the advantages we have, then God help us."

Stanfield holds an AB degree from Hampden-Sydney College and both a BD and M. Theology degree from Union Seminary in Richmond, Va., and was pastor of the Fayetteville, W. Va., Presbyterian Church for five years before joining the staff of the Southern Regional Council. He is a native of Warren, Ark.

CITYWIDE COMMITTEE of INDIVIDUALS and ORGANIZATIONS for HUMAN RIGHTS

P. O. BOX 4404 AUSTIN, TEXAS 78751

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
DR. JOSEPH WITHERSPOON
Mrs. J. M. Holloway
Mr. Calvin Lynch
Rev. J. E. Obey
Mrs. Mary Washington
Mr. Elvin W. Brown
Mr. Mack G. Martinez

5 April 1967

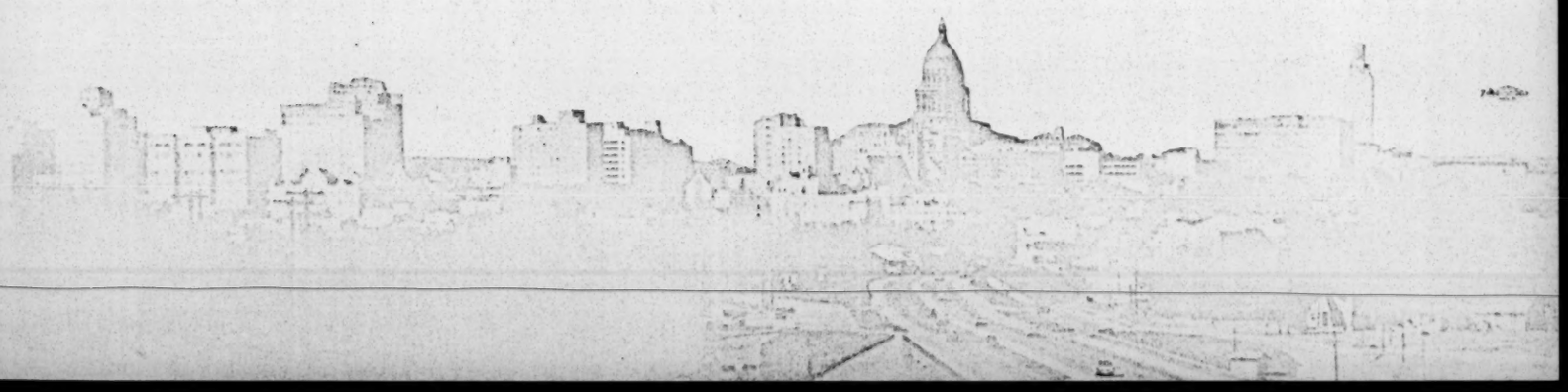
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

The purpose of this letter is to renew the contact between our organizations, to inform you of our progress during the past fifteen months, and to invite you to send a representative to meet with us in the near future if you should be so inclined.

The Austin Citywide Committee of Individuals and Organizations for Human Rights (CCIOHR) is a Texas non-profit corporation organized informally in January 1966 and incorporated the following March. It was established to promote equality of opportunity for all persons in Austin through active cooperation of Anglo, Latin, and Negro citizens, their churches, and other organizations. It is a "member" corporation consisting of some 200 persons who have signed an individual membership roll and its affairs are managed by a seven-member board of directors operating under a charter, by-laws, and state statutes.

The central idea implemented by CCIOHR has been to provide a permanent organization for involving literally every possible person and group in Austin in an effort to move the city to confront the manifold human and intergroup relations problems within it and to assemble all local resources, both human and material, for resolving these problems. We wanted to discover the techniques that would be successful in getting a city--largely asleep at the switch as most Texas cities are--to confront and to resolve these problems. We conceived of our task as a long-range one and as requiring regular day-to-day activities rather than the largely ad hoc efforts that have characterized the work of the ethnic group organizations, such as NAACP and American G. I. Forum, as well as of less well organized local groups.



We have sought to develop a new leadership in human relations matters in our city. We found that each ethnic group was substantially without such leadership. Indeed, it was clear that the Latin ethnic group was substantially lacking in any community wide leadership and that the Negro ethnic group possessed a leadership that was largely unrepresentative. We have made remarkable strides in developing the needed new leadership. On our board and committees sit many able Negroes and Latins who have not previously been in the forefront of leadership in their communities. Mrs. J. M. Holloway, for example, has long been active in sorority and church affairs. Since joining our organization, she has been elected chairman of one of our principal precincts for the Democratic Party. While we are a non-political organization, obviously our work has relevance to the community in selecting its leaders. Mr. Mack G. Martinez, another member of our board, has been active over the years in assisting the Latin community. Preferring to stay in the background he has emphasized assistance in individual situations. Recently he was responsible for registering over 1000 Latin-American voters. Reverend Obey, another member of our board, is pastor of the second largest church in the Negro community. He represents a new kind of Negro leader, one who has made his ministry relevant to the needs of the whole community. Mr. Elvin W. Brown is a successful Negro contractor who has, until the organization of CCIOHR, held himself aloof and independent of the existing Negro power structure. He has worked on CCIOHR committees and now on its board because he feels the organization offers the first substantial opportunity in Austin to accomplish something worthwhile in human relations. Mrs. Mary Washington and Mr. Calvin Lynch are able teachers in the Austin public schools. Neither had previously been involved in community leadership. CCIOHR has provided them with an opportunity to put their extraordinary leadership potential to work.

What have we done during the past fifteen months? Let me state our accomplishments in summary form:

1. We organized an effort to move the Austin city council to enact a comprehensive human relations ordinance for prohibiting discrimination in various fields and for creating a human relations commission to administer it. In the process we were able to achieve the first substantial cooperation between Negroes and Latins that has occurred in our community. Around 8,000 members of the two minority group communities signed a petition addressed to the City Council in connection with the proposed ordinance. The CCIOHR carefully drafted the ordinance and presented it in a thoroughly responsible way to the Council. Indeed, the presentation was so effective in contrast with shoddy reception it was given by the Council that many credit CCIOHR with having effectuated, along with others, a substantial change in public sentiment. This change was strikingly demonstrated by the recent election that resulted in the rejection of two of the "establishment" candidates and the election of a majority of councilmen favorable to better human relations.

2. We opened the CCIOHR Human Rights Center at 1106-B Concho Street. Through this Center we have conducted two types of programs. One of these is an educational program. There are three phases to this program. The first is a tutorial program. At the present time we have about 60 tutors tutoring 75 students, chiefly adults, for the purpose of obtaining their High School Diploma Equivalent from the State. The tutors operate on a one-to-one basis with their students and have achieved some remarkable results. Tutoring takes place in the center chiefly in the afternoon six days a week. In full operation since last September several have already obtained their Diploma and many others have passed substantial segments of the necessary tests. The second phase of our educational program is our course in Typing and Business English. This is conducted at St. Mary's Academy, a private high school, through the cooperation of the head of its commercial studies department. Approximately 36 students are enrolled in this program. We have obtained the agreement of Concordia Lutheran College to permit us to use their commerical studies department five days a week for the same purpose. In this way we will be able to take care of a waiting list of students and to be far more effective. A third phase of our educational program involves tutoring of children in the public schools. The adults in our other tutoring program asked us if we would help their children who were having difficulties with their studies. We now have about twenty-five children enrolled from the third grade through the twelfth.

3. At our CCIOHR Center we also conduct a multifaceted program of administering to the needs of individuals and families in solving their problems with government agencies and private persons, including businessmen. Many of the 300 cases we have handled have legal overtones. An example of this is the case of a Latin-American who had waited three years trying to get a new set of wooden legs so that he could work to support his family. So great has our acceptance become with the governmental agencies that we are sometimes asked, as the only private organization, to sit in on conferences of various public agencies and to make recommendations for disposition of cases. To handle this part of our program I have organized some twenty law students into case-work teams who work under my supervision. We also have a number of able older persons who are familiar with the problems of their ethnic groups. While our educational program has largely been directed toward the Negro and Latin ethnic groups, our case-work program has been directed toward all three major ethnic groups in our city. We find that we are handling a type of case that does not get handled--or at least well handled--by the OEO supported legal aid society.

4. As a by-product of both our educational and case-work programs we have found ourselves thrust into the job-finding business. The federal agencies have turned to us for this help and our people have in turn asked us to help them in this regard. The local office of the Texas Employment Commission is not, in our opinion, conducting a thoroughly "open" employment service and this creates a pressure for the service we are increasingly performing.

5. Finally, we have conducted a public forum program. This has consisted of public meetings held in churches and community centers upon matters of prime interest to members of the minority group communities. A good example was our public forum on the vicious type of conditional real estate sales contract used for over 90 per cent of real estate transactions in our city. We held our forum in a neighborhood of some 1500 familes, most of whom would be required to move as a result of an urban renewal project. Many would obtain around $6000 for their homes and in turn have to reinvest it in another home. Under the contract typically used they would pay their money so received down on a new home and receive in return no real property interest. Once they missed a payment the seller could declare a forfeiture upon the passage of a few days and keep all prior payments. In our forum we explained the other ways of buying property (warranty deed and deed of trust, etc.) and protective provisions that could be insisted upon if a buyer had to buy under a conditional sales contract. We also prepared a pamphlet in mimeographed form and distributed it widely.

6. We have also produced a CCIOHR Human Rights Review. While this is not really a separate phase of our program, it has tended to become one and perhaps should be so. It provides a form of communication that is missing in our community relative to human relations problems. I have included the last three issues of it so that you may see what we are doing through it. It also contains a listing of our committees.

Let me now turn to the prime reason for this letter. We have not turned to you prior to this time due to the fact that we felt we must prove ourselves. We had to become strong organizationally and to find able and devoted leaders as well as a membership that would support our work. We had to find out what needed to be done in our community and to develop some responses to the needs found. We feel that we have reached the point where cooperation between our organizations would be more meaningful and profitable. We believe that we have developed a model--with room for much improvement and adjustment, of course--that will likely prove successful not only in Austin but all over the state. We are now anxious to do all that is possible both to make our operation in Austin effective and to assist other communities to do what we have begun to do.

Let me give you some examples of our problems. We still operate wholly with volunteer personnel. Yet our operation has become so large that this mode of proceeding is no longer feasible. We badly need books for our tutors and students. We need an executive director. We need at least the part-time services of a lawyer. By September we anticipate that we will be handling 150 students in our tutoring program and perhaps 75 to 100 students in our Typing and Business English classes. We need someone who is skilled in raising funds on the local scene. We probably need to move to a larger place for our Center. We need office equipment and a secretary. We need someone who could spend at least part-time on the job-finding program. We feel we need to undertake a number of projects similar to our project to obtain a human relations ordinance in 1966.

I have tried to give you a picture of CCIOHR and what it is doing as well as some of its problems. It would be difficult to carry over to you the impact we have had in the community and the growing acceptance that is manifested almost daily. It would be difficult to carry over to you the uniqueness of the cooperation that is being produced through our efforts. Starting with minor ethnic group organizations as our principal supporters in 1966, we have seen these drop by the wayside as the real work we have done loomed on the horizon. Now we see organizations like the Catholic Student Center at the University with some forty students helping us as well as the Lutheran Student Center with some twenty students, the Hillel Foundation with some eight students, a new Negro Student Organization at the University with some forty students, numerous individuals drawn from each of the three ethnic groups, St. Mary's Academy, Concordia Lutheran College, professors and their wives, priests, nuns, ministers, and others.

We would very much like to have one or more representatives of your organization visit us in Austin. We would be hopeful that your representative could address one of our public forums and tell us of the work of the Southern Regional Council and what other groups like our own are doing. We would very much like to talk with your representative concerning some of our problems. We would be hopeful that your organization could see its way clear to help us solve some of our problems.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Witherspoon

Joseph P. Witherspoon
Professor of Law and member of
and acting for the CCIOHR
Board of Directors

See paperback proj

ES
MS - file

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

May 10 1967

Mr. Thomas Shade
President
Intra-City Student Council
MacArthur High School
Decatur, Illinois

Dear Mr. Shade:

First let me express my regret for our delay in responding to your letter of April 11th. Unfortunately we have been in the midst of a major reorganization of the Fund's affairs in the past few weeks as we are entering a terminal phase of our activities.

While I have not reviewed the matter direct, the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Paul Anthony, executive director, might well have an interest in the distribution of the discarded text books you mention. The Council recently participated in a project involving the distribution of paper back books to underprivileged areas - while these were not text books or "outdated" materials, there is at least a degree of relationship.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your letter and this reply to Mr. Anthony so that he may at least be acquainted with your proposal.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. Griffiths
Secretary-Treasurer

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

April 11, 1967

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you in hopes that your organization is now involved or could be involved in the distribution of textbooks to schools in needy areas of the United States, or the world.

Some months ago, our organization, the Decatur Intra-City Student Council, became concerned with the present system of the Decatur Public Schools for disposing of " outdated " textbooks. It is the present policy to burn all of the discarded books instead of giving or selling these books to individuals or organizations. This policy was instituted to insure no competition between the retailors of these texts and the school system.

To us, this method seems completely wasteful and shortsighted. For these reasons, we searched for some way to procure the books. There is a clause in the State education regulations which provides for a non-profit organization to obtain the discarded texts on the condition that this organization does not distribute these books in a manner which would in any way be competing with the retailors from whom they were purchased.

The types of texts vary from secondary course material (all kinds) to elementary books. On an average, there is usually a turnover of around 5,000texts each year, the majority of which are secondary texts.

Our purpose is to find an organization which could make use of these texts by distributing them to underpriviledged areas. But for us to obtain the textbooks from the Public School System, we must show a definite need and the arrangements for shipping.

If you are in any way interested in such an operation or know of any agency which would be, I would appreciate an immediate reply. I will be glad to answer any questions which you may have. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Thomas Shade

Thomas Shade
President,
Intra-City Student Council
MacArthur High School
Decatur, Illinois

See Field Reports Memos

PA file

M E M O R A N D U M

May 22, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Houston, May 9 and 10

I met with the Houston's Council's Board on the evening of the 9th, addressed an open meeting the following evening, and had lunch with a Mr. John Barnhart, a lawyer who is a spokesman for a small group--mostly episcopal clergymen--which has worked up a large scale community organization proposal.

The Board meeting was routine. Many were not familiar with SRC, and I had opportunity to acquaint them with our present programs. They expressed appreciation for our support and briefly discussed what they might do to encourage councils in other Texas cities. They also voted to move their office to larger and more central quarters which they had found.

The open meeting was jointly sponsored with a militant SNCC-oriented student group called "The Committee on Better Race Relations" (COBRR). It was poorly attended. Of about 35 present 20 were COBRR's who clearly had come to pay no attention to what "hunky" had to say. They did listen, however, and seemed surprised that I had reasonably accurate information about conditions in the South. (See attached newsclip.) The question and answer period was used for a series of fiery statements, including a couple of good condensations of Stokely Carmichael's recent speech in Houston and several arched hints of violence soon in Houston. One student warned that we white folks did not have much time left. Another asked, in a pointed way, about the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and stated that he was "interested in that program."

As this report is being written more than a week later, it is evident that these young people were not faking. Houston is a city with serious problems. For one thing, they have no zoning and therefore are not eligible for urban renewal and a lot of other federal programs. For another, the attitude of the chief of police is described as terrible by all reports. Further, while Charles Kelly has been running reasonably good community action programs, there is a serious effort on the part of some to capture control of all such programs by the establishment and to get it effectively out of the reach of the poor as far as policy is concerned.

The John Barnhart that I mentioned is a lawyer who, along with several clergyment, has prepared a proposal for a three-year $400,000 community organization project. It is straight Saul Alinsky, although they do not mention his name. They reason that the ghetto communities of Houston are not organized and that nothing will be effective except organization of those communities. They are savvy enough to know that the initiating group should get the thing funded, hire a professional organizer, and then get out of the picture as soon as a policy board of the target communities can be set up. Mr. Barnhart had wanted to talk to me about possible sources of financing such a project, but I am afraid that I was not able to help him very much.

Attached is a copy of the news clipping of a story that broke on the day I arrived. The housing report of the Houston Council that the clipping refers to is a major effort which is professionally done and is an unusually good piece of work.

This was the first opportunity I have had to get acquainted with any of the policy board people of the Houston Council, and I have the impression that they are a pretty good bunch. The visit confirmed my impression that the Houston Council is doing a reasonably good job. It makes me wonder if this is a mere accident, or if there might be some solid reasons for approaching the matter of human relations councils through metropolitan councils building up to, rather than down from, state councils on human relations.

See Field Activities ~~Field trip Report~~ Memos?

PA file

M E M O R A N D U M

May 22, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Dallas, May 11, 1967

This side trip was almost a loser. I had lunch with Sidney Stahl, a lawyer who is trying to get the city of Dallas to establish a municipal commission on human relations, Wilford Bailey, a methodist minister referred to me by Baxton Bryant, and a Mrs. Greene who has been doing a lot of work in impoverished communities in Dallas and is fairly well acquainted with them.

Stahl is not naive. I asked him what he though his chances of getting a commission were. He answered with a question, "Do you mean before or after the riot?" However, he does still have hopes of setting up an effective city commission on human relations and that in itself strikes me as the result of his not having quite come to terms with the realities of the situation.

Wilford Bailey, at this point, is generally inclined to defer to Stahl's efforts and wait for him to call the shots, in order not to spoil the chances of the official commission. He does see some value however in a voluntary association and he seemed relieved and even a bit optimistic when I described to him how such a councilmight be formed without a great deal of money to start with.

The only other thing I did in Dallas was have dinner with an old seminary classmate of mine who gave me his impressions of the situation in Dallas.

I suppose this trip to Dallas did little more than establish initial contact.

PA
LES
MJ - file

M E M O R A N D U M

May 22, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Nashville (Tennessee Council), May 12-13

This meeting of the TCHR Board was held on a decrepit Methodist conference ground about 20 miles from Nashville. Many, but not all, of the Board members spent the night. There was a torrential rain, everybody got muddy, the creek was up at the ford, etc. etc. You would have detested it.

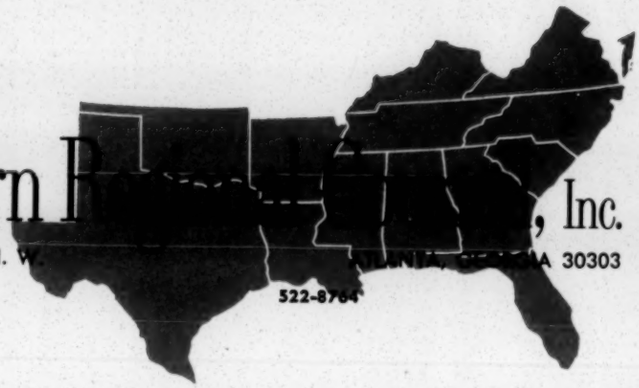
The only thing of real significance which took place was the adoption of a plan to contract with "Moran Associates, Inc." for a development program. You may recall my reporting after TCHR's annual meeting that they had adopted a budget of about $60,000, including money to employ a "Director of Development." This bothered Dr. Pollard as far as the Council's solvency is concerned, yet he recognized that Baxton's forte was program and felt that it was neither desirable nor possible to get him to work on local council development, membership and fund raising. So Pollard and some of the Board members worked out an arrangement with Rilla Moran, who has been an active Board member for a number of years, whereby, in effect, she will work to develop local councils and raise funds for one year for $10,000--including travel, office space, equipment, etc., but not extra printing and mailing. Since the Council absolutely had to have $4,200 more than they have in sight, they arranged the contract so that they get the first $4,200, Moran Associates gets the next $10,000, and the rest--if any--is the Council's. Rilla is sure she can raise at least $25,000 if the Board members cooperate in good faith (and the necessity of that was carefully pointed out). There is an elaborate schedule of payments to Rilla; and the contract can be cancelled at any time on thirty days' notice, the amount paid up to that time then being fulfillment of the contract obligation.

The biggest worry about this, to me, is the question of Baxton's getting along with Rilla Moran. The "lines of authority" are supposed to be carefully agreed upon--but I am holding my breath. Will Campbell speculated that George Barrett and B. J. Stiles might have figured it that way. They both supported the plan. Somewhat to my surprise, both are notably unhappy with Baxton's "one man show." (George Barrett, you may recall, was one of the strong supporters of Baxton cited by Les.)

Make sure Vera Wrong!

File Field Activities Newsletters

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

May 24, 1967

Houston

By chance I had been in Houston on a speaking engagement just a week before the riot on the campus of Texas Southern University on May 17. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Houston Council on Human Relations and a student organization called the Committee on Better Race Relations (COBRR--ominously pronounced "Cobra"). Students from Texas Southern made up most of the audience. They made a very responsive audience. And it was clear--crystal clear--from the tone of the "question and answer period" that the students were frustrated, angry, and fresh out of patience.

So the outbreak of rioting was not too surprising to me. From what I had been told, it was no surprise to the Houston police, either. They had made due and orthodox "preparations"--plenty of riot equipment and arrangements with the Governor to get the Texas Rangers and, if necessary, the National Guard on short notice!

All news reports told of the tragic death of a young Houston policeman during the rioting. But unless you read the New York Times, you might not know about a more subtle tragedy of that night. While searching Lanier Hall and arresting 488 students, the police beat 20 to 25 students, according to James B. Jones, Dean of Students, and systematically destroyed personal property in the dormitory. Walls and ceilings were ripped apart, ostensibly in a search for weapons. Doors were chopped open with axes or locks shot open. Reporters found blood smeared on the third floor corridor, apparently from the beatings. "The police carried out five or six as bloody as beef," said Mrs. Mattie Harbert, the Lanier house mother, although "most of the students hadn't been doing anything except hiding from the bullets." The screens of television sets were systematically broken, radios were smashed against walls. A watch on one table was smashed and clothes were torn and ripped. The house mother's flower pots were dumped on the floor. "I guess they thought I had some pistols underneath those flowers," she said.

Father W. D. Salisbury, a chaplain at the university for eight years, said there seemed to be "fury" in the minds of the police and that their actions were in "revenge." "For years we have been trying to instill within these students a respect for personal property," he said. "It took some policemen, who are supposed to represent law and order, to destroy all that we've been doing."

Of the 488 students arrested, 472 were released without charges and 16 were held for further investigation.

More to Come?

It may just be one of my moods (I hope so!), but I'm pessimistic about the prospects for civil peace this summer. Obvious cause for concern are the outbreaks in Nashville, Baton Rouge, Jackson and Houston--this early in the season and so far South. The South has heretofore been spared its share of ghetto riots, although many white southerners have difficulty discerning the difference between demonstrations and riots, and these stirrings seem to me to indicate a significant change in mood.

Moreover, and more importantly, there is a steady erosion of reasons for confidence in the resolve of the Federal government to remedy abuses. The attack of southern educators and legislators on school desegregation guidelines is meeting with success. Proposed legislation against discrimination in housing apparently does not have a prayer. The House Appropriations Committee "deeply slashed" sums sought by the Administration for the model cities and rent supplement programs, reducing a proposed $662 million for model cities to $237 million and $45 million needed for rent supplements to $15 million--only to have the House itself eliminate the rent supplement appropriation entirely! (The chairman of the sub-committee had commented that the fact that both programs were kept alive at all was "a great victory for the Administration.... We had some mighty close votes.) The appropriation for low-income housing for fiscal 1968 was cut 50% from the 1967 level. Appropriations for civil rights enforcement are being systematically cut. Meanwhile, economists estimate that the cost of the Vietnam War next year will be at least $26.9 billion, instead of the official estimate of $21.9 billion.

Among Negro teen-agers last summer unemployment stood at 27% over the nation as a whole. In the slums of the 100 largest cities it was 31% among Negro teen-age boys and 46% among Negro teen-age girls. I see little hope of improvement this summer.

It just seems to me that it will be increasingly difficult to convince these youngsters that violence will make matters worse. Like I say, I hope I'm all wrong.

Houston Council's Housing Report

Before we get entirely away from Houston a very notable piece of work by the housing committee of the Houston Council on Human Relations should be mentioned. The committee published last month a voluminous report on a thorough study of housing problems in Houston. It was produced at a cost of about $7,000, plus uncounted hours of time donated by committee members, including professional planners and housing experts.

Pointing out that slums are too costly not to abolish, the committee recommended a broad-based attack on the city's housing code and enactment of zoning laws. (Houston has no zoning laws.) The council also announced the formation of a non-profit foundation to sponsor housing for low-income families.

At present Houston is not eligible for public housing under Federal programs because of the lack of zoning. The report noted that Houston's 2340 public housing units, built when the city did qualify for Federal aid, compares with 5554 units in San Antonio, 6372 in Dallas, 12,270 in New Orleans, and 10,014 in Atlanta.

The report recommended a number of public and privately sponsored efforts to clean up the slums and provide adequate housing.

Dr. Stewart Wilbur is Chairman of the Houston Council and the Reverend John Murray is Executive Director.

Episode in Montgomery

Early on the morning of May 7 Bob Valder, Executive Director of the Alabama Council, his wife Jan, Winifred Green of the AFSC, and Allen Black of the Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. were assaulted on a Montgomery street.

They had been in a late-at-night bull session during a conference they were attending at the Jefferson Davis Hotel and had decided to go to a diner a couple of blocks away for coffee. There the integrated group became the object of comment from some white youths. When they started back to the hotel Valder and Black were jumped from behind. Both suffered knife wounds on their arms and numerous bruises. Their clothing was cut in several places, including a place in Allen Black's coat directly over his heart. The women were not harmed.

It is good to be able to report that the Montgomery police responded with haste to the calls from Jan and Winifred. Valder managed to get the license number of one of the two cars in which the assailants fled, and the owner was arrested within minutes. He was charged with assault and battery, convicted after what Valder describes as a good presentation by the prosecutor, and fined the maximum of $100. None of the others were apprehended.

May 24, 1967

On the Bright Side (Sort of)

In last month's newsletter the difficulty encountered by the Southwest Alabama Farmers' Cooperative Association in getting funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity was mentioned. The OEO came through with a grant of $399,967 on May 10, despite intense opposition from white Alabamians and their congressmen.

The grant is to help farmers from ten Black Belt counties switch from cotton to vegetable farming. It had been opposed on grounds that the leadership of the cooperative was insufficient to handle such a project and that it should include members of the State Extension Serviceand other Agriculture officials. (But, of course, if the Extension Service had been doing its job, the cooperative would not have been needed in the first place!)

Governor Lurleen Wallace has the privilege of vetoing the grant, but, if she does, the Director of the OEO can override the veto. Speculation is that she will wait until the end of the thirty days allowed for her decision, then veto the grant. By the time the veto is overridden it will be well past planting time.

SRC's Community Organization Project and the Alabama Rural Advancement Project helped to form the Cooperative Association.

Two Helpful Publications

The Shortchanged Children of Suburbia, recently published by the American Jewish Committee, tells what schools in racially and economically homogeneous neighborhoods don't teach about human differences and "what can be done about it." Written by Alice Miel and Edwin Kiester, Jr., and the result of a careful study, the book makes the point that the children of white ghettos are not really getting an adequate education for life in this inter-dependent world. You can order it at 75¢ per copy from Institute of Human Relations Press, The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022.

How to Organize a Voter Registration Campaign, a publication of the Voter Education Project of the SRC, will soon be off the press. Based on the learnings of the two Voter Education Projects we have conducted, this illustrated booklet gives the what-to-do and the how-to-do-it of voter registration. Order from the VEP, Southern Regional Council.

The Generation Gap

The human relations business gets more complicated day by day. We used to worry mostly about racial barriers. More and more we are having to worry about economic barriers. And now there is the generation barrier.

Reporting on a survey of 286 students, Grafton Publications says that 29% felt that age 30 to 32 was the dividing line between themselves and the "older generation." (Respondents were all about 20 years of age.) 20% considered age 27-29 the dividing line, and 12% put it at 24-26.

Asked what made the "older generation" different from the younger, one freshman girl gave a typical answer: "The older generation becomes materially involved. Routine sets in. Life stops being a challenge." (I recalled, at this point, another survey--reported by Pat Watters--which found that only five percent of the undergraduates in Harvard College were at all considering a career in business!)

"Enchantingly" (as Grafton Publications put it), the young folks expected to avoid the hazards of old age beyond their late twenties. "We can stay what we are," said one Radcliffe girl, "so long as we don't accept anything in life that is pre-packaged for us."

At the risk of being thought a traitor to my class, I must say that I find this New Movement exciting and hope-inspiring!

I Liked This

My secretary, Carol Lockhart, after typing the first two pages of this newsletter, thought I needed cheering up. She showed me a copy of the current issue of The New Yorker. In it was a cartoon picturing two clergymen, after worship, pondering a sparse scattering of small coins in the offering plates. Says the older to the younger, "Well, back to the old vague generalities."

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities

S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L

5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Paul Anthony, Executive Director

FIELD ACITIVITIES NEWSLETTER

June 21, 1967

Starvation in the South

We have been trying by a number of means--including memoranda already sent to a number of readers of this newsletter--to get out the word about an outrage that continues in several parts of the South. Literally thousands of people, particularly in the Delta sections of Mississippi and Arkansas and in the Black Belt, are on starvation diets. And present policies of the Department of Agriculture fail to provide relief where the need is greatest, either under the Surplus Commodities program or Food Stamp program. In fact, these programs are effective in inverse proportion to the need, because the poorest counties with the most starving people and the most oppressive local government are least willing to take steps necessary to utilize those programs.

Ken Dean, Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, wrote about this two or three months ago. His observations were confirmed by the Senate committee headed by Senator Clark after hearings in Jackson. An article by Robert Sherrill, titled "It Isn't True That Nobody Starves in America," in the June 4 issue of New York Times Magazine, reports:

> Agriculture officials concede that in the South there are 17.5 million people in poverty (nearly half the nation's total) but only two million are receiving Federal food.
>
> Of the 283 poorest counties in 15 Southern and border states, 93 counties--the home of three million people considered poor by OEO standards--have no form of food distribution whatever. In the other 190 counties live 7,100,367 poor people, but only 1,029,331 get food aid.

By the time you get this the SRC will have issued a special report on the situation, a report prepared as the result of an investigation by a delegation of medical doctors sent to six counties in Mississippi. Among them were Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chairman of our Executive Committee and Dr. Robert Coles, noted child psychiatrist. Dr. Wheeler reported, for example:

> Running noses and legs covered with indolent sores was the rule rather than the exception,--evidences of lowered resistance to disease due to malnutrition and poor hygiene. Thin arms, sunken eyes, lethargic

behaviour, and swollen bellies were everywhere to be seen. Even cursory examination of tongues, eyes, and nailbeds disclosed unmistakable evidence of anemia and vitamin deficiencies in many of the children.

Let me take this means to urge you to do one small thing. Sit down and write to The Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. State that you have seen reports of this situation and are deeply concerned about it. Inquire whether emergency policy changes can be made to get free food to the people affected.

That is a small step. But it won't cost you much. And, if enough people do it, along with other efforts being mounted, it just might get some results.

State Council Notes

The Mississippi Council has employed Mr. Hermel Johnson to work for ten weeks this summer among students at Jackson State College and with unemployed adults and high school dropouts in the surrounding neighborhood. The program was devised in response to the recent riot in the area. Following up on the work Mr. Johnson begins will be Mr. Glennis Barnes, newly appointed associate of Director Ken Dean.

Hermel Johnson has just been graduated from Jackson State. He is the outgoing president of the student body and has a scholarship to Ole Miss Law School

The Arkansas Council has secured a special grant from SRC for a six weeks project on welfare administration. Howard Himmelbaum will prepare a manual of Arkansas welfare policy and law and a series of meetings will be held in various parts of the state to guide local councils and other organizations in efforts to improve public assistance services.

The South Carolina Council has recently formed a new chapter at Florence....The SCCHR Board has approved a plan aimed at doubling the membership of the Council.

The Virginia Council has employed Frank T. Adams, Jr., as Executive Director. Mr. Adams, 33, is a native of North Carolina; has a B.A. from Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont; received his M.A. from Antioch-Putney Graduate School of Education; and has been teaching urban studies at Goddard for the past year. His experience includes truck driving, six years as a reporter for the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, service as Director of Information for Goddard College, and volunteer work with the American Friends Service Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, and in community organization in Norfolk slums.

State Council chairmen will have their annual meeting at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, July 7-8.

Helpful Publications

Higher Educational Opportunities for Southern Negroes has just been published by the Southern Education Foundation. This booklet provides a wealth of information, including lists of tutorial programs, Upward Bound Projects, special programs for talented low-income and minority students, and other aids to preparation for college. There is information on where to get assistance with college adimissions, college admissions procedures, and types of financial aid for college. A bibliography of guides to financial aid is provided. There are addresses to which to write for information about a large number of careers. The booklet even has a section on support for graduate study. Order from Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30308.

The Voter Education Project of the SRC has just published Know Your Georgia Government. This is the first of a projected series of booklets which will include one for each southern state. Designed for use in citizenship education projects of the VEP, it gives concise information on the operations and functions of all departments and agencies of the state government, the courts and jury system, and the tax structure. There are chapters on city government and county government. Order from the Southern Regional Council.

The VEP has also issued the first edition of V.E.P. News, an occasional newsletter about voter education efforts all over the South.

Books for Equal Education

Books for Equal Education (BEE) is an organization collecting and distributing used-but-usable books of all types to anyone who needs them. Begun in 1964 under the auspices of the United States Youth Council, it provides books for college libraries, VISTA projects, tutorial programs, Head Start projects, etc.

The warehouse and office are at 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313. Telephone: (404) 523-1046. (After September 8 correspondence should be addressed to BEE Director, U. S. Youth Council, 236 East 46th Street, New York, New York. 10017.)

They operate informally and have, really, only one rule: Those who donate books must provide shipment or transportation to the warehouse, and those who want books have to provide shipment from the warehouse. Some bring a truck or rental trailer. Some use commercial carriers. BEE will, if necessary, ship books by commercial trucking or parcel post.

They have stacks of books in the following catagories: good fiction, poor fiction, English, dictionaries and reference, health and hygiene, natural science, physics and math, business and economics, home economics, religion and philosophy, history and politics, social sciences, foreign languages, sub-college, children, and early school.

Southern Director is Shawn Boles and Warehouse Manager is Phil Bullard. Write to them at the above address for further details. (They even have "guidelines.")

And Now A Word From Our Sponsor

For a pause that is stimulating, sit down once each quarter and read New South. If you do not subscribe, shame on you! No kidding, folks, New South is the best for keeping current and knowledgeable ("in depth") about the changing South. Use the blank on the enclosed flyer. It will be the best $3.00 investment you ever made! If you already are a subscriber, pass along the subscription form and timely suggestion as a favor to a friend.

On The Romantic Side

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Dean have just returned to Mississippi from their honeymoon in Newfoundland. Following is the text of a communication we received from Corner Brook, Newfoundland, Canada:

> It's cold and wet up here on this 600 mile long rock! Strictly for the Eskimos. Have been having a pretty good trip, tho. Have seen 28 moose, 3 herds of goats, 14 jack rabbits, 2 Russian ships, a bunch of wild horses, 1 nun and 3 priests and 2 native Newfoundland dogs. See you soon. Ken.

Well, I guess that beats a lot of the things he sees in Mississippi!

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

July 20, 1967

About the Hungry Children

Much has happened since this time last month, when the plight of starving people in the Black Belt was mentioned in the newsletter. SRC's "Special Report" by six doctors was issued on June 23. It received wide coverage by the news media; some papers sent reporters into Mississippi and other parts of the South to verify the report. The Department of Agriculture cut from $2.00 to $.50 the minimum cost of food stamps in Mississippi and issued a flurry of defensive news releases, giving figures to show percentage increases in the number of participants in their food distribution programs over the past ten years. Predictable denials have come from the Mississippi press--including one editorial comment about the reported diet of cornbread and molasses, some beans, and little else: "of course... that is what they like."

The testimony of the six doctors before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty on July 11 was one of the more promising developments. Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chairman of SRC's Executive Committee, testified that the situation was "not only a medical emergency, but a national disaster." Senators Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi were there and, picking Dr. Wheeler as spokesman for the group, tried to discredit him and the other doctors. All of this the television networks reported. But they missed, for the most part, the moving statement Dr. Wheeler made toward the end of the day, a statement he had hastily hand-written. He spoke of how he had "watched the southern black man and white man walk their separate ways distrusting each other, separated by false and ridiculous barriers--doomed to a way of life tragically less than they desire...." And he added, in part:

> And through all of that dreadful pageant of ignorance and suspicion and mutual distrust, the most distressing figure of all has been the southern political leader who has exploited all of our human weaknesses for his own personal and selfish gain--refusing to grant us the

> dignity and the capability of responding to noble and courageous leadership--when all of us had nothing to lose but the misery and desolation which surrounds our lives.

Houston Councils Sends Caravan to Belzoni

According to Jack Murray, their Executive Director, the Houston Council on Human Relations will send a caravan of fifty automobiles to Belzoni, Mississippi, on Saturday, July 22, in response to the furor about the children's condition. Each auto will be loaded with foodstuffs, clothing, and vitamins. The council is appealing to food wholesalers and drug wholesalers for supplies, and they are taking cash donations from individuals to by vitamins. Murray says that, in addition to whatever temporary relief the supplies might give, the Houston Council looks upon the caravan as a way of dramatizing the issue and keeping it before the nation. He suggests that other councils and allied organizations might want to do something similar on successive weekends.

Sick, Hungry Children in Florida, Too

It seems to me that some of those caravans might well be sent to other parts of the South. To tell the truth, we are a little afraid that people will get the idea that its "only" Mississippi. It's not. For instance Augie VandenBosche, Executive Director of the Florida Council, has testified to the Rural Development Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture that the annual wage of a migrant farm worker in Florida is between $698 and $1,379, according to the Department of Agriculture. (It averages $1,055, according to the Social Security records.) VandenBosche continued:

> Farm workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 96% of them under 5 years suffer from diarrhea.

New State Council Personnel

The Alabama Council has employed William Henry Harrison of Yantley, Alabama, As Associate Director. Mr. Harrison attended the public schools of Choctaw County, Alabama, and earned his B.S. degree at Alabama State College. He has done graduate study at Alabama A. & M. College. A school teacher for thirteen years (social studies), he has a lengthy record of activity in community affairs and organizations.

The Florida Council has also employed an Associate Director, William H. Miles. Mr. Miles began his work with the FCHR on July 10. A native Floridian, he grew up in Jacksonville and West Palm Beach and attended Florida Normal Memorial College in St. Augustine. He has been a policeman in Miami, a recreation director with Miami's welfare department, and house parent in a Dade County juvenile home. He too has a long history of involvement in civil rights and human relations organizations and programs.

Random Notes from Quarterly Reports

...The Arkansas Council has two new chapters--in Wynne and Forrest City--and is hard at work on one in Camden.

...Three local affiliates of the Tennessee Council are concentrating on housing problems. The Nashville chapter is setting up a clearing house for persons wishing to buy, sell or rent on a non-discriminatory basis. The Memphis Council is just getting to work on residential housing integration. The Chattanooga chapter has a reservation for 100 units of 221d3 rent-supplement housing and is in the process of site selection.

...The East Alabama chapter of the Alabama Council has recently formed a credit union, with membership in the ACHR as the required "common bond," and has received its credit union charter. This is an interesting idea which enables some council members who are fortunate enough to have a small "nest egg" to put it to better use than just drawing any old kind of interest--and at the same time provides a much needed service to folks who otherwise might get into the clutches of loan sharks....The Huntsville chapter, for about the third year in a row, has had house-to-house visitation to get "freedom of choice" school transfers. About 60 people helped do the work, and they got 673 requests for transfers!

...The Mississippi Council has begun its summer program in the Jackson State College area. The Executive Director, Ken Dean, has been doing a survey on the Medicare program in Mississippi and has helped with another on discrimination in public parks and swimming pools. He has also been introducing poor people to a lot of reporters. A statewide meeting on poverty is planned for August 5.

...On June 18, the Chatham chapter of the Georgia Council sponsored a "Community Service of Prayer for Racial Harmony." There was a special worship service, and the Mayor proclaimed the 18th a day of prayer. The response of the community was generally positive. (For copies of the "Order of Worship," including unison prayers and litanies used, write the Georgia Council, 52 Fairlie Street, Atlanta.)

...The Louisiana Council has a new, growing, and active local affiliate at Franklin. The LCHR, a newly-staffed state council, has over 400 members now.

...The Houston Council has placed 20 VISTA volunteers throughout the city. Mr. William Ainley, a Peace Corps veteran (Uganda) and graduate student at Rice University, has been employed as VISTA supervisor....Some time ago the Houston Council purchased the motion picture film, "A Time for Burning." It continues to be widely shown and discussed throughout the state of Texas. (It was even shown once in Mississippi.)

Worried About Extremist Organizations?

Through the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials we heard about a new organization called "Institute for American Democracy." It aims to help make democracy work by keeping a watchful eye on extremists of both right and left. The IAD has published a pamphlet, How to Combat Air Pollution, which explains how to make use of FCC's Fairness Doctrine when legitimate groups or organizations are attacked by extremists. "This," quote the NAIRO newsletter, "may be of special interest to intergroup relations agencies in the South and rural areas." So, if you are getting a lot of "nut" programs over your radio, you might want to order this pamphlet. ($1.00 per copy. I.A.D., 1330 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.)

Sort of interesting to me was the IAD's run-down on extremist groups of the left and the right in a recent newsletter. The right-wing groups are far more numerous, far larger, and far, far richer. For example, the largest left-wing group in the U.S. is the Communist Party, USA,--according to the IAD--and their membership is about 12,000 and estimated income $148,000. The largest right-wing group is the John Birch Society with a membership of about 80,000 and an estimated 1965 income of $4,089,000. The "20th Century Reformation Hour" (Carl McIntire's program) has 625 radio outlets and an income of $3,040,000, according to IAD.

"Police Rudeness"

The Atlanta Constitution's Dick Hebert ought to get some sort of award for his editorial in the July 13 editions. After the Dixie Hills riots, during which he had observed Atlanta's police at work, Hebert wrote that though he was often with police at such scenes, he had never seen proof of outright brutality. "What I have seen is more subtle, harder to fight in court," he said. He went on to suggest the term police rudeness, pointing out that "rudeness," according to the dictionary includes "the desire to wound."

He had heard policemen call a Negro "boy." He had seen a policeman refuse to step aside to let a Negro pass. He had seen Negroes shouldered aside needlessly. No court would call these "brutality," he suggested, but enough of such rudeness can have the same effect as brutality.

Atlanta knows it must meet the slum tragedy head-on if it is to silence the angry. It must provide opportunity for jobs, housing, education. More immediately it must see to it that those with authority in their hands recognize that Negroes are due their rights, including the same personal dignity all men seek, and that Negroes, too, are innocent until proven guilty.

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] [illegible]IA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 29, 1967

About the Riots

All hell has broken loose since our last newsletter, and it would seem awkward to begin this one without taking note of the riots. We can hope that it is about all over for this season, except for the analyzing--some of which turns out to be almost as agonizing as the riots themselves. In fact, on the assumption that nearly everything that can be said has been said, what I would like to do is comment on a couple of the commentaries.

One was an observation by Mr. Herbert Bienstock of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in connection with a report of the Bureau on unemployment and under-employment in the slums of the nation's cities. "The South sowed the wind," he said, "and the northern and western cities of greatest Negro population are reaping the whirlwind of never-ending joblessness and despair." He was thinking, of course of the "wind" of inadequate education and training, the lack of opportunity and therefore of motivation with which the South has burdened its Negro citizens before they migrated to those cities. On the other hand, a recently-published study of the Watts riot of 1965 found that a preponderance of the rioters and looters were not recent arrivals, but people who had been in Los Angeles for a long time--and had found the nation's promises fulfilled no better there than in the South. So let's face it: it is a national problem, and no city or region has "escaped" the riots, least of all the South.

Then, I find illuminating the insight of Frederick J. Hacker, a white University of Southern California psychiatrist. "What must be understood by the rest of America," he said, "is that, for the lower class Negro, riots are not criminal, but a legitimate weapon in a morally justified civil war." In other words, what appears to us insiders to be criminal irresponsibility appears to some Negro slum dwellers (I wish Hacker and a lot of others would learn to speak of "some Negroes" instead of "the Negro") as a highly responsible and moral rebellion against an immoral and irresponsible and chronically oppressive society.

Finally, there was the finding, not surprising, of both the Louis Harris and Gallup polls that white Americans are growing less sympathetic and more prejudiced. "The whites concern about the black man has been quickened," reported NEWSWEEK, "but it seems vitally lacking in affection. Fear and resentment have apparently displaced their weight in sympathy, and the white man's endorsement of massive aid to the ghettos may seem to him an imperative more pragmatic than moral."

> In a list of standard indexes of white prejudice toward non-whites, nearly every familiar stereotype of the Negro finds greater acceptance by white majorities than it did last year. Thus, 70 percent of the whites agree that 'Negroes have less ambition than white people,' against 65 percent who thought this way in 1966; 47 percent agree, 'Negroes keep untidy homes,' against 39 percent a year ago, and 58 percent accept a flat statement that 'Negroes have looser morals,' compared with 50 percent last year. The trend was the same on assertions that Negroes 'laugh a lot,' 'have less native intelligence,' 'want to live off the hand-out.'

What all of this means to me is that if, as I keep arguing, the special task of private human relations agencies like ours is enlightenment of the white majority, our job has been made bigger and more difficult even while the time available for doing it has been foreshortened.

The "Urban Coalition"

That impression was further strengthened by a sidelight on the Emergency Convocation of The Urban Coalition, held in Washington on August 24. The Urban Coalition is made up of prominent municipal officials, captains of industry, and civil rights leaders. The Emergency Convocation brought together 1000 such leaders to further the Coalition's goals, which are: (1) an emergency work program to provide job training and employment for the urban poor, (2) a major expansion of the private sector's efforts to train and provide jobs for the hard-core unemployed; (3) a long-range program for the physical and social reconstruction of American cities. The Coalition's steering committee includes men like Mayor Lindsay of New York, Mayor Allen of Atlanta, Henry Ford II, George Meany, I. W. Abel, civil rights leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, and John Wheeler, president of the Southern Regional Council. Co-chairmen are Andrew Heiskell of General Electric and A. Philip Randolph.

After adopting a very fine statement in which these people and hundreds similar to them committed themselves to the goals mentioned, a delegation went up Capitol Hill to talk to congressional and administration leaders about it. They were graciously received by

the Speaker of the House, who listed the administration's present legislative goals and asked for their support. But, according to published reports, the response of both Capitol Hill and the White House was notably lacking in a sense of urgency or imagination; the Emergency Convocation galaxy was just another meeting.

Which means that, if anyone around still thinks there is no need for private initiative and voluntary associations like human relations councils now that we have all of those civil rights laws,--he has another think coming!

South Carolina Council Chooses New Director

Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, is retiring. She has been Director of the SSCHR since it was first formed, and it goes without saying that the Council and all of us who have worked with her are deeply indebted for the person she has been and the work she has done for so long.

Her successor, beginning September 1, will be The Reverend Paul W. Matthias, who comes to South Carolina from his pastorate in the Cashiers Methodist Church, Cashiers, North Carolina. Paul is twenty-nine years old, married, and the father of three small boys. He received his B.A. from Duke University in 1960 and his S.T.B. degree from Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D. C.

The Department of Good Ideas

While the council presidents were meeting in July, Dr. Stewart Wilber of the Houston Council on Human Relations suggested that the SRC promote gift subscriptions to NEW SOUTH. Commenting about the high quality of the magazine in its quarterly format, he said this would provide human relations council members with a way of putting the most thoughtful literature on the subject in the hands of friends who maybe have not seen the light--or at least haven't become accustomed to it. It would also be a good project for local councils to give annual subscriptions to public libraries, school libraries, church libraries, etc.

We rather liked that idea. Accordingly, there is a gift-subscription form with each copy of the Summer issue of NEW SOUTH, which is just off the press. In addition to all four 1968 issues, your gift-recipients will get a copy of the Fall, 1967 issue along with a gift subscription certificate in your name. Thus, you give five issues for the price of four ($3.00).

This is an opportunity to take the easy way out on your gift list for Christmas, Hannukkah, or birthdays without feeling guilty! It's for a good cause.

People who do not have a gift-subscription form may just send their lists of names, addresses and ZIP numbers along with a check in the appropriate amount. They should include themselves on the list, of course, since, if they don't have a subscription blank--they aren't getting NEW SOUTH.

And a "MUST" Book

Pat Watters, SRC's Director of Information, and Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal, are the authors of a book to be published November 7, 1967, by Harcourt, Brace and World. The title is CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER--THE ARRIVAL OF NEGROES IN SOUTHERN POLITICS. Leslie W. Dunbar, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and now Executive Director of the Field Foundation, writes in the Introduction:

> A history of the struggle of Southern Negroes to gain dignity and the ballot in the 1960's, this vivid book brings intimacy and depth to its subject by drawing on the Southern Regional Council's field report files of the two Voter Education Projects. Excerpts from these reports show what it is like to be up against sheriffs, Klansmen, and artfully dodging public officials in hundreds of Black Belt towns; how Civil Rights professionals and idealistic students met the unlettered people of the cotton-field shanties; and how Negro communities, hitherto passive and numb, found the courage to demand the vote.
>
> There is analysis of the meaning of the new vote...the continuing power of White Supremacists, of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and CORE and their differing senses of necessity, the emergence of "Black Power" and the problems it poses for the traditional alliance between white Liberals and Negro activists.
>
> CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER is not just for the South, or for Watts, Chicago, Newark, Harlem, or Detroit, but for all America.

The price will be $8.95. Pre-publication orders may be sent to Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Dates of the SRC Annual Meeting

Dates of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, originally set for November 8, 9, and 10, have been changed to November 1, 2, and 3. There has been some confusion about this, so the change should be noted--especially by state council directors and chairmen, who will be invited guests. As usual, the meeting will be held in Atlanta.

August 29, 1967

About That Wicked Federal Money

Citizens of Georgia were shocked last week when Governor Lester Maddox, who is normally a bit on the puritanical side, said that he was sorry there appeared to be no legal way to provide state money for private schools and that if the federal government keeps jeopardizing public education in Georgia with all of that school integration business, they should be told to "take their money and...and...ram it."

I just hope he doesn't ram it too far. The Tax Foundation reports that only seventeen states now pay the federal government more money than their own states get in return to finance aid programs. Georgia citizens pay the feds only 72 cents for every dollar they get in return, while folks in New Jersey pay $1.83 and, in New York, $1.40 for each dollar they receive. I should think the Governor would be grateful for such timely succors.

Mississippians pay 45 cents for a federal dollar, by the way, and most of the southern states follow the example. South Carolina pays 81 cents; Louisiana, 51 cents; Kentucky, 57 cents; West Virginia, 46 cents. And so it goes.

And Finally (I hope)

I absolutely promise not to clutter this newsletter with personal notes, which I realize most readers would find boring. However, I do like to conclude these things a little on the light side, and this time the joke is on me. Joyce and I are the proud and deliriously happy parents of twin boys, born Sunday, August 27, and doing nicely, thank you.

Bill Roberts, who is working with us on temporary assignment, is also newly the father of a son, born August 31 (for obvious reasons, I am finishing this thing three days after I started it!). And, Mrs. Carol Lockhart, Secretary to the Field Activities Department is "on deck."

What population explosion?

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

October 27, 1967

SRC Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta on November 1, 2, and 3. Highlight of the meeting will be an address by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark at the Annual Banquet on Thursday evening. Dr. Clark, a noted sociologist, is now President of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York. Before taking that position he was Research Director at the Northside Center for Child Development.

State council affairs will be an important part of the program this year. The dinner on Wednesday, November 1, will be devoted to state councils. The chairman and executive director of each council have been invited to the meeting as guests of SRC.

Personnel Changes

Weldon J. Rougeau has been appointed field director of SRC's Voter Education Project. He began work on September 1. Mr. Rougeau was born in Tyrone, near Lake Charles, Louisiana. He holds a B.S. degree in sociology from Loyola University, Chicago. As an undergraduate at Southern University, Baton Rouge, he was active in the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. He was arrested and jailed for 58 days in 1962 because of his participation in the sit-in movement. He subsequently worked for two years as a field secretary for CORE, doing voter registration work in Louisiana and Florida. Mr. Rougeau is married and the father of two children.

John Lewis has been named director of SRC's Community Organization Project. Mr. Lewis is well known as the National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from 1963 until 1966. He was an organizer of the Nashville Student Movement in 1960 and was

one of the original Freedom Riders in 1961. Mr. Lewis, who is single, was born in Troy, Alabama, and attended public schools there. He holds B.A. degrees in Religion from American Baptist Theological Seminary and in philosophy from Fisk University.

Frances Pauley resigned September 30 as executive director of the Georgia Council. Al Henry, assistant director, resigned at the same time. John McCown has been named to succeed Mrs. Pauley as executive director of the Council. Mr. McCown attended California Western University. His experience includes work as a community organizer with the Chatham County (Savannah), Georgia, Community Action Agency, voter education work in Alabama for SCLC, community organization in Hancock, Talliaferro, and Lincoln counties (Georgia) with the Southern Rural Action Project, and similar work in a seven county area for ACTION, Inc.

Isaac Richmond, who has worked in rural West Tennessee for the past year as an assistant to the director of the Tennessee Council, has resigned. Mr. Richmond will direct a training program for community leaders at Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina. Harry and Jerry Wiersema have also resigned from the Tennessee Council staff. Mr. Wiersema has been employed by the Memphis office of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Staff Retreat at Gatlinburg

A joint retreat for the staffs of the Southern Regional Council and the councils on human relations was held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, September 5-8. Although we have frequent meetings for the executive directors of the state councils, this was the first time, to our knowledge, that all professional staff of both the human relations councils and the SRC were brought together for an extended period of discussion and planning.

Lest anyone get the wrong idea, let me pass along the comment of one of the state council directors. "If those three days were a retreat," he said, "I'd hate to put in three full days of work!"

The retreat was part of a process, still going on, of thinking through the program-roles and relations among the agencies concerned. This proved to be a fascinating exercise in group dynamics. That means we argued fiercely en route to some genuine clarity and understanding. The concensus seems to be that it was a very valuable meeting.

Human Relations Councils Show Steady Growth

Statistics do not tell the whole story -- fortunately, I reckon -- but the figures we have compiled about the human relations councils, in preparation for the Annual Meeting, indicate a steady growth over the past year.

Total membership in the state councils is about 13,500, compared to about 12,00 last year. There are 123 local councils, or chapters, where there were 109 last year. Funds raised from local sources came to about $135,000, which compares to about $120,000 in 1966.

I can't spill the beans as to who won the George Mitchell Award, but the three outstanding performances in membership growth were turned in by the Houston Council, Louisiana Council, and Florida Council. The Houston Council is tops in local funding, with about $32,000 in contributions from its membership and local businesses, and that figure excludes a $7,000 project grant from a Houston foundation.

Local Council News Wanted

We are interested in what local councils are doing and would welcome reports of any successful efforts, new undertakings, or fresh ideas. We pick up some news of this kind at various meetings and through state council reports, but I am sure that other worthwhile endeavors go unnoticed. Since this newsletter goes to a lot of local council folks, it can serve as an idea exchange. Let us know what goes on in your council.

For Instance

Mr. J. E. Shelley of the Greater Jacksonville (Florida) Human Relations Council writes, "We are trying the protest resolution method where it may apply." He sent copies of two such resolutions, one objecting to the Duvall County Board of Public Instruction's use of tax funds in legal maneuvers to avoid school desegregation, the other protesting support of segregated social service agencies by the United Fund. He reports, "We've had success on both of the attached -- 50% on the school board and 100% on United Fund."

A Helpful Publication

Those interested in low-cost housing should know about Mission Through Housing--Guidelines/Case Studies/Resources. Designed primarily for use by church judicatories or congregations, it would be valuable to any group working on housing problems. Among other things, it includes a summary of appropriate sections of the National Housing Act and six case studies of low-cost housing projects. Among the appendices are "F.H.A. Evaluation of Nonprofit Sponsors," "Outline of Basic Procedural Steps in F.H.A. Multifamily Processing," a list of

Urban America Publications, a technical bibliography, and a general bibliography on housing, urban life, and city planning. Order at 50¢ per copy from Office of Church and Housing, Board of National Missions, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Room 1151, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027. (Checks should be made payable to Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.)

Welfare Myths

If you have my kind of luck, sometime in the next month or two you will hear somebody who should know better repeat one or more of several popular myths about welfare and welfare recipients. Maybe you would like to file away, in your head or your shirt drawer, this list of widespread myths and appropriate factual information. The list originated with the Council of Churches of Christ of Greater Cleveland.

Myth 1. Most people on relief could earn their living if they had more initiative. Fact: More than 90% of the people dependent on public assistance are unemployable, 60% are children under the working age.

Myth 2. A family can live comfortably on a welfare budget. Fact: For most clients the inadequacy in cash payments results in deficient diet, insufficient clothing and substandard housing. These payments average 73¢ a day per person, excluding rent. (Could you raise your child on 75¢ a day?)

Myth 3. Many people prefer welfare as an easy way of life without work. Fact: When low-skilled jobs are plentiful the number of employable welfare recipients goes all the way down. More than 30% of all ADC mothers in the U.S. go to work on low-paying jobs (full and part time) despite the fact that this income is deducted from their welfare checks.

Myth 4. Employable relief clients could find jobs if they really wanted to work. Fact: Department of Labor statistics indicate a steady decline in low skilled job opportunities. While the demand for professional and skilled labor cannot be filled, there are more unskilled job seekers than there are jobs available for them.

Myth 5. There are many people receiving public assistance who have other sources of income and therefore are guilty of fraud. Fact: The Department of HEW indicates that of 37,000 families on public assistance, 5% were ineligible and 95% were eligible. Fact: The majority of welfare clients nationally are not receiving the full dollar benefits to which they are legally entitled. In addition thousands of people who are entitled to public assistance do not know their rights. Fact: While studies estimate suspected fraud in welfare between 3% and 16%, compare this to Internal Revenue fraud as reported by independent economics researchers to Congress in 1959, where the percentage of unreported income ranged from 3% to 34%.

Myth 6. If relief payments are kept very low it will compel clients to seek jobs and other means of support. Fact: As noted earlier, over 90% of the people on relief are unemployable and have no other means of support. Rehabilitation, education, and job training become virtually impossible when people are kept at (or below) subsistence levels.

Myth 7. The majority of children on ADC are illegitimate. Fact: Over 75% of all children on ADC are not illegitimate children. Thus although illegitimate children are more likely to be needy, they do make up a minority of the children aided by this program.

Myth 8. Most of the illegitimate children born in the United States are supported by public assistance. Fact: Only 1 in 5 of all reported illegitimate children in the nation receives public assistance.

Myth 9. Welfare mothers bear illegitimate children to boost their welfare checks. Fact: Payments for additional children average about $15.00 a month. Thus other members of the family are even more deprived with addition of another family member.

Toward Better Human Relations

One of the best bits of advice about good human relations that I have heard of lately is reported by a member of the SRC staff to be on a plaque in the kitchen of an SRC Board member. Titled NOBODY IS PERFECT, it reads, "Each of us is a mixture of good qualities and some perhaps not-so-good qualities. In considering our fellow man we should remember his good qualities and realize that his faults only prove that he is, after all, a human being. We should refrain from making harsh judgment of a person just because he happens to be a dirty, rotten, no-good son-of-a-bitch!"

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible]A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

November 22, 1967

SRC's Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on November 1, 2, and 3. Among important items on the agenda were:

Discussions of the Voter Education Project and of the state councils on human relations. It was proposed that the VEP concentrate relatively more on leadership development. Examples are workshops held recently for Negro state legislators and Negro city and county officials in the South. The report of a special committee on SRC-state councils relations called for increased program aid and decreasing support of general operations of state councils. It also called for greater coordination of SRC field programs with state council endeavors. The Executive Committee of the SRC will rule on these matters at a meeting early in December.

The "State Councils Dinner." The George Mitchell Award for outstanding membership increase was awarded to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations at a dinner on the evening of November 1. The award, consisting of a certificate and $1,000, was presented by James M. Dabbs and accepted by Mrs. Patricia Miller, Executive Director of the Louisiana Council.

The Annual Banquet. The outstanding feature of the meeting was an address by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a noted sociologist and director of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York, at the annual banquet. It was a controversial speech and, no doubt, will be discussed for some time to come. You will want to read the text, soon to be published by the SRC. I shall only whet your appetite with a few quotations here.

Dr. Clark began by saying that "the destiny of the enslaved and disadvantaged Negro determines the destiny of the nation."

> The fundamental fact around which all questions of national survival pivot is the fact of inherent interrelatedness--or integration, if you please--in spite of the persistent demands and attempts to impose recial separatism. The problems of the American Negro are problems of America....The Negro need not yearn to be assimilated into American culture--he is and determines American culture.

White Americans, Dr. Clark suggested, have inferiority feelings--despite their affluence--growing out of the actually inferior position of their ancestors in Europe. "The gnawing doubts of white Americans as to their status and worth as human beings" lie behind both the racism and the democratic creed and ideals of Americans. That self-doubt is shared by black Americans, for obvious reasons. They have a tendency to share the racism and the democratic ideals, which "are not psychologically contradictory."

> A critical danger...is that whereas the promises of racial progress were reversed in the 19th century by the fanaticism, irrationality and cruel strength of white segregationists--the impending racial retrogression of today might come about largely through self-hatred leading to the fanaticism, dogmatism, rigidity and self-destructive cruelty of black separatists. If this comes about it will not be enough to excuse this monstrous perpetuation of the lie of racism and postponement of the goals of democracy and humanity by asserting that the frustrations and betterness of the victimized Negro account for his present irrationality and rigidity. A similar and equally valid psychological explanation could be offered to explain the racial cruelties of desperate and miserable poor whites of the past and present. Understanding is not acceptance.

In the first reconstruction rational whites were intimidated into silence in the face of the barbarities of white extremists. "A similar threat and dilemma face the rational, thoughtful Negro today, Dr. Clark said.

> "Black Power" is a bitter retreat from the possibility of the attainment of the goals of any serious racial integration in America...
>
> It is an attempt to make a verbal virtue of involuntary racial segregation...
>
> It is the sour grapes phenomenon on the American racial scene...
>
> "Black Power" is the contemporary form of the Booker T. Washington accommodation to white America's resistance to making democracy real for Negro Americans. While Booker T. made his adjustment to and acceptance of white racism under the guise of conserv-

> atism, many if not all of the "Black Power" advocates are seeking to sell the same shoddy moral product disguised in the gaudy package of racial militance.

Rational people of both races must deal effectively, and together, with the problems of "criminally inefficient and racially segregated public schools," "dehumanizingly poor housing," employment discrimination, police practices, and slum filth, if they are not to be cowed once again into acceptance of separatism. Dr. Clark concluded:

> The present dilemma of the Negro is focused for the trained Negro intellectual. He must now choose sides. He must now clarify the nature of the enemy. He must dare to say that the enemy was never to be understood in terms of color...but in the more difficult and abstract terms of human irrationality, ignorance, superstition, rigidity and arbitrary cruelty.
>
> These are the common enemies which underly all forms of tyranny--racism, authoritarianism, McCarthyism...
>
> They are no less enemies when being sold or offered as truth or salvation by blacks, yellows, or whites...
>
> If Negroes and whites who understand this can make it clear, we can help to save America. We will use the power of disciplined intelligence combined with respect for moral values and humanity to save Negroes from the destructive possibilities of white and black dilemmas and thereby contribute to the survival of America... For America cannot survive if Negroes do not... And Negroes and no other group of human beings are likely to survive if America does not.

<u>Speaking of Speeches...</u>

I wonder if there is any basic disagreement between what Dr. Clark was saying and what Mr. Saul Friedman said at the eighth annual dinner meeting of the Houston Council on Human Relations. Mr. Friedman, formerly a reporter for one of the Houston papers (he was "eased out"), addressed some 450 people who attended. Speaking of white liberals in the struggle for human rights, he said, in part:

> As wild as it now seems to be, the drive for black consciousness and black power along with the established civil rights organizations, will sustain its effort to keep the leadership of the reform movement for some time to come. There is every possibility that this movement will border on the revolutionary and force us to face some very fundamental questions. In the process, white liberal leaders will lose their black constituencies, such as they are, and perhaps even their titular roles in the struggle for change. White liberals will thus

have to be satisfied to civilize their white brethern instead of their Negro brethren.

And Speaking of Books (Not That Anybody Was)

The above puts me in mind of a passage in The Autobiography of Malcolm X, which, I am chagrined to admit, I just recently got around to reading. Only shortly before he was assassinated, Malcolm X, too began to realize that America's racism was a symptom of something other than difference in color. He finally recognized that there were "sincere whites," and he had something to say to them:

> I have these very deep feelings that white people who want to join black organizations are really just taking the escapist way to salve their consciences. By visibly hovering near us, they are "proving" that they are "with us." But the hard truth is this isn't helping to solve America's racist problem. The Negroes aren't the racists. Where the really sincere white people have got to do their "proving" of themselves is not among the black victims, but out on the battle lines of where America's racism really is--and that's in their own home communities; America's racism is among their own fellow whites. That's where the sincere whites who really mean to accomplish something have got to work.

Incidentally, having at last read that book, like a reformed smoker I am now recommending the step to everyone. The man had a genius for telling expressions. For instance, "'Conservatism' in America's politics means 'Let's keep the niggers in their place.' And 'liberalism' means 'Let's keep the knee-grows in their place...'"

He was something of a prophet.

Notes on the State Councils

Paul Matthias and L. S. James of the South Carolina Council, along with former director Alice Spearman, are among a biracial group quietly working, with Governor McNair's blessing, to create state and local task forces "to study the racial situation with a view to prevention of violent racial outbreaks and promoting community uplift programs among the diverse social and economic classifications in the state."

"Of 7,700 books on the approved textbook and library list of the state of Georgia, only 24 are by or about Negroes." That's a fact gleaned from a conference on discrimination in school and library books, co-sponsored by the Georgia Council and the school of library science of Atlanta University on November 10 and 11. Historian John Hope Franklin gave the keynote address. The second day was given to hard-working sessions on criteria for judging materials, titles recommended, titles not recommended, and new types of materials needed.

It was an excellent conference, well attended by librarians, teachers and other educators.

Prep School Scholarships

A Better Chance/Independent School Talent Search (ABC/ISTS) is an organization which helps academically talented students from low income families gain admission to independent schools with scholarship aid. There are approximately 110 independent boarding schools in the ABC Program. Most of them are in the Northeastern part of the United States -- New England, New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania. The costs of attending these schools are very high. Full scholarships are available to a limited number of students. The scholarships cover the cost of tuition, room, meals, books, and transportation. The student's family is expected to help pay his personal expenses.

Those who are awarded a scholarship to an independent school must successfully complete an ABC Summer Program during the summer before enrollment. Held at several college campuses, the Summer Programs provide students with a sample of independent school life and offer intensive courses in English and Math. Most of the cost of this program, too, can be paid by the ABC/ISTS.

For further information, write to Independent School Talent Search, 376 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

Encounter at the Magnolia Ballroom

After John Hope Franklin's keynote address at the books conference mentioned above, I decided to drop by the Magnolia Ballroom here in Atlanta for a performance of "Back to Black," presented by SNCC. I was a little late and missed most of the play, but clearly it reminded the mostly-black audience of the rich heritage that it theirs and of the tremendous power of the world's black majority.

There was a social hour or two afterward. I bumped into a young black man. He noticed me and asked if I had a cigarette. I offered him one, and he was not even hypocritical enough to protest that it was my last one. As I lit it for him, he asked, "What do you do?"

"I work for the Southern Regional Council," I answered.

"Doing waht?"

"I'm Director of Field Activities," I said.

"Doing what?"

"I work with the state councils on human relations, mostly."

"But, doing what?" he persisted.

Rationalizing that he was just a wee bit tipsy, I decided not to go into the problems of trying to get some more of the people of the South to come to terms with reality. So I mumbled something about messing around with a variety of problems.

"Well...," said he. And with a that's-what-I-thought expression on his face, he thumbed in the direction of the just-darkened stage.

I'm just glad he wasn't stone sober!

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

See Field Activities Newsletter

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FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

December 13, 1967

Actions of the SRC Executive Committee

On the first three days of December the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council held an extraordinary three-day meeting. Out of it came three actions which will be of particular interest to readers of this newsletter. One was a resolution acknowledging and calling attention to the connection of regional problems of racism and poverty to these same problems on national and world levels. The other two were statements of SRC policy with regard to its own function and its relations with state councils on human relations.

Statement of Concern. Pointing out that "our commitments to regional development and racial justice in the South become increasingly entwined with events of the nation, and indeed with problems of the world," the committee said that attitudes of the southern region help create explosions in northern cities. New attitudes of both Negroes and whites, which result from these explosions, are quickly reflected in the region. The committee went on:

> The contined existence and increasing awareness of racism in this country has the most profound importance in our dealings with the nations of the world. We recognize that the struggle of minorities in this country for equal opportunity is often equated with the struggles everywhere of peoples seeking independence and self expression. We recognize the grave significance of color in these struggles in this country and throughout the world.
>
> It is tragic that this richest of nations has not developed a society free of fear, hunger, and want. We recognize the impact of this failure on the billions of people in fear, hunger, and want throughout the world.
>
> We call on our nation to recognize these matters, to adopt programs compatible with both the need and the potential of this great country, to resolve honorably

to cooperating state councils, funding for needed expenses and staff, together with some "overhead" for administrative services.

(4) In the case of developing councils, at their request the SRC would still seek funds to support a program of development and organization. In such cases, however, and provided such funds can be found, an organizer employed by the SRC and responsible to it would be sent into the state for a specified period of time to work with that council's board and membership toward a "mature" status.

(5) It is emphasized that a state council's classification would not be decided unilaterally. The transition to the new system of relations would involve full discussion and agreement on the status to be assumed by each council.

(6) Major project proposals, as well as requests for assistance in organizational development, will be evaluated by SRC staff and submitted to the Executive Committee for disposition.

(7) The SRC will continue its present role of field service to state councils, whether mature or developing, including consultation on staff, program and methods. A strong advisory committee on field activities will be set up. SRC will continue to sponsor meetings and workshops for officers and staffs of state councils. Every effort will be made to tighten coordination of SRC's own field projects.

New SRC Publication

Public Assistance: To What End? is the title of a Special Report published by the Southern Regional Council this month. The report examines in detail southern states' welfare programs and how these programs are (or, more exactly, are not) meeting the extreme need found in the poorest counties in these states. The counties are 97 of the 100 poorest in the nation, and they are located in 11 southern states. Among them, median family income ranges from $1,260 in Tunica County, Mississippi, to a high in Atkinson County, Georgia, of $1,956. The latter figure is $3,700 below the national median family income.

Each state, the report says, determines the level of income which it considers sufficient to provide the minimal needs of an individual or family. This becomes the standard up to which each state attempts to bring all of its residents through its welfare program. "Of great significance is that no state seen here has established $3,000 as the level of poverty -- the level set by the federal government -- and many have established it much lower."

For a family of four, a mother and three dependent children, these state-defined ideal standards of annual income range from $1,488 in Arkansas to $2,376 in Tennessee. North Carolina sets a standard of $1,728; Texas, $1,847; South Carolina, $1,870; Louisiana, $1,977; Alabama, $2,124; Kentucky, $2,268; Mississippi, $2,329; Virginia, $2,340; and Georgia, $2,371. And most public assistance

PAGE (s) MISSING

programs provide less, often far less, than these income levels the states themselves have recognized in setting their standards of need.

An obvious point is that even if public assistance in the South were administered in a non-discriminatory manner (which it is not), and even if it measured up to its own "ideal" (which it does not), it still would do nothing to help people out of poverty. The report concludes, "public assistance is lacking, in large part, because it is so structured as to be self-restricting, to expend exactly enough to soothe the consciences of those with comfortable standards of living and no more. This self-restricting nature of public welfare is not due to discriminatory administration which is widespread in many states. Discriminatory administration only redoubles the faults of an already impotent structure. What produced such a structure is a concept of welfare at once sentimental and condescending. The poor must be taken care of, that concept says, but they must never be allowed to forget that they are poor and that they exist entirely on public sufferance."

Copies may be ordered from SRC at 30¢ each. Bulk rates are available.

State Council Notes

The Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations was held in Columbia on November 30. Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University, gave the principal address. The Reverend Matthew D. McCollom was elected President of SCCHR, succeeding Dr. William H. Wesson. There were workshops on co-ops and credit unions, low-income housing, proposed reforms for crime and corrections, Negro history, and welfare. Former Executive Director Alice Spearman was honored and given a set of luggage and a check--with a stipulation that any ticket she buys with the money must be a round-trip ticket. The Reverend Paul Matthias, new Executive Director,was formally presented to the membership.

The Georgia Council held its Annual Meeting in Atlanta on December 8. The Reverend William Holmes Borders addressed the members at the annual dinner. Mrs. Frances Pauley was honored for her five years of service as Executive Director by a gift of cash and a plaque. She has been succeeded by Mr. John McCown.

About "The Art of Compromise"

Politicians are practitioners of "the art of compromise," they say. But do they have to be so hell-bent on proving their proficiency? On the front page of yesterday's paper, for example, were stories of two more very disturbing examples. I know you cannot go by what you read in the papers. But, in these cases, I would just bet that whatever the news means, beyond what appears on the surface, ain't good!

There was the story about how Dixie senators had agreed not to press their fight against the administration's school aid bill. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare had promised not to cut off funds to any school district during a given school year, unless the department has warned the district before the preceding March 1 that it has "evidence of non-compliance" with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and has stated what local officials must do to comply. Further, they may not cut off funds during a school year unless the school district has been cited for a hearing before September 1.

This apparently means that a valid complaint of discrimination which surfaced in March or April of 1968, let us say, could not be effectively acted upon before the 1969-70 school year. Shucks. With that much time, the Atlanta School system can let a school pass from all-white to token-integrated to all-Negro. Not only can, but has. And I reckon that they are not the only ones.

Georgia's Senator Russell himself acknowledged that he was delighted with the "compromise," because he doubted that the stiffer amendment he was trying to attach to the bill would have passed. He wrote to other southern senators that the HEW compromise was more than he thought the Dixie bloc would get originally!

The other story was about passage of a two-year, $4.16-billion extension of the anti-poverty effort. This bill, which has now cleared both houses of Congress, carries a provision putting community action programs under the control of local public officials. Apparently the administration felt it has to make this compromise to get the act passed. "Sargent Shriver, the OEO director," the paper says, "has promised his agency will watch closely to see how city officials carry out their responsibilities."

Well, we can always hope that he will find that they have come to believe sincerely in "maximum feasible participation of the poor," that they are standing firm against segregationists in their communities who might be disposed to edge around the law of the land, that they will all be too high-principled to use public money for their own or their supporters' political or economic advantage, etc., etc. Who knows? Maybe the Millenium is upon us!

Quotation of the Month

I nominate as the most memorable obiter dictum of the month what Senator Russell said about the fact that most of the Department of HEW's school desegregation efforts, under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, have been concentrated in the South:

"Three years is entirely too long for one-fourth of this country to share second-class citizenship in administration of this law."

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

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FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

March 19, 1968

New SRC Publications

The Present Dilemma of the Negro. At long last Kenneth B. Clark's address at the 1967 annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council has been printed. This was the thoughtful, provocative speech in which Dr. Clark said that all forms of tyranny -- racism, authoritarianism, McCarthyism -- are "no less enemies when being sold or offered as truth or salvation by blacks, yellows, or whites."

Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis. This study of socio-economic characteristics, attitudes, and values of Negro high school students in Atlanta was published in January. It was conducted and reported by Dr. James E. Conyers, Associate Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University, and William Farmar, Associate Director of SRC's Project on Administration of Justice. The publication gives results of a questionnaire answered by 688 Negro high school students in Atlanta.

Questions covered such things as how respondents felt about conditions and facilities in their neighborhoods (62% said recreational facilities were poor; 52% thought police protection was inadequate), how they rated aspects of life in Atlanta as a whole (73% rated Atlanta race relations as poor or only fair; 70% thought Atlanta housing poor), who they could identify among notable national and local personalities (546 could identify Lester Maddox; 531 recognized Ray Charles; Lou Rawls, 492; Martin L. King, 457; Thurgood Marshall, 84; and Walter Reuther, 28), and how they felt toward various civil rights organizations and approaches (75% approved the NAACP; SCLC, 72%; Urban League, 49% -- most of the others simply having no opinion; SNCC, 37%; bi-racial committees, 30%; and riots 12%).

Events at Orangeburg, by Pat Watters and Weldon Rougeau, chronicles events of the week of February 5-10, 1968, which resulted in the fatal shooting of three Negro students and wounding of 18 others. The account is very different from that given by most wire

service reports. The authors conclude that police over-reacted to a mistaken belief that they were under fire. They reflect that local and state defiance of laws regarding desegregation, along with weak federal enforcement, are erroding respect for law. "Black Power," they found, attracted very, very few black students on the two campuses at Orangeburg, but events there converted more Negroes in that city and elsewhere to "the kind of violent anger that white hysteria over Black Power envisions" than Black Power advocates could hope to gain on their own.

The Delta Prisons: Punishment for Profit, another publication of our Project on Administration of Justice, was written by William Farmar. "The public does not know what happens in its prisons," John O. Boone writes in a foreword. "This public indifference has made corrections a prime source of corruption and political intrigue."

The report concentrates on Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, which have state farm systems (in distinction from most southeastern states which have work camp oriented systems, which are bad enough). A major difficulty is the expectation that prison systems shall be self-supporting or, preferably, make a profit for the state, the report says. "Self-supporting prison systems must, in the end, become slave camps."

In Memphis: More Than A Garbage Strike, just off the press, chronicles the strike by Memphis sanitation workers which began February 12 and continues at this time. A unique feature of the situation is the alliance of the Negro community of Memphis with the union and striking workmen. (As this is written, it is reported that fifteen thousand -- 15,000 -- people attended a mass meeting last night in support of the strikers. Martin Luther King spoke. King and his colleagues will return to lead a huge march on Friday, March 22. A general strike by Memphis Negroes has been scheduled for that date.) The report details, as part of a recurring pattern, the failure of Memphis authorities, police, and press to comprehend the meaning of the boycott, the marches, the mass meetings their city is experiencing -- or the potentially tragic results of denial of dignity to forty per cent of the city's population.

All of these publications may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council. An updated publications list, giving titles, brief descriptions, and single copy and bulk prices, is also now available on request.

Conference on Human Relations and the Law

In what may be a "historic first," the University of Texas School of Law co-sponsored with the SRC and the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials a conference on human relations and the law on March 7, 8, and 9. The meeting was held at the law school in Austin. More than 600 attended. Dr. Joseph Witherspoon,

Professor of Law and general chairman of the conference, set the tone in a statement of the purpose of the conference. He said it was important to recognize that law is of two kinds -- public and private. Public law consists of legislation, administrative regulations, and judicial policies. He continued:

> Private law consists of contracts, conveyances, insurance policies, company rules and practices, union regulations, private association charters and by-laws, customary rules and practices, and many other types of law created by private individuals and private organizations to govern their relations with others. If we are to solve our crisis in human relations, it is essential that we create private law that is just even as it is essential that we create public law that is just. Unless both private law and our public law are adjusted so as to meet the underlying causes of this crisis and to ameliorate the conditions produced by them, our nation will continue to reel and stumble in the face of the emergency in which it finds itself.

Speakers included Charles Evers, Mississippi NAACP field secretary; Ambassador Hector P. Garcia, delegate to the United Nations and a Corpus Christi physician; Sol Rabkin, legal director for the Anti-Defamation League; Edward Rutledge, executive director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; Louis Mason, Jr., member of the Pittsburgh city council and formerly executive director of the Pittsburgh Human Relations Commission; Dr. John T. King, president of Huston-Tillotson College of Austin; Paul Anthony, executive director of the SRC; Frederick Routh, executive director of NAIRO; and Charles Morgan, Jr., director of the Southeastern Regional Office of ACLU.

Erratum

In the newsletter dated February 7, it was erroneously reported that Moses C. Burt had been elected president of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Mr. Burt was elected president of the Durham Council. The president of the North Carolina Council is Mr. John R. Taylor, a Greensboro business man.

SRC-Randolph Institute Meeting

More than 200 persons attended the conferenc jointly sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Atlanta on February 23-25. The conference attracted a number of business men and a notably large representation from organized labor.

At the conclusion of the conference a resolution was unanimously adopted. It read, in part:

We now fully realize that the South can only find its rightful place when we have eliminated injustice for all, eradicated poverty for all, and created a political system in which all are free to participate.

Only such a spirit and program of action can avoid the explosive injustice that rends the Northern ghettos. Only such a spirit and program of action can establish that atmosphere of order and social peace from which human progress springs.

We urge a deeper national commitment to continue and expand federal anti-poverty programs....

.....

To the support of these objectives we summon all Southerners, black and white -- civic leaders, students, religious leaders, intellectuals, leaders of political parties and of trade unions, people of all classes and walks of life, in the cities and in the rural areas.

We call all to the duty, the opportunity, and the challenge to participate in a common effort. The need is so great, the time left so short, that we must put aside divisive prejudices and find strength in unity. Let us replace past antagonisms with a common effort to eliminate poverty and to construct a social order based on justice and on shared commitment to one another.

In the Good Old Summer Time?

In case you missed it, an article in The New York Times for Saturday, March 2, headlined "Police Stockpile Weapons, Preparing for Riots," reports, "In city after city across America the police are stockpiling armored vehicles, helicopters, high-powered rifles."

It describes an awesome, 20-ton armored personnel carrier which, in a demonstration, crushed a barricade of abandoned cars. The machine carries 20 men in bullet-proof safety, a .30-caliber machine gun, tear-gas launchers, a smoke-screen device, chemical fire extinguishers and a siren that can disable men with its sound. The Los Angeles police were considering buying it, but might not meet the price of $30,000 without optional equipment.

Detroit had five armored cars during last summer's riot. Since then the Detroit police have secured 2,000 tear-gas grenades and 1,200 gas masks. They have asked for 25 special anti-sniper rifles, 500 carbines, 300 shotguns, and 150,000 rounds of ammunition, according to the Times report.

In Monroe County, Michigan, the sheriff has a $50,000 riot control fund. He is buying 15,000 rounds of ammunition, 500 tear-gas cannisters, a $13,500 armored truck, 15 walkie-talkies, 100 rifles, and a number of flak vests.

The Tampa, Florida, arsenal boasts 162 shotguns, 150 bayonets, 5 sniper rifles, 25 carbines and M-1 rifles, and 300 gas masks. Florida State Attorney General Paul Antineri has recommended that Tampa policemen "shoot to kill" persons observed committing, or about to commit, felonies during a riot. (Question: How do you tell when a person is "about to commit" a felony?)

Michigan Governor George Romney has asked the state legislature for one million dollars to finance police riot training and hopes to get five hundred thousand more from the federal government.

Other devices are "instant banana peel," a chemical that makes streets icy-slick; a foam which can submerge crowds; and tranquilizer darts. But Chief Reddin of Los Angeles warns, "Don't throw your guns away. Let us not be seduced by the naive philosophy that foam dispensers or slippery substances can summarily pacify rioters, looters and arsonists."

Somehow I felt that The New York Times would not mind my passing this information along to our readers -- as a public service.

It's Great To Be Among Friends...

...even if they are not your own. Bill Farmar, prolific author and frustrated poet of the SRC's Project on Administration of Justice (alias, "Crime and Corrections Project," nee "Project on Prison Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation") read a recent issue of this newsletter and was inspired by his Muse:

A disciple of Calvin named Ed
Was predestined to work, so he said,
For the good of the South.
Now he's down in the mouth,
For the movement, like God, seems quite dead.

Yes, Every Cloud Has A Lousy Silver Lining.

Charles Evers, speaking at that conference on human relations and the law in Austin, had a new twist on an old saying. Maybe it says something to all you gleeful revolutionaries.

He tells it that he and Medgar, when they worked with their father in the fields during their boyhood, would be delighted whenever a dark cloud appeared. "Oh, please rain," they would say, "so we can go back to the house." His father would always remind them, "Behind every cloud the sun is shining!"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Field Activities Newsletter

Southern [redacted], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [redacted] GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

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FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

April 30, 1968

Statement on the Death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis on April 4 is so shocking and overwhelming that it is difficult to begin this next newsletter following it. Perhaps no more appropriate beginning could be found than to quote a couple of paragraphs from a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. It was hammered out painfully at their meeting on April 6 and printed in both the New York Times and the two Atlanta dailies on April 9, the day of Dr. King's funeral.

> This is the time for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the nonviolent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.
>
> The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done throughout his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance--and perhaps the last chance--to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

Special Report on Memphis

We mentioned in last month's newsletter the SRC "Special Report" titled In Memphis: More Than A Garbage Strike. Subsequently two supplements to that report have been published. The first, In Memphis: Tragedy Unaverted, was released on April 3 and deals with the outbreak of window breaking during a civil rights march led by Dr. King in Memphis on March 28. It records the over-reaction of police which resulted in the death of one 16-year-old Negro and injury to 60 persons, mostly Negroes. The second supplement, In Memphis: A Mirror to America? tells of the mood and events in Memphis immediately before and after the murder of Dr. King, of the memorial march of 40,000 in Memphis the day before his funeral, and of settlement of the sanitation strike. All of these may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council (60¢ for all three).

Footnotes on Memphis

As I look back over my notes on Memphis, two or three things from earlier trips seem more significant, somehow, in the light of what happened subsequently....

...At a news conference a few hours after the mass march on March 28 was destroyed by youngsters who started breaking windows and looting -- and by brutal, indiscriminate police response -- the Reverend James Lawson said, "These young people are excellent students of this society. They have learned very well the lessons of this society.... We have warned again and again that violence has been built into this city and that, without change, violence would erupt." And Dr. King added, "In dealing with possible violence, we must deal with already existing violence -- the violence of poverty, the violence of slums, the violence of inferior education."

...My visit to Memphis on that occasion (March 28-29) was bracketed by revealing exchanges during limousine trips from and to the Memphis airport. As I left the terminal building that Thursday there were two empty limousines at the curb. I asked the driver, a white man, when he was to leave and he said, "Right now." He helped me in and, sure enough, we left at once.

"Am I the only one?" I asked.

"Yea."

"How come?"

"Nobody wants to go downtown," he replied.

"Why is that?" I asked innocently.

"There is a big march downtown today," he answered. Then, stressing the courtesy title, he added, "Reverend Martin Luther King is leading one of the big civil rights marches today. Unless somebody just has to go to town, nobody wants to be down there."

We approached the downtown area on Beale Street and, as we moved into an area predominantly Negro he suddenly locked the limousine door next to him, reached across and locked the other front door, and reached behind to lock one of the rear doors. Simultaneously he said to me, "You better lock your door, Sir. I don't think it's necessary, really, but just to be on the safe side...."

Next evening, returning to the airport, I sat in the rear seat next to a dentist from Texarkana. Beyond him on the seat was another dentist from South Carolina. They had been attending some sort of refresher course. Directly in front of me was a young man wearing a grey suit and wingtip shoes. He looked a bit over-fed and under-exercised. This was on Friday evening, after the outbreak of trouble during the march of Thursday, the first night of curfew, and the calling out of 4000 National Guardsmen. The question arose whether there had been a march that afternoon. I volunteered that there had been.

"Was there any violence?" This question came breathlessly from the South Carolina dentist.

"No," I responded. "It was just the routine march in support of the boycott -- same as they've had every day for six weeks."

"Boycott?"

"Yes, there is a boycott of downtown stores, all Loeb's restaurants, and the newspapers."

"Well," snorted the Texarkana dentist, "it's a shame those people don't have anything better to do. That's all I've got to say."

"Yea," groused our neat, overstuffed companion. "If they would do some work, they would be a lot better off."

"But there was no trouble this afternoon?" The Carolina dentist was finding that hard to believe.

"There couldn't be much trouble," I said, and I described the military escort of five armoured personnel carriers, five jeeps, and three huge trucks.

"Well, that's what I say," remarked the Texarkana man. "There's no sense in this rioting and looting and burning. Nobody has a right to do that -- black or white or purple. Why,

if I did it, I would be shot down at once. This wanton violence -- they can put a stop to that!"

I gritted my teeth and kept silent. There it was: the inability to distinguish between peaceful demonstration and riot; the assumption that any aggregation of Negroes is dangerous; a spoiled, archtypical fatty accusing garbage collectors of laziness and unreasonable demands; a speaker's assertion that he would expect to be shot down under given circumstances -- with all of the implications of that assertion; "democratic," nothing-prejudiced-about-me inclusion of purple or green people among those who couldn't get away with something or other; and the self-righteous indignation of an invocation of all the nation's military might against "wanton violence."

There was the "white racism" which, according to the Kerner Commission, "is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities...." A rational person cannot generalize from conversations in limousines, of course, or from racist comments by taxi drivers. But it is so easy to hear such comments whenever one's "liberal" identity is not known -- such sentiments are depressingly plentiful. It takes a real effort to avoid thinking that white racism is invincible in America and that the movement of the nation that the Kerner Commission espied, "toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal," is quite inexorable.

Special Issue of NEW SOUTH -- A "Must"

The entire Winter issue of New South is given to an article by Paul Good on "Poverty in the Rural South." It is illustrated with pictures by Al Clayton. Mr. Good is a free-lance writer and former journalist who has covered civil rights news in the South for many years. Mr. Clayton is a Nashville photographer whose work has appeared in Look and other publications.

Both the writing and photography in this special are superb. Frankly, I found it too moving to read more than two or three chapters at one time. Page after page pounds the reader with a charge of atrocities routinely committed by our society against the poorest 20 percent of our population. Mr. Good and Mr. Clayton, Editor Robert Anderson and Director of Information Pat Watters and his staff have come up with a beautiful journalistic vehicle for a frightfully ugly, brutal story.

The work will be published later as a book, and some of us believe that it will become a classic of its kind. You can get copies of the issue, while they last, at $1.00 from SRC.

Field Foundation Grants in Memory of Dr. King

The Field Foundation announced, shortly after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that it was designating a million dollars of its capital funds as a memorial to Dr. King. The money was given to various endeavors in the field of human relations and civil rights in the South.

A grant went to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and another to the strike fund of the Memphis sanitation workers. The Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia Councils on Human Relations received $40,000 each. The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council was the recipient of $225,000.

The Field Foundation has supported civil rights and anti-poverty efforts in the South and throughout the nation for many years -- including the fifties, when very few foundations were willing to back the civil rights movement. Dr. Leslie Dunbar is currently executive director of the foundation.

Valder Leaving Alabama Council

Mr. Robert Valder has resigned as Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, effective May 1. He will become Regional Director, Division of Information, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. He will reside in Charlotte, North Carolina. His work will be in Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia.

The new director of the Alabama Council will be Father Bryce Joyce, who was for many years a leader of the Muscle Shoals Chapter of the Alabama Council while he was pastor in Sheffield. Father Bryce moved to Pittsburg, as some readers may recall, at the firm suggestion of Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen of the Diocese of Alabama. We'll try to have more particulars next time, but it appears that he is coming back, "ready or not."

A Good Idea for Human Relations Councils

A lot of white people have asked, since the murder of Dr. King, what they could do about the climate which made such a deed thinkable. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council, came up with a good idea. He issued a call for 1,000 white families who agree with the Kerner Commission report that white racism is the basic cause of the agony of our cities to invite ten or twelve unconvinced white friends to gather in their home. The Tennessee Council, he said, would supply one of its black members who could and would "tell it like it is." It seems to me that, if such a thing were done widely, it just might change some minds and lead to a little more understanding.

How could anyone fail to be moved, for example, by the story I heard from a black father in a similar gathering recently? His five-year-old boy has a speech impediment. The child loves to tell his parents how he loves them and everyone else. One day he was "helping" daddy wash the family car.

"Daddy," he stammered, "I l-l-love everybody."

"Yes, yes, that's good."

"Exc-c-cept...."

There was a long silence, and the father thought the child was struggling to overcome his impediment. At last he looked up and asked, "Well, except whom?"

"You know...." The boy pointed to a white porch railing. "Except wh-wh-white folks." The father put down his hose and explained, awkwardly, that it was not that they did not love white folks -- they just wanted to change the way white folks do things.

"Okay," the child said with relief. "I love everybody -- even white folks!"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] [illegible]A 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

file

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER
August 9, 1968

This is to say goodbye and, at the suggestion of Paul Anthony, to tell you a little about what the SRC is doing that involves my moving.

Before the end of August we Stanfields will be moving to Austin, Texas, where I am to be executive director of a new agency, the "Southwest Intergroup Relations Council." SIRC will be a counterpart in the Southwest to the Southern Regional Council. It will be multi-ethnic, its membership composed of Mexican-Americans and Indian-Americans, as well as Negroes and Anglos. It will work in an eight state region, including Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and California, -- roughly, those states having a large Mexican-American minority, a large Indian-American minority, or both.

The steering committee for the SIRC has made an arrangement with the SRC whereby I shall continue on the staff of the SRC for up to six months, but shall be assigned to the SIRC with an allowance for travel and related expenses. After that the SIRC will be "on its own" -- for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, in sickness or in health.

The steering committee for the new agency envisions an eventual membership of about 300 and a Board of Directors of 50. Knowledge and experience in ethnic-group problems and intergroup relations, geographic representativeness, and ethnic representativeness will be important considerations in choosing members. Care will also be taken to assure that poor people, young people, and -- yes -- women will be well-represented in the membership and policy group. New members and Board members will be elected on nomination by a membership committee. The majority of that committee will be chosen by the existing membership on nomination by various ethnic-

group organizations. These organizations, community organizations, and institutions may join a "Cabinet of Organizations" on which the SIRC will rely for advice and consultation.

The new agency will be incorporated in the State of Texas and will locate its office in Austin, at least for an interim. (The steering committee left open the possibility of moving to a city more central to the region at a later date.)

Much of the credit for instigating this new agency must go to Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon of the University of Texas School of Law. Mr. Witherspoon is a distinguished legal scholar and teacher. He is also a community leader in Austin. Among other things, he has been instrumental in securing an effectively-structured Community Relations Commission in Austin and in getting reforms in the local police department. He has made himself an expert on civil rights law and its enforcement. It was Professor Witherspoon who convened an ad hoc committee, which in turn selected a steering committee, for a Southwest Intergroup Relations Council.

Other members of the steering committee are:

--Mario Obledo, recently selected as General Counsel for the new Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, San Antonio, and formerly Assistant Attorney General of Texas;

--The Reverend Henry J. Casso, San Antonio, Civil Rights Chairman, Texas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC);

--Mrs. Lorella M. Salazar, Bernalillo, New Mexico, an employee of the Sandia Corporation (industrial relations) and formerly head of the Albuquerque office of Senator Anderson of New Mexico;

--R. P. (Bob) Sanchez, McAllen, Texas, Labor and civil rights attorney, and leader in the American G. I. Forum;

--Clarence A. Laws, former executive secretary of the Texas NAACP, now Regional Director for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dallas;

--The Reverend C. William Black, San Antonio pastor;

--John B. White, President of the Oklahoma Equal Opportunity Association, Oklahoma City;

--T. D. Armstrong, Galveston, Texas, businessman;

--The Reverend Charles E. Sanders, Secretary of the Original Cherokee Community Organization, Stilwell, Oklahoma;

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER - 3
August 9, 1968

--Stuart Trapp, Legal Counsel, Original Cherokee Community Organization, Tahlequah, Oklahoma;

--Vine Deloria, past executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, and now a law student at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

--William Canby, Peace Corps Director in Uganda, 1964-66, and now Professor of Law and Director of the Office of Indian Law, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona;

--Robert A. Beer, president of Robert Beer and Company, Realtors, and Vice-President of the Dallas Real Estate Board.

While we leave Atlanta with reluctance and certainly will miss our associates here, I am excited, of course, about the possibilities of the SIRC.

Our home address, after August 26, will be 2801 Silverway Drive, Austin, Texas 78757.

--Edwin Stanfield

THE VARIOUS ROLES OF
A
LOCAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

August H. VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations

THE VARIOUS ROLES OF
A
LOCAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The question is often asked, "what can a local council on human relations do?". This is an attempt to suggest the varied roles a local council can play in the community to support the basic objective of the Florida Council on Human Relations--"to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, national or ethnic group membership".

1. The Role of Communicator

The local council can provide all of the conditions for people of varied backgrounds and interest to know one another and thus, to contribute to an end to the isolation that exists in many communities where people are not acquainted with others who differ from them. This is true especially where people differ racially. For people to sit down with others and listen to their hopes and aspirations, their problems and frustrations, their interests and concerns, is a beginning in the long and difficult road to improved human relations in the local community. Local councils must supply such a forum as the first element of their responsibility.

When people begin to know one another and then begin to develop a personal confidence, they can then begin to work and plan together to counteract the discriminatory practices which exist in every community.

2. The Role of Fact Finder

"I didn't know a slum like this existed in our city." "I was amazed to discover that no real estate broker would sell a home to a Negro in a white neighborhood in this community." People are always appalled to discover the many overt conditions of discrimination in their community. Ignorance of the many subtle and often more serious discriminatory practices in the community is a general condition found in nearly every community.

The local council on human relations should be gathering facts continually about the schools, hospitals, jails, employment, housing, voting, recreation facilities, etc. They should be ever searching for information about discriminatory practices of businesses such as insurance companies, landlords, local loan agencies, furniture stores, appliance stores, and food stores. Such information provides the priority for specific projects of the local council.

3. The Role of Educator

The local council on human relations must speak to the local community, sharing the information it possesses, suggesting possible solutions, and securing qualified assistance. It must sharpen its sensitivity to those in the community who are unaware of the subtleties o. prejudice.

The Role of Educator (continued)

It may excercise this role of educator in public forums, news releases, bulletins and by making adequate materials available from the many private and public sources of such material.

4. The Role of Programmer

The various programs and projects in which a local council may participate are unlimited. The Southern Regional Council, our founding agency, suggests several in which it can be of direct assistance:

A. Voter Education and Registration
B. Housing and Urban Planning
C. Community Organization
D. Labor
E. Prison Administration--Criminal Rehabilitation
F. Fair Employment and Anti Poverty
G. School Integration
H. Welfare
I. Student Groups
J. Paperback Book Distribution

In another recent publication made available by the Southern Regional Council, the following local council projects were suggested:

A. Education
   1. Tutorials
   2. Pre-school Nursery
   3. Extra-academic classes
   4. Superivised Study Halls
   5. Field Trips
   6. Survey of Local Educational Facilities
   7. Summer-school Projects
B. Employment
   1. Job Readiness
   2. Surveys
C. Housing
   1. Fact-finding Concerning Equality in Housing Standards
      a. Street lights
      b. Street paving
      c. Garbage collection
      d. Plumbing and Sewerage
   2. Urban Renewal and Re-location Surveys
   3. Law Enforcement
D. Miscellaneous
   1. Local Council Library
   2. Speakers Bureau on Human Relations
      a. to explain role of council
      b. to fill engagements with civic groups and social gatherings.
   3. Swap-shop Meetings with Other Local Councils Near You
   4. Seminars to Explain Rural Programs to Local Councils
   5. Hospital Surveys
   6. Bi-racial Home Buyers Groups to Follow Up On Realtor Practices.
   7. Sponsoring Bus Tours for Ministerial Groups, Civic Groups, Children, etc.
   8. Citizenship Course to Include a Short History of American Deomocracy, Bill of Rights, Human Rights, Federal Government, and Judicial Systems.

Miscellaneous (continued)

It is not to be assumed that programs and projects be limited to the foregoing areas. The potential is completely unlimited where there is creativity, imagination, and complete dedication.

5. The Role of Consultant

The local council can offer the information it has discovered through research and surveys to the proper public and private agencies, who need such information. It can secure the services of professionals or other informed individuals in the community. Also, it can become informed on the various persons from the state, region, and national scene who might be availabe to the local community.

The Southern Reginal Council has funds in modest amounts, and staff consultants availabe in certain program areas to assist projects of local councils on human relations. Information on these services and the general requirements can be obtained from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St. N.W.. Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

6. The Role of Cooperator

There are many areas of activity in human relations in which it is unnecessary and unwise for a local group to go-it-alone. It is a much more mature position for the local council to cooperate with other organizations that are involved in such programs. Some groups which often appreciate such cooperation would include: Council of Churches, Ministerial Associations, other religious groups, League of Women Voters, Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., C.O.R.E., S.C.L.C., Florida Civil Liberties Union, Neighborhood or Community Improvement Groups, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Jewish Committee, and Anti-Poverty Community Organizations.

7. The Role of Observer

An important function of the local council on human relations is to be a "watch-dog" in the local community. In this capacity it is important to know the laws and to know how and to whom complaints should be made when apparent injustices are uncovered. The "watch-dog" role is a most important one. In order to be most effective in this function, a sensitive balance of statesmanship and raw courage is required. It is a role which cannot be dodged in any situation and yet must never be used apart from a genuine willingness to participate in all the work to correct the wrongs.

8. The Role of Attitude Refiner

People move in a horizontal direction in their attitudes on the many elements making up good human relations in a community. They will be willing to work in one area while remaining nearly blind in another. At one point they will react violently against change when they think pocketbook--and yet, they will participate favorably when their sense of justice is challenged in a second change.

Attitudes are changeable in a vertical direction,also. What may be a defiant "never" today, may become a less bitter"if I must" tomorrow. The ignorant myth-follower in a given problem today, may become an informed leader for better human relations tomorrow.

It is in the area of attitudes that the local council may find its most strategic identity. This role is difficult to define,often it is the by-product of some other role--and yet, our hope in continuing progress lies in ever keepingbefore us the fact that community attitude is altered as the individual within the community develops a sense of conscience.

See Field Activities

MJ - file

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Trip to Columbia, Aiken - May 4 and 5

As you know, Alice thought up a luncheon in Columbia on Wednesday, May 4, because I was to be in Aiken on May 5. She sent out invitations on the preceding Friday. Actually the number of people in attendance was surprising, but I got some reaction both in Columbia and in Aiken to the disorganized way of doing things of which this was considered one example. Both groups received well my speech on the need for shifting gears and increasing recruitment and financial support, but at least two persons realize that my appearances were not part of any orderly approach to the problem.

Alice seated me in the Wade Hampton immediately after the luncheon and talked at me for <u>three solid hours</u>! (2:30-5:30) Among other things she made it clear to me (eventually) that programs like "Speed-Up" designed for and with the Negro masses "who have the requisite sense of urgency and for whom the need is primary and immediate and not secondary and academic" have top priority on her agenda. She put it this way: "Ed you can be a big help to me on this fund-raising--which is something the white members of the council can and perhaps will do." I had the distinct impression that what she meant was: "If you want this done, you will have to do it, because I have more urgent business."

Set up file + file in Sec Project Cr. of Fund for the Advancement of Educ.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PAPERBACK BOOK DISTRIBUTION PROJECT

I. Introduction

This is a pilot project to ascertain the usefulness of low-cost paperback books in making more adequate reading materials available to disadvantaged persons, and generally opening new channels for improved human relations. While the major emphasis is on placing books in areas where access is generally insufficient, there is also an obvious interest in distributing specific kinds of books to institutions which have not previously made such material available. Books are available not only in general catagories, but by specific titles and special interest areas.

Massive distribution is definitely not the object of the program. Funds are limited and the goal is to place a certain number of books in carefully selected institutions or projects which are representative of the most promising uses to which the books can be put. Since this is an experiment in the effectiveness of such distribution, it is necessary that a specific proposal be submitted for each placement and that follow-up reports be made about the effects of the placement.

This project is not intended to permanently involve the Southern Regional Council in a program of book distribution. Instead, the long term objectives are: (1) initiating programs which would be adopted and possibly expanded by other appropriate agencies, especially public ones; (2) involving local groups in this area of concern, and giving them a direct exposure to the disadvantaged of their community through these specific program approaches; and (3) providing certain materials to programs which now exist and can be enhanced through this service. Therefore, the books are not to be placed in temporary projects which exist only to handle these books. Rather the goal is to place them in programs which will continue to operate and serve these needs.

The object of a continuing operation should not discourage the use of the books in new and creative programs. Because this project is experimental, new approaches to the problem of providing reading materials to the disadvantaged will be given full consideration and should be encouraged.

II. How The Books Will Be Distributed

The types of programs which will be considered are as follows (the programs are definitely not limited to those below):

(1) Establishing or supplementing libraries in primary and secondary schools. For schools with extremely inadequate libraries, "packages" of books are available, including 100 selected classics and other scholastically-oriented works. In addition, pleasure reading materials can be had, such as adventure and sports stories. For schools with adequate libraries, supplemental materials may be added, such as Negro history and race relations. The latter would be appropriate for any school, white or Negro.

(2) Providing reading material for tutorial programs, adult education groups, "Head Start" parents groups, and similar adult programs. For general reading, a great variety of books are available, including "limited vocabulary editors" of the better-known classics. Also, materials for practical application are available, such as home-making books, books on home repairs, job skills, clerical training, and the like.

(3) Establishing or supplementing community libraries or bookmobiles. A broad range of materials, for both children, youth and adults would be appropriate here. Although not a deliberate purpose of this program, it would be desirable if such libraries could be subsequently taken over and maintained by public libraries.

(4) Children's books are in demand in many fields, such as day care centers, "Head Start" programs, and for distribution to parents participating in adult education programs. Since children's books are not generally published in paperback editions, these may be somewhat more expensive to obtain, and therefore the quantity will be smaller.

Each organization desiring to receive books for a program should submit a proposal to the Southern Regional Council. This should be written by the person who will have direct administrative responsibility for the use of the books, and should include the following information: (1) a brief discription of the organization or institution, (2) how the books will be used, (3) if the book program is already in existence, what has been its past operation, (4) what persons will have access to the books, (5) how will the books be distributed (loan, sale, give-away, etc), (6) what specific needs will be served by this use of the books, (7) what type of books are needed, in what quantity, and what, if any, specific titles, (8) if you receive books, what plans are there for the future continuing operation of the program?

All books will be obtained by SRC and shipped from Atlanta at our expense.

III. What Books Are Available

Almost any book published in a paperback edition can be had. As previously mentioned, we expect to be able to provide cardboard-back children's books.

The books are being bought wholesale from a major paperback distributor, and we will have access to the distributor's computerized book selection system. Therefore, it will be possible for a prospective recipient of the books to submit a general catagory of books that are needed, and with the aid of the computer, the appropriate titles can be furnished. It is anticipated that in most instances

recipients will request catagories of books rather than specific titles. When this is done, we will be able to use our personnel resources to select the most appropriate material, as well as utilize the computer.

In some cases, it may be more desirable to receive a broad variety of books for certain reading levels, rather than specific catagories. If this approach is used, additional books could be sent to supplement the materials in the variety which prove to be most popular or useful.

On the other hand, if specific catagories of books are desired, the following are suggested as examples of those you may wish to consider:

(1) American history, (2) classical American literature, (3) classical literature from other countries, (4) Civil Rights movement, (5) race relations, (6) community improvement, (7) international relations and world politics, (8) limited vocabulary material (adult), (9) secondary school materials on public affairs, (10) secondary school materials for pleasure reading, (11) children's books, (12) home-making skills, (13) job skills (vocational training) (14) African history, culture, and politics, (15) the labor movement, and (16) the history and organization of cooperatives.

The material selected for these catagories may have an emphasis on the human relations aspects of the subject matter, such as children's books with an emphasis on new friends of other races or American history with emphasis on the Negro's role.

If more specific catagories are needed, such as home repairs, automobile mechanics, or learning to read, you are encouraged to request any such catagories you feel appropriate.

In selecting catagories, it should be remembered that persons with very little reading experience, or those who have little motivation to read, will generally need an introduction to books that stress adventure, sports, love stories, and topics which may seem trite to the more sophisticated reader. Therefore, books going to less experienced readers should not be primarily those which are the best in

academic or literary terms. Appropriate catagories shown above would be "limited vocabulary material (adult)" and "secondary school materials for pleasure reading."

Foster

New Orleans, Sunday evening

Dear Leslie:

I took you at your word and have spent only an hour and a half grinding out the endosed memo. If it is too much less than you'd hoped for, I'll try to do some more on it after reaching Atlanta next Friday.

Believe me, it will be good to see you. This has been about the dreariest week-end I've ever spent. I have never been particularly attracted to New Orleans and after having spent much of the past two days in this damned hotel room it seems more like ~~an~~ a prison. But then I'm feeling pretty sorry for myself and will doubtless recover from that.

Cheers,

Bill

Make folder:
"Project for Library Development:

Cr. ref — ~~acct # 310~~

Fund for the
Advancement of Ed.

& ~~Place~~ Place Proposal in this file.

TEENAGERS, ADULTS LEISURE READING

Across Five Aprils (Grosset-Tempo)
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn
Adventure of Robin Hood
Adventures of Tom Sawyer
African Treasury
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass
All Quiet on the Western Front
All the King's Men
An American Tragedy
Andersonville (Sig.)
Animal Farm
Anna and Her Daughters
Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl
April Morning
The Assistant
Away All Boats

Banners at Shenandoah
Basketball
Batman books
Beany and the Beckoning Road
Beasts of Tarzan
Beatles in a Hard Day's Night
Becky's Island
The Bedford Incident
Behind the Plate
A Bell for Adano
Beverly Hillbillies Book of Country Humor
Billy Budd and Typee
Black Arrow
Blackboard Jungle
Born Free
Boy Next Door
A Boy Ten Feet Tall
Brave New World
Breaking the Bonds
Bridges at Toko-Ri
Buffalo Chief
Bulfinch's Mythology
But Not Next Door

Call of the Wild; White Fang
Call Them Heroes. Books 1-4 (Silver-Burdette)
Cannery Row
Casino Royale
Catcher in the Rye
Chad Hanna
Cheaper by the Dozen
Childhood's End
A Christmas Carol
Chucklebait
City Boy
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court
Count of Monte Cristo
Crash Club
Cry, the Beloved Country

Dangerous Summer
A Day in the Life of President Kennedy
Dennis the Menace books
Deputy's Revenge
Devil's Advocate
Diamonds are Forever
Drag Doll

Earthlight
East of Eden
Easy to Make Gifts
Elizabeth and the Young Stranger
Exodus

Fall of the House of Usher

Family Nobody Wanted
Fate is the Hunter
Fighting Angel
Fighting Marines
The Fighting Southpaw
Folksongs for Fun
For Bond Lovers Only
For the Love of Peanuts, other Peanuts books (Schulz)
For Your Eyes Only
Fresh and Salt Water Fishing
Fury

Genghis Khan (Lamb)
Georgia Boy
Glory Be!
Goldfinger
The Good Earth
Goodbye, Mr. Chips
Grapes of Wrath
Great American Short Stories
The Great Escape
Great Expectations
Great Sea Stories
Great Tales of Action and Adventure
Gus Wilson's Model Garage

Harte of the West: 17 Stories by Bret Harte
His Eye is on the Sparrow
Hobbies for Pleasure and Profit
Hot Rod
Hot Rod Angels
The Hound of the Baskervilles
How to Draw and Paint
How to Write a Song
Humor of J.F.K.
Hunchback of Notre Dame
Hurry Sundown

I Always Wanted to Be Somebody
Immortal Poems of the English Language
The Incredible Journey
Inherit the Wind
Inn of the Sixth Happiness
Invasion: They're Coming
Ivanhoe

The Jungle Books

Kidnapped
Kim
Kon-Tiki

Language of Love
A Lantern in Her Hand
Lassie Come-Home
Laughing Boy
The Learning Tree
Legend of Sleepy Hollow
My Life as an Indian
The Light in the Forest
Lilies of the Field
The Living Tide
Lord of the Flies
Lost on Venus

The Mad Sampler
Major American Poets
Man on a Raft
The Man Who Never Was
The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis

Mastermind of Mars
McCall's Book of Paper, Wood and Paint Crafts
McCall's Make Your Own Decorations and Gifts Book
Member of the Wedding
The Miracle Worker
Mister Fisherman
Moon Fleet
The Moon is Down
Moonraker
Moonstone
The Most Dangerous Game
My Antonia
My Life and Hard Times
My Lord, What a Morning
The Mysterious Island
Mysterious Stranger and Other Stories

Nature Crafts
New Pocket Anthology of American Verse
New Treasury of Folk Songs
The Night They Burned the Mountain
1984
The 1965 Olympic Guide
No Time for Sergeants

Of Mice and Men
Official Rules of Card Games
Old Man and the Sea
Old Yeller
On the Beach

The Pearl
Pocket Book of Stories - O. Henry
Popular History of Music
Prince and the Pauper
Prison Nurse
Pro Football Handbook
Pudd'nHead Wilson

Quest of the Snow Leopard

A Raisin in the Sun
The Red Badge of Courage
The Red Pony
Robinson Crusoe
Romance of Leonardo Da Vinci
Romeo and Juliet and West Side Story
Run Silent, Run Deep

Sartoris
Scaramouche
The Scarlet Letter
Screwball
Sea Wolf
Serpent's Coil
Seven Days in May
Seventeen
Shane
The Shook-up Generation
A Single Pebble
Six Great Modern Plays
Somebody Up There Likes Me
The Spy Who Loved Me
Stories from the Twilight Zone
Stories My Mother Never Told Me
The Story Catcher
Strangest of All
Street Rod
Study in Scarlet and Sign of the Four
Superman books

Sweet Thursday
Swiss Family Robinson

Tales of the Incredible
Tales of Terror and Suspense
Teahouse of the August Moon
Teen-Age Dance Book'
Teensville, USA
Ten Modern American Short Stories
Three Comedies of American Life
Thunderball
Time is the Simplest Thing
The Time Machine
The Time of Her Life
To Kill a Mockingbird
Tobacco Road
Tortilla Flat
The Train from Katanga
Travels of Marco Polo
Treasure Island
The Tunnel Escape
20,000 Leagues Under the Sea
Two Years Before the Mast

Vietnam Diary
Von Ryan's Express

The Wanderer
War Beneath the Sea
War of the Worlds
What Then Is Love
Where's Annie?
Wit's End

You Only Live Twice

A Zoo in my Luggage

CLASSICS SHELF AND LIMITED VOCABULARY EDITIONS

THE BASIC ONE HUNDRED

Pride and Prejudice	Jane Austen
Sense and Sensibility	Jane Austen
The Wizard of Oz	L. Frank Baum
Jane Eyre	Charlotte Bronte
Wuthering Heights	Emily Bronte
The Age of Chivalry	Thomas Bulfinch
The Age of Fable	Thomas Bulfinch
The Way of All Flesh	Samuel Butler
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland	Lewis Carroll
The Moonstone	W. W. Collins
Lord Jim	Joseph Conrad
The Deerslayer	James F. Cooper
The Last of the Mohicans	James F. Cooper
The Pathfinder	James F. Cooper
The Pioneers	James F. Cooper
The Prarie	James F. Cooper
The Red Badge of Courage	Stephen Crane
Two Years Before the Mast	Richard Henry Dana
Pere Goriot	Honore de Balzac
Robinson Crusoe	Daniel DeFoe
A Christmas Carol	Charles Dickens
David Copperfield	Charles Dickens
Great Expectations	Charles Dickens
Oliver Twist	Charles Dickens
A Tale of Two Cities	Charles Dickens
The Mutiny on Board H.M.S. Bounty	William Bligh
The Hound of the Baskervilles	A. Conan Doyle
Silas Marner	George Eliot
The Mill on the Floss	George Eliot
The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin	Benjamin Franklin
The Vicar of Wakefield	Oliver Goldsmith
The Mayor of Casterbridge	Thomas Hardy
The Return of the Native	Thomas Hardy
Tess of the D'Urbervilles	Thomas Hardy
The Outcasts of Poker Flat	Bret Harte
The House of the Seven Gables	Nathaniel Hawthorne
The Scarlet Letter	Nathaniel Hawthorne
Twice-Told Tales	Nathaniel Hawthorne
O. Henry, The Four Million and Other Stories	O. Henry
The Odyssey	Homer
Green Mansions	W. H. Hudson
The Legend of Sleepy Hollow	Washington Irving
The Ambassadors	Henry James
The Story of My Life	Helen Keller
Captains Courageous	Rudyard Kipling
Kim	Rudyard Kipling
The Call of the Wild	Jack London
The Sea Wolf	Jack London
White Fang	Jack London
Evangeline	Henry W. Longfellow
The Prince	Niccolo Machiavelli
Moby Dick	Herman Melville
Typee	Herman Melville
The Scarlet Pimpernel	Baroness Orczy
The Oregon Trail	Francis Parkman
Edgar Allen Poe, Selected Stories And Poems	Edgar Allan Poe
Men of Iron	Howard Pyle
Aesop's Fairy Tales	Aesop
Ivanhoe	Sir Walter Scott
As You Like It	William Shakespeare
Julius Caesar	William Shakespeare
Hamlet	William Shakespeare
Macbeth	William Shakespeare
The Merchant of Venice	William Shakespeare
A Midsummer Night's Dream	William Shakespeare

CLASSICS SHELF AND LIMITED VOCABULARY EDITIONS

THE BASIC ONE HUNDRED

The Tempest	William Shakespeare
Twelfth Night	William Shakespeare
Man and Superman	George Bernard Shaw
Frankenstein	Mary Shelley
The Jungle	Upton Sinclair
The Black Arrow	Robert L. Stevenson
Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	Robert L. Stevenson
Kidnapped	Robert L. Stevenson
The Master of Ballantrae	Robert L. Stevenson
Treasure Island	Robert L. Stevenson
Dracula	Bram Stoker
Gulliver's Travels	Jonathan Swift
Walden-Essay on Civil Disobedience	Henry David Thoreau
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court	Mark Twain
Huckleberry Finn	Mark Twain
Life on the Mississippi	Mark Twain
The Prince and the Pauper	Mark Twain
Tom Sawyer	Mark Twain
Around the World in Eighty Days	Jules Verne
A Journey to the Center of the Earth	Jules Verne
Master of the World	Jules Verne
The Mysterious Island	Jules Verne
Michael Strogoff	Jules Verne
Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea	Jules Verne
Robin Hood	E. Charles Vivian
Ben Hur	Lew Wallace
The First Men in the Moon	H. G. Wells
The Food of the Gods	H. G. Wells
The Invisible Man	H. G. Wells
The Time Machine	H. G. Wells
The War of the Worlds	H. G. Wells
Leaves of Grass	Walt Whitman
The Virginian	Owen Wister
The Picture of Dorian Gray	Oscar Wilde
The Swiss Family Robinson	Johann Wyss

(Entire set ordered as a unit)

LIMITED VOCABULARY

Billy Budd (1000 word level)
Golden Trails (2000 word level)
The Red Badge of Courage (2000 word level)
The Turn of the Screw (2000 word level)

CHILDREN'S BOOKS--LEISURE

Abe Lincoln Gets His Chance
The Adventures of Pinocchio
Aesop's Fables (Dell)
Ah Fu: A Chinese River Boy
Alice Gets a New Look
The Anytime Rings
Bambi
Barney Beagle
Black Beauty
By Myself (I-III)
Case of the Aluminum Crutch
The Cat Book
Child's Garden of Verses
Child's Story of Ancient Days
Colors are Nice
Coming of Flame
Day with Debbie*
The Dog Book
Donald Duck Book
The Duck on the Truck
The Elephant Book
Every Child's First English Color and Learn Book
The Fir Tree
Fish Book
Flame, Son of Silver Cloud
Four Seasons with Susy
Fun with David*
Fun with Dots
The Gilead Bomb
Golden Shape Books
Happy Children
The House that Jack Built
Humpty Dumpty Book
Hurry Up, Slowpoke
I Made a Line
In the Big City*
Jack and the Beanstalk
King Who Learned to Smile
Laugh with Larry*
Little Gray Mouse and the Train
New Girl at Merrywhether
Night Before Christmas
Our Animal Story Books
The Owl and the Pussycat
Penny Takes the Stage
People Read (Macmillan-Bank Street Readers)
Peter Pan
Popeye
Question and Answer Book
Read-Aloud Funny Stories
Robin West: Freshman Nurse
Robin West: Nurse's Aide
Samax, the Gladiator
Secret of the Dark Stranger
The Selfish Giant
Sturdi Contour Books
Sunny Days in the City*
Sunshine Book
Surprise in the Tree
Tip Top Elf Rand McNalley Golden Future Coloring Books
Three Bears and Goldilocks
The Tracy Twins in Japan
12 Days of Christmas
Wizard of Oz
Wonderbooks
The Wouldbegoods (Penguin-Puffin)
Wynken, Blynken & Nod

*1st grade readers with integrated pictures

NEGRO HISTORY, CULTURE, RACE RELATIONS, AFRICAN HISTORY

The African (Signet)
African Heritage
African Independence (Dell)
Africa's Freedom
American Race Relations Today
The Angry Black South
Before the Mayflower--History of the Negro in America (1619-1962)
Black Boy
Black Humor
Black Like Me
Black Metropolis
Black Muslims in America
Black Nationalism
Black Treasure (Barlow, Tempo)
But Not Next Door
Cool World
Crisis in Black and White
Essays on the History of the American Negro
Fight for Freedom: Story of NAACP
The Fire Next Time
Fire-Bell in the Night
For Human Beings Only
Freedom Summer
From the Back of the Bus
Geography of African Affairs
Go Tell It on the Mountain
A Handbook of African Affairs
Home to Harlem
I Always Wanted to Be Somebody
Inside the Ku Klux Klan
In White America
Invisible Man
Lift Every Voice: the Lives of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary Church Terrell, and James Weldon Johnson (Doubleday)
Mind of the South
Mississippi: the Closed Society (Harvest)
The Movement (Hansberry)
Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes
Native Son
The Negro in the Making of America
Negro in the United States: A Brief History
Negro Question
The Negro Revolt
Negro Today
Nigger
Nobody Knows My Name
Notes of a Native Son
On Being Negro in America
Portrait of a Decade
Race and Nationality in American Life
Roosevelt Grady
Sex and Racism in America
Souls of Black Folk
The South and the Southerner
South Town
Southern Temper
The Story of Jazz
Strange Career of Jim Crow
The Strength to Love
Stride Toward Freedom
This is My Country Too
The Troublesome Presence
Up From Slavery
We Shall Overcome (Dell)
When the Word is Given
Who Speaks for the Negro
Why We Can't Wait
Years Pictorial History of the American Negro

HISTORY (MAINLY AMERICAN)

Abraham Lincoln (Charnwood)
Age of Jackson (Ment.)
The Age of Napoleon
America and Its Presidents
America as a Civilization
America in Perspective
American Labor (Pelling. U. of Chicago)
The American Scene: 1600-1860
Americans All: Story of Our Latin American Neighbors
Ark of Empire: American Frontier 1784-1803
Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin
Autobiography of Will Rogers
Background to Viet Nam
Banners at Shenandoah
The Big Change: America Transforms Itself, 1900-1950
Book About American History
Brief History of the U.S.
China: the Country Americans Are Not Allowed to Know
Christopher Columbus, Mariner
Cimarron
Citizen Tom Paine
The Civil War: A New One Volume History (Mentor)
Combat: War with Germany
Combat: War with Japan
Day Lincoln Was Shot
Day of Infamy
Documentary History of the U.S.A. (Heffner)
Eight Courageous Americans
The Final Challenge: the American Frontier (1804-1845)
Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Age of Action
George Washington (Mentor)
The Good Years (1900-1914)
The Great Adventure: America in the First World War
The Great Dissenters
Great Untold Stories of World War II
Here to Stay
Hiroshima
A History of Russia
History of the U.S. Since 1945
Hitler, A Study in Tyranny
Hoofbeats of Destiny: Story of the Pony Express
How and Why Wonder Book of the American Revolution
If the South Had Won the Civil War
Indian-Fighting Army
Indians of the Americas
Inside Europe Today
The Last Days of Hitler
Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of 18th Century America
Life on the Mississippi (Twain)
Main Street, U.S.S.R.
Nation Divided
The New Asia
New History of the United States
A Night to Remember
The 19th Century World
The Octopus
Only Yesterday
Our 50 United States
Paul Revere and the World He Lived In (Sentry)
Peking and Moscow
Picture History of the Modern World
A Pocket History of the United States
President Kennedy Selects Six Brave Presidents
Presidents of the USA: Profiles and Pictures
Rebels and Redcoats
Roughing It
Secrets of the Past
Sink the Bismarck
Stillness at Appomattox
Stories of Modern America

They All Discovered America
Thomas Jefferson
A Time to Stand
The Wall
When the Legends Die
Wonders of the World
Woodrow Wilson and the New America
The World of Ancient Man
World War II in Pictures

SCHOOL SUBJECTS, SKILLS, REFERENCE BOOKS

Art of Being a Successful Student
Basic Algebra Self Taught
Basic Biology Self Taught
Basic Chemistry Self Taught
Basic Facts of Human Heredity
The Body in Action
Books That Changed the World
Butterflies and Moths
College Scholarships and Loans: Who Gets Them--How and Why
Complete Handbook of Better English
Computers: the Machines We Think With (Dell)
Darwin and the Modern World View
Double Your Reading Speed
Economics in One Lesson
Electronics for Everyone
Engineering
English for Everyone
English Through Pictures, Books 1 and 2
Everglades National Park
Everyday Arithmetic Self Taught
Exploration of Space
First Workbook of English
Flowers
Fossils
Fun with Words, Grade 1, 2, and 3
Fun with Words and Pictures
Getting Ready to Read
Grade One Practice Workbook Reading
Grammar Self-Taught
Great Inventions
Growing Plants
Help Your Child Succeed in School
Heredity, Race, and Society
How and Why Wonder Book of Beginning Science
How and Why Wonder Book of Our Earth
How Much is a College Degree Worth to You
How the Great Religions Began
How to Become a Better Reader
How to Get Higher Marks in School
How to Prepare for College
How to Study
How to Study Better and Get Higher Marks
The Human Body
The Human Mind (Curtis Co.)
Ideas of the Great Economists
Little Book of Stars
Machines that Built America
Mammals
Man in Flight
Math, Grade 1, 2, 3, 4
Mathematics in Everyday Things
Mathematics Tables and How to Use Them
New American Guide to Colleges
New American Webster Handy College Dictionary
New Hammond World Atlas
The New Mathematics Dictionary and Handbook
New Ways to Greater Word Power
Number Fun
Pacific Northwest
Parent's Guide to Children's Reading
Penguin Dictionaries (Art, Music, Politics, etc.)
Penguin Encyclopedia
People and Places
Pictorial History of Western Art
Picture History of Painting
Rapid Vocabulary Builder
Reptiles and Amphibians
Sailing
Satellites, Rockets, and Outer Space
Science Projects Handbook
The Sea Around Us
Sea Shells

SCHOOL SUBJECTS, SKILLS, REFERENCE BOOKS

Seashores
Shortcuts to Effective English
Silent World
Southwest
Stop, Look, and Write
The Strange Story of Our Earth
30 Days to a More Powerful Vocabulary
3-In-1 Workbook, Grade 1 and 2
Trees
20 Steps to Perfect Spelling
Walt Disney Story of Our Friend the Atom
Weather
Words Most Often Misspelled and Mispronounced
You and Your Senses
Zoology

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

The Bantam Book of Correct Letter Writing
Career Guide for Young People
The Delso Sisters, Beauticians*
From High School to a Job
How to Be an Effective Secretary
How to Become a Government Girl
How to Land the Job You Want
John Leveron, Auto Mechanic*
Marie Perrone, Practical Nurse*
The Millers and Willie B.; Butcher, Baker, Chef*
1001 New Job Opportunities
1001 Top Jobs for High School Graduates
Opportunities in Agricultural Engineering
Opportunities in Free Lance Writing
Opportunities in Machine Shop Trades
Opportunities in Office Occupations
Opportunities in Phamacy Careers
Opportunities in Recreation and Outdoor Education
Opportunities in Social Work Careers
Opportunities in Teaching Careers
Six Ways to Get a Job
So You Want to Be a Doctor
So You Want to Be a Lawyer
So You Want to Be a Nurse
Television as a Career
Touch Typing in 10 Lessons
Writing Fiction

*Follett. Vocational Reading Series, Lerner and Moller, 1965)

THE FAMILY--HEALTH, REARING CHILDREN, DOMESTIC SKILLS, HOME REPAIRS

Accident Handbook
All New Fannie Farmer's Boston Cooking School Cook Book
Ann Landers Talks to Teenagers About Sex
Ann Pillsbury's Baking Book
The Art of Dating
Be Happier, Be Healthier
Becoming Parents
Better Homes and Gardens Baby Book
Betty Bissell Book of Home Cleaning
Bulky Knitting
Calories, Vitamins, and Common Sense
Children's Knitting
Complete Book of Knitting and Crocheting
Complete Guide to Home Sewing
Cookbook for Beginners
Drink, Eat, and Be Thin
Encyclopedia of Clothes Care
Etiquette and Manners
Explaining Life to a Child (Dell)
Facts of Life and Love for Teenagers
Facts of Love and Marriage for Young People
Family First Aid
Family Legal Adviser
Family Medical Encyclopedia
Fannie Farmer Junior Cook Book
Fathers Are Parents, Too
First Aid for the Ailing House
Gardening the Easy Way
Good Housekeeping Book of Baby and Child Care
The Handy Book of Gardening
Heloise's Housekeeping Hints
Home Maintenance: Quick and Easy Guide
Household Encyclopedia
Householder's Manual
How to Clean Everything
The I Never Cooked Before Cookbook
Infant Care (Lancer Books)
Instant Household Tricks
Instant Kitchen Tricks
Key to Physical Fitness
McCall's Easy Sewing Book
New Handbook of Modern Birth Control
New Ways in Sex Education
Nutrition in a Nutshell
On Life and Sex
1001 Questions and Answers from the Family Handyman
The Painless Way to Stop Smoking
Planned Parenthood
Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care (Spock)
Pregnancy and Birth
Premarital Dating Behavior
Protecting Yourself and Family
Sewing: New Ways, New Tools
Sex and the Adolescent
So You're Going to Be Married
Social Security and Medicare (Dell)
Stop Dieting: Start Losing
Tell Me, Doctor
To Goof or Not to Goof
The Vanishing Adolescent
Your Adolescent at Home and in School
Your Complete Home Medical Reference Book
Your Happiest Years

COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

ABC's of Community Planning (Sears)
ABC's of Urban Renewal (Sears)
America Tomorrow, Creating the Great Society
Basic Facts of American Government
Conventions and Elections: 1964 (Dell)
Democracy in America (Mentor)
Democratic Way of Life
Federalist Papers
Handbook of Everyday Law
Handbook of Practical Politics (Henry Holt & Co.)
How to Succeed in Politics
Living U. S. Constitution
Making of the President
A Manual for Direct Action (Quadrangle Books)
National Relocation and Housing Guide
Our American Government
Parties and Politics in America
The Peace Corps (Kittler)
Politics and Policies in State and Local Governments (Prentice-Hall)
Questions and Answers on American Citizenship
Report of the County Chairman
Slums and Suburbs
The U.N. and How It Works
U. S. Political System and How It Works
The Wasted Americans
What We Must Know About Communism (Overstreet)

CONSUMERS, COOPERATIVES

Buyer's Guide to Nearly Everything
Consumer's Guide to Better Buying
Family Handbook of Dollars and Sense
How and Where to Borrow Money
How to Borrow Money
How to Get More for Your Money
How to Lower Your Food Bills
How to Spend More, Owe Less, and Live Better
Principles of Cooperation (Bogardus, Cooperative League of USA)
Sense with Dollars
Something of Our Own (H.J.K. Publishing Co., Jackson, Miss.)
Vice President in Charge of Revolution (McGraw Hill)

January 22, 1957

McGraw Hill Publishing Company
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Sirs:

Recently we received a request for information concerning a film entitled "Segregation in The Schools". We understand that this film was produced by Jefferson Productions and is being distributed by your organization. We wonder if you have information material concerning this film and if it would be possible for us to preview the film for possible use in our program.

We would appreciate any consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SELECTED FILM BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Distributor's addresses are listed on final page.)

EDUCATION

1. "The Baltimore Story." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   An account of the processes followed in desegregating the Baltimore school system, which emphasizes actions taken by school officials to meet crisis situations.

2. "A City Decides." 27½ minutes, 16mm. Rental: $7.50 per booking. Contemporary Films.

   "...the timely, true story of how desegregation was effected in the public schools of St. Louis."

3. "Clinton and the Law." 54 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films or McGraw-Hill Company.

   "A documentary based on the actual occurrences in Clinton, Tennessee, portraying the situation when desegregation was introduced and the community reactions to it," this kinescope of a "See It Now" telecast covers events through early 1957.

4. "Segregation and the South." 60 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films.

   "A documentary film study of the progress and reaction since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools... (and) in other fields." (1954 - early 1957.)

5. "Segregation in the Schools." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $10.00. Contemporary Films, or McGraw-Hill Company.

   A kinescope of an Edward R. Murrow "See It Now" telecast which "describes and discusses desegregation and public reaction in Southern communities."

6. "Wanted - A Place to Live." 15 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

A "story of racial prejudice and discrimination against college students," this film is largely concerned with off-campus housing discrimination but is "constructed for use in psychological research in field of social perception of ethnic differences."

EMPLOYMENT

1. "Commencement." 20 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   Deals with "causes and effects of racial and religious discrimination in employment."

HOUSING

1. "All the Way Home." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "...examines the confused reaction of a community when a Negro family stops in front of a 'For Sale' sign...objectively explores the contagion of unreason and the guilt and other feelings which are barriers against a solution of the integration problem."

2. "The Burden of Truth." 67 minutes, 16mm. Apply to Anti-Defamation League, National Office, for availability and rental information.

   "A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems--and prejudices--that the young Negro faced in growing up."

3. "Crisis in Levittown, Pa." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "Laced with a searching narration...these interviews...actually catch a whole community in turmoil during a moment of crisis."

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS

1. "To Live Together." 32 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   "Examines American 'race problem' through eyes of a group of children at an experimental summer interracial camp."

2. "Brotherhood of Man." 10 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price of showings in Southern Region.)

"Animated color cartoon which presents in a humorous and entertaining way the scientific facts of how people are essentially alike." (Adult level.)

OTHER

1. "Face of the South." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $1.50. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Office or United Auto Workers Film Library, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

   A discussion, with graphic illustrations, of factors affecting the economic and social development of the South. (Based on George Mitchell's famous "map talk.")

2. "Report From Alabama." 27 minutes, 16mm. Contact Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office for rental and availability information.

   A kinescope report, first produced on television, on denials of suffrage rights in Tuskegee and elsewhere in Alabama, culminating in the 1958 Civil Rights hearings.

ADDRESSES OF DISTRIBUTORS

1. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Office
   515 Madison Avenue
   New York 28, New York

2. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Southern Regional Office
   41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
   Atlanta, Georgia

3. Contemporary Films
   13 East 37th Street
   New York 16, New York

4. Dynamic Films, Inc.
   Department H
   405 Park Avenue
   New York 22, New York

5. McGraw-Hill Company
   Text Film Department
   330 West 42nd Street
   New York, New York

FILM

THE FACE OF THE SOUTH

Date:	Sent to:	Returned
5/30/57	Nat Griswold, Ark. Council on Human Relations	

FILM

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE

Date	To:	Returned
10/21/56	Sent to Mrs. H. F. Holmes, 318 Murray Street, Frankfort, Kentucky	returned
11/1/56	Sent to William M. Nix, Morehouse College, Atlanta	"
11/9/56	Sent to Galen Martin, Frankfort, Ky.	ret'd 12/3
11/8/56	Sent to Milton C. Vigo, New Orleans, La.	returned
12/3/56	Mr. Theodore B. Cooper, Head Dept of Secondary Ed. Florida Agricultural & Mechanical Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.	returned
11/26/56	Mr. Curtis D. Gillespie, Dean of Students, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas.	returned
1/8/57	Mr. Armand Ball, Program Chairman, Northeast, Florida Council on Human Relations, 206 Baptist Building, Jacksonville 2,FLA.	returned
2/28/57	Mr. Milton C. Vigo, LCHR, New Orleans, Louisiana	returned
3/2/57	Mr. Milton C. Vigo, LCHR, New Orlenas, Louisiana	R'td
4/4/57	Dr. David C. Wilson, Va. University Hosp. Charlottesville	Rt'd 4/29/57
~~5/15/57~~	~~Mr. Mil~~	

A CITY DECIDES

A Documentary Film About the Integration

of the Public Schools of St. Louis

Draft of SHOOTING SCRIPT
September 15, 1955

FOR: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N. Y.

FROM: Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.
211 North Fourth St.
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Charles Guggenheim & Associates
5522 Delmar Boulevard
St. Louis 12, Mo.

FLEISHMAN HILLARD INC PUBLIC RELATIONS

Shooting script:
A CITY DECIDES
Running time: 29 min. 30 sec.
Spex: 35mm Black and White

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

We fade up on a long, quiet street of a white neighborhood on the north side of St. Louis.

There is a child skating on the sidewalk, away from us.

A push cart crosses the far intersection. A car or two.

SOUND:

Street noises.
Skates on the sidewalk.

'Rags, ol' iron,' of the junkman.

In the far distance we hear police sirens

The following title supers over the above:

ST. LOUIS

June 21, 1949

NARRATOR:

On this summer day, a swimming pool in a public park on the North Side of St. Louis was opened to all citizens, regardless of the color of their skin.

Sirens continue in background.

The child has skated to the far end of the block and around the corner.

Around the corner come two boys on bicycles, hell-bent.

They approach, dodge a car, and swish by the camera.

We cut to a youth kneeling on the sidewalk, fixing a flat bike tire. He looks up as the bicycles pass.

BOYS SHOUTING:
"fightin' at the swimmin' pool."
"Let's go!"
"Cops are on the way."

We cut to five more boys on bicycles shooting by.

The Boy rises abruptly and we follow his face. We see that he is athletic looking, been through his quota of back yard football and king of the hill.

He looks at his useless bicycle.

Another boy on a bicycle passes him.

Suddenly the Boy pushes his bike aside on the lawn. Then he is off at a dead run, in pursuit of the excitement.

We follow the Boy as he dashes down the sidewalk, dodging into the street to avoid pedestrians and ash cans. He begins to pick up company on his journey, other youngsters, some older some younger.

From the roof top looking down on the street we see that the running wedge of kids are nearing the end of the block. They hesitate a minute and then dash across the busy intersection into the park.

A crowd has gathered and through their ranks we see the boys approach.

The Boy walks into a close-up. He's listening and looking at the crowd around him.

We dolly with him as he walks through the crowd, closer to the center of turmoil.

The Boy stops.

We see a close up of the youth as he squeezes to the front of a tight semi-circle. He looks slightly upwards. He is very intense.

We cut to three Negro faces. Their eyes are quick and nervous. They are as animals trapped in a pit.

The crowd is established. It is a tight semi-circle around the front entrance of the Fairgrounds Park pool. There are a group of scared, tough Negro boys in swimming suits, waiting for the pool to open.

SOUND:

(Background sound, mean and ominous babble, through which an occasional phrase and epithet comes distinct.)

'filthy, black...'

'..be takin' over the whole neighborhood...'

'What's the city hall think it's doin'?'

'...teach 'em their place.'

'Never git away with it where ah comes from.'

'...right in the same water with white kids.'

We cut to a close-up of a middle-aged woman with a baseball bat.

CU of young Negro.

CU of the Boy. He looks up as a middle-aged man with a young child on his shoulder speaks.

MAN: (lip sync):

"If the Lord wanted us to mix with you people he would say so in the Bible."

The doors of the pool open. An attendant stands at the entrance. Nobody moves.

Then three or four large white teen-agers step forward and exit the semi-circle. They walk toward the swimming pool door, immediately in front of the Negro boys.

We cut to a close-up of the Negro faces as the white boys pass in front.

As the white boys pass, a shoulder is swung into the chest of a Negro boy.

Close up of a black hand clutching a rock, letting it fly.

Close up of a white boy immediately in front of pool entrance. He grimaces in pain, holds chest and slumps down.

Cut to face of the Boy. He is shoved aside as the crowd moves forward.

VOICES: (General crowd confusion and epithets)

The crowd surges forward. There is a melay of policemen and mob.

The Boy is pushed to the ground. Feet and legs are everywhere. A Negro steps on his hand in the confusion. Boy struggles to free himself.

He regains his feet and breaks out into the open. There are men, women and children spectators gathered on the periphery watching the event.

VOICE: (shouting)

"There goes one!"

CU of the Boy as he turns abruptly.

With the Boy standing in foreground we see that there is a young Negro crossing the park some one hundred yards from the trouble. A gang of white boys and men run off in his direction.

We see the gang approaching, with the Negro in the foreground. He is walking slowly, obviously unaware of the impending violence.

MUSIC: Impending violence

Medium close-up of the Negro. He's looking at the gang. He then turns to look behind him as if to find the object of their pursuit.

The gang descends upon him at full run.

We see the occurance from the Boy's vantage point. He is standing in the foreground. In the background we see the Negro being lifted from his feet and thrown to the ground. The youth turns and walks into a close-up. Then he turns and runs.

MUSIC: Comes to sharp finish

We follow him as he races through the park and finally stops on a rise overlooking Farragut School playground.

A close-up of the Boy. He looks skyward.

We cut to a kite in the sky, and the camera pans down the string to a Negro boy who is flying the kite.

A close up of the Negro boy flying the kite.

The Boy is standing fifty yards from the kite flyer. He begins to walk toward the young Negro.

MUSIC: Ominous.

The youth approaches framed between the kite string and the youngster flying it. The white boy is bigger than the Negro. They are now standing opposite each other.

The Negro looks up at the intruder. There is bewilderment and some fright on his face.

The Boy is staring at the Negro, purposeful and fixed, a monomaniac.

Suddenly he swings his fist, hitting the Negro boy in the face. Quickly, again and again.

The Negro boy falls stunned to the green grass.

The Boy has not changed his expression. He stares at the stunned victim of his violence.

We cut to the kite, looping, looping, and finally diving to earth.

NARRATOR:
No one was killed in the violence of that June afternoon in St. Louis.

A group of men, one a priest, come running from the street. The flying black robes of the priest lead the way.

The Boy sees them and flees the other way.

A few boys were wounded with knives and beaten with stones and fists.

The three men run to the fallen boy.

They kneel beside him.

CU of the face of the Negro boy.

CU of the three men looking at his face.

The men now help the reviving boy to his feet. He accepts their help until he gets steady.

The men want to help him home, but he shakes off their hands and walks off through the park alone. His head is down, and his hands are in his pockets...

NARRATOR:

And there were many citizens who suffered a deeper pain.

Titles:

1. THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

presents

2. A C I T Y D E C I D E S

3. A film about certain events that took place in this 'Northern city with a Southern exposure' some five years later...

4. May 17, 1954

TITLE MUSIC

Dissolve to montage of newspaper headlines of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation.

Look at headlines a few days later dealing with the Missouri attorney general's declaration that the state law requiring segregation in public schools is unconstitutional and unenforceable.

Linger on headline announcing that St. Louis School Board is meeting tonight to consider its action.

VOICE ON FILTER:

"To separate children from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their state in the community that may effect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

"We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."

We pan up, revealing Hickey at the Board table. He is listening.

NARRATOR:

In charge of the Public School system of St. Louis--the largest

segregated school system in the United States--was a man named Philip J. Hickey.

CU of Oscar Ehrhardt. Pull back slowly to reveal the Board in session. Ehrhardt is at the raised place of the President, and he is speaking to Hickey.

ERHART (lip sync):

To sum it up, Phil, the next step is yours. The Board has considered the Supreme Court decision. The Board instructs you to draw up a plan and make recommendations on when and how our schools might be integrated. Give us a specific plan, and we'll decide whether or not to authorize you to put it into effect.

Cut to Hickey. He nods his head, and we can see that he is already weighing the alternatives of the job ahead.

ANTOINE:

Move we adjourn.

STOLAR:

Second.

The meeting stands adjourned.

The Board members leave the room slowly, talking as they go. Hickey keeps his place, gathering his papers, looking up to wave goodnight and smile as the Board members leave. Then he is alone.

Hickey finally gets to his feet.

NARRATOR:

We cut to the large open office floor, with its rows of desks and filing cabinets, dimly lighted. Hickey stands in the doorway of the huge expanse. He looks over at his desk in the corner, the only lighted place.

Mr. Hickey was not alone with the problem. He had an able and experienced staff of administrators who had often discussed what steps the schools might take on the inevitable day when segregation was declared unconstitutional.

We move into a MCU as Hickey sits down at his desk and looks at a map of the school system on the desk top. We dolly in slowly as he meditates.

As he considered these staff discussions, he was assailed by the temptations every administrator has known.

VOICE IN STAGE WHISPER:

Appoint a special citizens committee to study the situation

Protect yourself, man. Call in some outside experts.

Don't risk a mistake. Wait and watch the experience of others.

Take plenty of time...

NARRATOR:

CU Hickey

But as the chief administrator of a school system with an annual budget of $25,000,000, Mr. Hickey also thought of all the taxpayer money that was being wasted by keeping 60,000 white pupils and 30,000 Negro pupils in separate schools.

NARRATOR:

Dissolve to the crowded halls of a Negro school.

Dissolve to half-empty classroom in a white school.

Cut to half-empty Negro class.

Cut to over-crowded white class.

Some schools were jammed to the rafters, and the teachers had more pupils than they could handle.

And others, in the same neighborhood, were wasting space and teaching talent.

Dissolve to long shot of Cote Brilliant school.

And one school building on the North Side...

Cut to shot looking through window into empty classroom. The Camera now deliberately trucks past the walls and looks into another empty classroom, continues on to look into another ...and another.

Classrooms, offices, gymnasium, lunchroom...wasn't used at all--stood empty--because there was a dispute as to whether it ought to be a white school or a colored school.

White and Negro children are crossing a street together with the protection of a crossing policeman. The white kids proceed into the playground of their school. The Negro kids stop at the corner to wait for the bus.

No one knew better than Mr. Hickey that it costs a lot of money to keep white and colored children apart in public schools...to maintain 'separate but equal' facilities.

The bus pulls up, and the Negro kids file aboard. We follow one of the boys to his place by a window.

He looks out the window at the white kids playing.

And the cost is not in dollars alone.

The bus pulls away. From inside looking out.

Establish shot showing bus pulling away from neighborhood school yard, white kids at play.

CHILDREN CHANTING ROPE-SKIPPING SONG: Policeman, policeman, don't catch me! Catch that nigger behind the tree.

We cut to the Negro school bus pulling into the frame of school window. The kids get off the bus and start into the school yard. White children are going past on their way to school.

The Negro children pass between the white children as they go into the school yard. They exchange glances.

From above, we see the white kids walking on past the yard, the Negro kids into it.

The two racial groups move away from one another, as we fade out.

BELL RINGS INSISTENTLY

We fade in on classroom of white youngsters pledging allegiance to flag.

CLASS IN UNISON:
I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible...

Cut to similar Negro class.

IN UNISON:

...with liberty and justice for all.

Dissolve back to Hickey at his desk.

EHRHARDT VOICE THROUGH FILTER:

The Board instructs you to draw up a plan and make recommendations on when and how our schools might be integrated.

Hickey swings forward in his chair and reaches for the lined tablet.

NARRATOR:

This was May...

Cut to Hickey writing in big scrawled letters on top page:

1. Move promptly. Stalling creates doubt, trouble, uncertainty.

Mr. Hickey figured they ought to get started when school took up in September.

2. Governmental decision. Proceed firmly.

The School Board is an elected body. Its decision would become the law.

Hickey folds the page back, and starts on new page:

3. A matter of administrative routine--no special committees--no outside experts.

The staff and the teachers would carry out the change in a matter-of-fact way--as they would any other administrative change. And who understood the children and

Cut to shot of room with Hickey's desk in background, over other desks.

Cut to Hickey writing.

4. School census and redistricting.

Hickey moves school district before him. Estimates a new boundary line with pencil.

He leans back in his chair, looking across the room, getting an idea.

Fade to IBM machine spitting out cards.

Fade back to Hickey and cut to tablet. Writing:

5. Schedule--integrate various schools in logical sequence by stages.

   Develop with staff.

On a new sheet of paper, he writes:

   Miss Krings--call staff meeting for 10 a.m.--PJH

He puts the papers in a stack and sits back, nodding...

their parents better than they? Hickey figured that if they couldn't do the job, outsiders wouldn't be much help.

Districts would be reorganized according to population densities and the availability of classrooms.

NARRATOR:

Then they would record full information about each child on a card--age, grade, address, and so on. There would be no information on the card about the child's color.

Then they would feed the cards into a machine, and let the machine decide what school a child would attend.

White teacher candidates standing in front of Harris College.

Negro teacher candidates on steps of Stowe college.

The city's public school system included two teachers colleges--one for white teacher candidates, one for Negro. Mr. Hickey and his staff decided to start with them in September. They were the most mature group in the school system. Besides, as teachers, they would be handling integrated classes some day.

Just an item, but Mr. Hickey had calculated that combining the colleges would save the taxpayers $800,000 a year.

A white child in a wheel chair is being pushed by his father toward the entrance of one of the special schools.

A Negro boy on crutches and his father are waiting for the school bus on the corner.

The fathers smile at one another as they pass.

The city provided special schools for the handicapped and crippled...

for the crippled white children...

and the crippled Negro children... separate, but equal.

These children and their parents wouldn't riot in the streets. Mr. Hickey and his staff scheduled the special schools for that first September, too--at another healthy savings to the taxpayers.

Shot of high school football game, crowd of students, a play, cheering.

Cut to white kids in a classroom, paying attention to teacher at blackboard.

Then the high schools. But they would wait one semester and integrate them at the beginning of the second semester, in January.

By the second semester, the students would be back in the groove of school discipline.

Slow dissolve to blackboard in court-like School Board meeting room. The dates are written on the board. We look at the bottom one:

September 8, 1955--Elementary Schools

Pull back to reveal whole blackboard. Take a good look at the whole schedule. Then reveal that it is Hickey holding the pointer, and that the School Board is assembled for his presentation.

And, finally, in the following September--a year after the start of the integration program--the 124 elementary schools of St. Louis

HICKEY (lip sync): There are lots of ways this could be done, and I don't say this is the best way necessarily. But the staff and I think this way will work. We can't guarantee it, but we think we can do it this way.

Cut to Board Member asking question.

BOARD MEMBER: (lip sync)

Why do it in stages, Phil? Why not desegregate all the schools at once?

Cut to Hickey answering.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

That might be the best way to do it in some communities. But I think our plan makes more sense here. In our teachers colleges, we are dealing with our most mature students. In our special schools, we are dealing with people who have much in common. By starting with them, we get a chance to show the community that desegregation can work, and we give ourselves time to prepare properly for integration of the high schools and elementary schools.

Board member.

BOARD MEMBER: But why the high schools before the grade schools, Phil? I should think that the elementary kids would be less likely to have prejudices than high school kids.

Hickey.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

Perhaps. But in the high schools, we'll be dealing mainly with the students themselves. We believe they will accept this as a logical development. In the elementary schools, our main problem will be with parents, and we'd like more time to talk it over with them and let them see how it works in the high schools. Besides, as we start out, we can watch and control developments in eleven high schools better than we can in 124 elementary schools.

Board member.

BOARD MEMBER: (lip sync)

How about the teachers?

Hickey.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

Most teachers are way ahead of most of us. We've had inter-racial textbook committees for some time. The Teachers Association is mixed. To most of our teachers, this is long overdue. And if there are some who feel they can't work in an integrated setup, they'll just have to get out.

Board member.

BOARD MEMBER: (lip sync)

I think the students will do what is expected of them. If the community as a whole expects them to accept this as right and good, they will accept it as right and good. So my question is this: is the community ready, or are we moving too fast?

Hickey.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

The Catholic parochial schools have been completely desegregated since 1947. Both Washington University and St. Louis University are desegregated. There has been no trouble in any of those schools, and the community has had a chance to see the advantages of integrated education.

And another thing--we won't be alone in this. Every worthwhile organization in town is back of us. The Protestant churches are back of us through the Metropolitan Church Federation, along with all the other religious and social agencies. And the business clubs and the service clubs--why, more than 50 groups and organizations have been in to see us, offering to help in every way they can.

With their help, I believe the community will be with us when we integrate the high schools next January.

Board member.

BOARD MEMBER: (lip sync)

How about the die hards and the fanatical groups? Do you think they'll make trouble?

Hickey.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

I suppose they'll try. But if we announce a plan and stick to it and get the support of the good people, I don't think they can stop us or cause any trouble we can't handle.

Stolar.	STOLAR: (lip sync) Right now it's up to us. We've got a plan and the support of all the religious, professional, business, and social organizations in town. If we're for this 100 per cent, I think the people will back us up 100 per cent.
We dolly past the board members. They are studying the plan on the blackboard. Some are consulting their notes.	NARRATOR: The decision was now up to the Saint Louis Board of Education.
We stop on an MCU of Ehrhardt.	It was not an easy decision to make, and every member had to fight it out in his own way. Oscar Ehrhardt...Chairman of the Board of Education... Secretary of the CIO Industrial Union Council.
We move on to Schlaffly.	Daniel Schlaffly...Businessman... and devout Catholic... For him the issue was clear. His church had declared that segregation was morally and spiritually wrong.
We move on to Antoine.	Harold Antoine...Insurance Executive...Protestant...a man who's ancestors had owned slaves... The answer did not come quickly for Mr. Antoine. Taking leave of his business and his family he traveled to a church retreat to meditate. After three days, alone with his conscience, Mr. Antoine found his answer.
Dissolve to Antoine kissing his wife goodby in the driveway and gets into his car. Antoine sitting alone on a bench with church building in the background.	
Cut to profile shot of Hyman Stolar sitting in his high, leather lawyers chair. He reads the Supreme Court decision.	
The chair swivals toward us and Stolar looks the camera straight in the eye.	STOLAR: (lip sync) For a Jew to be against desegregation is ridiculous!

Dissolve back to board room. Camera pans faces of board members. As each name is called, the person nods or raises his hand.

EHRHARDT:

Mr. Christel?
Mr. Morrell?
Mr. Dyer?
Mr. Storckman?
Mrs. Friede?
Mr. Whiteside?
Mr. McCaffery?

Ehrhardt turns to Hickey.

Well, Phil. I guess that makes it unanimous. This is the 22nd of June. That gives you two months to put your show on the road.

Hickey turns to the blackboard on which is written the three dates of integration.

C. U. blackboard reading:
SEPTEMBER 8, 1955
INTEGRATE
SPECIAL SCHOOLS

tilt down to next sign:
JANUARY 31, 1955
INTEGRATE GENERAL
HIGH SCHOOLS

tilt down to next sign:
SEPTEMBER 8, 1955
INTEGRATE
GRADE SCHOOLS &
TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

NARRATOR:

The administrative plan was set and authorized. It was the law.

After nearly a hundred years, the law of the land would become the law of the city.

Laws are enforced more surely by public opinion than they are by policemen.

If the public understood this plan for integration, the public would support it. There is no better way to public understanding than through public discussion--in a free press and at open meetings.

We draw back to show that Hickey is again alone in the Board room.

The groups and organizations of the city--represented by ministers, priests and rabbis, by social workers and housewives, by businessmen and sociologists had pledged their support. Now they went to work...

William A. McDonnell, president of First National at his desk, on phone.	Bank presidents called business leaders to luncheon meetings.
League meeting.	The League of Women Voters.
Housewives in neighborhood house meeting.	The Playground Mothers Association.
Block Unit Meeting.	The Urban League.
Minister concluding sermon, bows head.	The plan was discussed--and prayed for--from the pulpits.
Mothers, mixed, in a living room. Tea cups, etc.	Teas were arranged where mothers of children that would be going to school together could get acquainted.
People coming into gymnasium entrance of a public school. It is evening.	At meetings sponsored by the PTA and other groups, the most fundamental problems and questions were discussed frankly and openly.
A mother and father followed by a young boy move sideways down a row of people to three empty seats. The camera trucks with them. The people are seated on folding chairs on the gym floor. They are mostly white with some Negroes. As the family gets settled, we hear the moderator.	MODERATOR: (voice only) I think we might as well get started, because we've got a lot of ground to cover. This meeting was called so the parents and school people of this neighborhood could get together to talk over some of the questions we might have about the school integration plan.
The people listen intently.	

Moderator at speaker's podium. Beside him are Leo Bohanon of Urban League; Mina Morris, psychologist for Board of Education; a physician, a high school principal (white).

MODERATOR: (lip sync)

We've got these experts up here, who want to help out if they can. Last time the plan was explained to us. Let's start right out with any questions that have been bothering you.

CU pan across faces of people. One or two look as though they want to speak, but no one breaks through.

NARRATOR:

The real questions they have are the ones that are almost never discussed in public.

We pan quickly to Mrs. Watson.

MODERATOR: (lip sync)

How about you Mrs. Watson? What was that question you were asking before we got started?

She hesitates, then rises.

WOMAN: (lip sync)

It was about--well, I was wondering about things like--well, health standards...and different kinds of sickness.

NARRATOR:

She's worried about communicable diseases. She has heard they are more prevalent among Negroes than whites.

A Negro woman rises.

NEGRO WOMAN: (lip sync)

Will these teachers, like a white teacher in my boy's class, will they be able to understand my boy and the white boy, too?

NARRATOR:

Will white teachers be unfair to Negro students?

Man stands up.

MAN: (lip sync)

There'll be school parties and things. What about them? What about social dancing, for instance?

NARRATOR:

Will school integration lead to inter-marriage? That's what he wants to ask.

Negro man gets up.

NEGRO MAN: (lip sync)

How about discipline. Are you gonna be able to keep order at this integrated school?

NARRATOR:

He's heard talk that the white boys plan to beat up the Negro boys when school opens.

More people getting up and asking questions.

There are other questions--about picnics, athletics, gangs, playgrounds, fraternities...

White woman gets up.

And there is one more question that is shared by almost everyone.

WOMAN: (Sync sound)

We've all been very proud of our school in the past, and I'm just wondering if the new integrated school is going to be able to keep its high educational standards?

Moderator talks to audience and then turns to the panel of people at his side. The school psychologist stands up and comes to the podium.

NARRATOR:

Good questions, not easy to answer. But there are answers.

Mina Morris speaks.

MORRIS: (sync sound)

You ask if educational standards will drop when Negro children enter your school. As a school psychologist I have tested many children, and I have found the same range of intelligence -- from the very brilliant to the mentally deficient -- among both whites and Negroes.

How well any one child does in school depends a good deal on his family's cultural and economic background.

C. U. Mina Morris.

Now I don't want to minimize the problems of the newly integrated school. Among your new students you may find some who are mentally deficient. You may find some who are slow readers. You may find some who are exceedingly brilliant.

After all, these are problems we already have in our schools.

Doctor at podium.

DOCTOR: (sync sound)

About this question of health. The answer is simply that all students take physical examinations before entering school. This is nothing new. In the past we've done this for both Negro and White schools. Our records show that Negro children are as healthy as white

children. And besides, if any kid comes to us with a serious disease, communicable or otherwise, he isn't allowed in school.

School principal at podium.

PRINCIPAL: (lip sync)

As far as keeping order and maintaining discipline is concerned, that's our job. I've been a principal for 25 years, and if there's one thing I've learned, it's that you never have any discipline problems if you make rules and then treat everybody just alike. That is exactly what we are going to do. There won't be any favoritism, and I don't anticipate a bit of trouble.

Leo Bohanon at podium.

BOHANON: (lip sync)

So you are worried because you think that high school social functions might lead to dating and intermarriage? You needn't be. The schools don't and won't teach intermarriage, and the children just aren't interested.

They are not interested because they have already formed their social habits and personal preferences. These are shaped in the home. They are the product of family and religious training, and most children retain them long after they leave home. Marriage is based upon mutual liking and respect, a common background in things cultural, social and religious, plus the approval of the particular groups to which the young

people belong. Society in America today operates to discourage marriage between individuals of different backgrounds. The long experience of integrated public school education in other American communities bears out the contention that integrated schools are neither lonely hearts clubs, nor a training ground for intermarriage.

Pan to the Rev. Murray Kenney in audience.

MINISTER'S VOICE:

Mr. Moderator! Might I say a word?

MINISTER: (lip sync)

Mr. Moderator and ladies and gentlemen. I'm the Reverend Murray Kenney, pastor of St. Mark's. In addition to what Mr. Bohanon has said, I should like to point out a couple of other facts about intermarriage. First, all the studies that have been made of this subject show that neither Negroes nor whites look upon integrated education as a step toward intermarriage. Both fully realize the social problems that accompany intermarriage. Second, I should like to point out that integrated education is a manifestation of our confidence in the strength of democracy. We send our children to school to make them ready for life outside school. In our democracy, we believe in solving our problems by understanding them, not by building a wall of ignorance around them.

Sign outside of door.
MASS MEETING
-
PROTEST RACE MIXING IN
OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MAN'S VOICE: (As though thru closed doors.)

What I want to know is whether 150,000,000 white Americans are going to let the Supreme Court and 16,000,000 Negroes destroy our white American way of life?

Inside the meeting room. We look over the speaker's shoulder to see a scattering of people, mostly old women, with a great many empty seats.

MAN'S VOICE: (as though in room)

Who told these 9 old men to mongrelize our nation? Are we going to sit idly by while our children are forced to mix with Negroes in our public schools?

Pan faces of people.

Or will we rise up to defend our schools, and our children, and our country?

Separation of the races is the law of God!

Long shot of Soldan Blewett High School. Three boys cross the street and walk up to the iron fence around the school.

We see the faces of the boys behind the fence.

C. U. boy on one end. He speaks.

BOY 1: (sync sound)

How many colored they going to have in the school?

We pan across the face of the boy in the middle to the boy on the other side. He shrugs his shoulders, then speaks.

BOY 2: (sync sound)

<u>If</u> they get in.

He takes out a knife and opens it and the boys look at it...

Hickey at his desk, talking on phone.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

Jerry, we'd like to get together with you and your boys and talk about police protection on the first day of integration in the public schools. I don't think we'll have any trouble...

Cut to door of Chief's office: Jeremiah O'Connell, Chief, St. Louis Department of Police. We go in and find the chief at his desk, listening on the phone.

HICKEY: (filter)

We've done what we can at this end, but we'll have to be ready in case...On the other hand, we don't want to give people the impression we expect any trouble either.

Dolly in on O'Connell.

O'CONNELL: (lip sync)

Sure, Phil. Assistant Chief Casey and I have already had a preliminary meeting with the district captains. We're ready to plan it out in detail whenever you say.

We'll work out some quiet way to handle any trouble, if there is any, without causing any trouble if there isn't any. How about the newspapers, Phil? Are they working with you?

HICKEY: (on filter)

They're with us one hundred per cent. They are reporting this as an administrative change. They'll keep their reporters and photographers in the background, so the kids don't get the idea that something big and dramatic is going on.

O'CONNELL: (lip sync)

That's fine, Phil. You remember the swimming pool riot we had a while back? I think most of that trouble was caused by people getting excited because it was reported there might be trouble.

(on filter)

Back to Hickey.

We'll make this look like just another day of school. But we'll be there, Phil, ready to move in. We'll be there.

HICKEY: (lip sync)

Writes on pad:
Thurs., 3 p.m., meeting with Chief O'Connell, Police captains and high school principals.

Okay. Thanks a lot, Jerry. See you then.

Sunday morning, downtown. The streets are deserted.

SOUND:

Church bells in distance.

Cut to the entrance of the Board of Education on Locust. Pan up to sixth floor.

NARRATOR:

Sunday morning in St. Louis. January 30, 1955. Tomorrow white and Negro students will go to the same public high schools for the first time.

He looks around the empty office.

SOUND:

We look out over the quiet city. We see the steeples of the churches.

Church bells, near and far.

NARRATOR:

In churches all over the city, special prayers are raised for a routine tomorrow.

Police Radio Close up.	VOICE: (on radio filter) Calling car 36. What is your position? VOICE: (on radio filter) Car 36. We're cruising in the 4200 block on Natural Bridge. There isn't anything going on here yet. VOICE: (on radio filter.) All right 36. Keep us informed.
Hand reaches in to radio and picks up microphone. We follow microphone to the face of Chief Casey. He is not in police uniform. He is sitting in the front seat of his car. It is not a police car.	CASEY: This is Assistant Chief Casey calling the dispatcher. Can you check the location of all cars covering school locations?
Police dispatcher's desk. We are looking over the Dispatcher's shoulder. In the background is a huge map of the city on which lights are going on and off.	DISPATCHER'S VOICE: All right, Chief Casey. Calling car 12. What is your position? VOICE: (on radio filter) Car 12 reporting. We're near the corner of Compton and Russell. Not many kids on the streets yet. Nothing to report.
We see Chief Casey in his car moving down the street. We are moving with him.	DISPATCHER'S VOICE: (on radio filter) Chief Casey reminds all cars to keep moving and keep out of sight... Car 58. Give us your position. (The pattern of police calls continues in the background.)

	NARR: Assistant Chief of Police Casey is in charge. His orders: Keep moving and keep out of sight. Police cars patroling around St. Louis' eleven high schools. A reserve force of 15 cars waiting at pre-arranged points.
The car moves out of the camera frame and we see behind it the Soldan Blewett High School Building.	
	At Soldan Blewett, largest school in the city, six hundred new students will go up the steps together -- 350 of them will be Negroes.
Inside Chief Casey's car moving down the street. We see two men inside the window of a drug store.	(Police radio continues to operate in background.)
Cut to a man lighting cigarette, on a bus corner.	Detectives -- out of uniform.
Cut to two men in drug store looking out window at school steps. Photographer's gear is on the floor beside him.	Reporters and photographer -- out of sight.
Casey in his car, we move with him.	There have been rumors. The south side kids are going to fight. The north side kids are going to have knives. The hate groups are going to start something.
Casey looks at his watch.	
C. U. Police radio.	VOICE: (on radio filter)
	Calling car 36. What is your position?

A group of white boys coming down street on way to school. They come toward the camera, and we pick up one face--the boy who showed the knife. His buddies are with him. His hand is clenched in his jacket pocket.

MUSIC: (Theme of swimming pool riot)

Negro kids in a bus, stopping at corner. A group comes toward the camera. We pick up the face of one of the boys.

Men in drug store watching.

Tighter shot of boy with knife.

CU Casey looking from his car window.

Over the newspaper of detective standing on corner, we see the white boys crossing the street toward the school steps.

The Negro boys are also approaching the steps.

The reporter in the drug store says something, and the photographer reaches for his camera.

The kids meet at the steps and start walking up toward the entrance.

Casey watching from car window.

Kids coming up steps toward us. Negro and white, some girls are in the background.

The boy with the knife and the Negro boy reach the door together. They stop and look at one another. The Negro boy pulls the door open.

As he does, the white boy knocks him off balance with a hip and shoulder block. The boy steps back, crouched and tense.

They look at each other, but the other kids--white and Negro--boys and girls--are pushing up the steps and through the open door.

The antagonists get swept on in and apart. We lose them in the crowd of cheerful faces, laughing and chatting as they pour in the school.

Cut to Casey. Picks up microphone.

CASEY: (lip sync)

Chief Casey to dispatcher. Everything's quiet at Soldan Blewett. Are you getting any reports of trouble?

DISPATCHER: (filter)

Nobody's reported anything, Chief. Quiet everywhere. Just another day of school.

CASEY: (lip sync)

We're going to take a look at what's going on over at Beaumont. Over.

We see Casey's car pick up speed and drive away. We see more kids going up the steps.

Cut to reporter in phone booth in drug store.

REPORTER: (lip sync)

There's nothing here at all. Real quiet and orderly. I'll go in and get a quote from the principal before I leave. How about the other schools? Quiet, too. Well, this is one story we didn't want on page one anyway.

The last kids are going up the steps. The doors close behind them.

SOUND: Bell rings insistently.

A class is pledging allegiance to the flag. We move in and look at the faces. We see the boy with the knife. We see the Negro boy. All the boys and girls, white and black.

MUSIC UNDER CLASS IN UNISON: (lip sync)

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Titles:

MUSIC UP FOR TITLES

1. Script by
MARTIN QUIGLEY
MAYO SIMON
CHARLES GUGGENHEIM

2. Director of Photography
VICTOR DUNCAN

3. Directed by
CHARLES GUGGENHEIM

4. Produced by
FLEISHMAN-HILLARD, INC.
for
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

5. A CGA Production

October 4, 1955

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

This is to summarize the views on the film script "A City Decides" which we discussed by telephone today. Irene Osborne also read the script, and I am including her specific points in addition to my more general evaluation with which she is in substantial agreement.

The overall approach of the script seems to us questionable in that it is largely violence centered. In communities that are now, or soon will be, considering school desegregation, the great need is for reassurance: this can be done; violence is not the natural response of school children; there are techniques for furthering good schoolroom adjustment once integration is begun; teachers can be integrated with good results; and so on. While some parts of the script obviously are intended to establish several of these points, the dominant mood and emphasis of the story don't serve the purpose. For example:

(1) The film begins with an extremely violent episode. True, it is intended to show that St. Louis has a background of interracial conflict and thus to point up the significance of successful school desegregation there. Psychologically, however, the mob scenes pitch the story on a jarring and anxiety-producing note that is never quite dispelled by what follows. For uncertain community leaders, this is pretty clearly not the right note.

(2) The last part of the film achieves its climax through the build-up of impending violence, which is narrowly averted by accident in the next-to-last scene. Note that the knofe-toting white boy is the villain of the piece, thus suggesting that calculated violence on the part of pupils is a natural response to school desegregation. Nor is the violence averted by any of the elaborate pre-arrangements of the school authorities and the police, but simply by a lucky coincidence. In the last scene, as the pupils pledge allegiance to the flag, the boy still has his knife in his pocket and, as far as we know, murder in his heart. In short, this whole episode provides tension

and excitement but no persuasive evidence that integration can be constructively achieved by sound planning.

(3) On page 12, a point is made of the fact that the schools for the handicapped and crippled are logical schools to integrate first because "these children and their parents wouldn't riot in the streets." Again, emphasis on latent violence.

(4) The play given the police preparations for opening day keeps the audience focused on the threat of violence. The fact that the authorities made careful preparations to put down any disorder belongs in the film, but it shouldn't be a major theme. The important thing, after all, is that no trouble occurred.

To attempt to be constructive for a moment, I think a comparable amount of suspense and human interest can be realized with a more positive theme. For example, the story might center on one or two school children--perhaps one white, one Negro--and the resolution of their inner conflicts over integration. Everybody agrees that grown-ups are the main problem, not the children. It would make sense, then, for the difficulty to originate with the parents or with the other adults intent on stirring up trouble. Then, the resolution could come with the youngsters discovering each other as likable human beings in the school situation. This would provide an opportunity to show how sound policies and practices, from the school board down to the individual teacher, can contribute to sound adjustment. For example, a Negro teacher in the integrated set-up could be an effective and instructive character in the action. In short, perhaps a better film would start approximately where this one leaves off.

Several smaller points:

(1) Irene Osborne questions the accuracy of the statement on page 6-7 that St. Louis had "the largest segregated school system."

(2) On page 8, the superintendent hears the voice of his evil genius saying, "Protect yourself, man. Call in some outside experts." And later the statement is proudly made that no outside experts were called in. This may have been wise in St. Louis, but we question the evident assumption that outside experts are a Bad Thing period. Many communities have profited by the advice and consultation of knowledgeable outsiders, and xenophobia is already rampant enough in the South without further promoting it.

(3) The question of teacher integration, which seems less feasible than pupil integration to many school officials, is dismissed with the summary statement of Hickey on page 14.

Irene Osborne feels strongly that this deserves more effective treatment, particularly since St. Louis had such good results.

(4) On page 16, Stolar's statement ("For a Jew to be against desegregation is ridiculous!") seems very dubious to us. Sort of a stereotype in reverse, which might be justifiably resented by some.

(5) On page 19 ff, the questions raised by the parents and the answers given are, on the whole, realistic and helpful. However, Irene Osborne feels that more attention might be given to the needs of Negro children rather than merely whether or not whites will adjust all right. She also feels that the answer might stress the goal of good education more.

Since the purpose of this letter is critical, it may seem more negative than it is intended to be. As I said on the phone, a film based on the St. Louis story could be a valuable aid in the South. In fact, we are now distributing several printed versions of the story. We simply feel that the emphasis of such a film should be on the success of the experience and how it was achieved in terms of human relations.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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AA53 SA248

(31) 1955 OCT 12 PM 3 45

S LLJ454 PD=FAX STLOUIS MO 12 209PMC=
HAROLD FLEMING SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NE WA 7963 ATLA=
OUR MEETING SET FOR 10 AM OCTOBER 25 FUND OFFICE IN NEW YORK REGARDS=
MARTIN QUIGLEY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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AA33 PD163

(12) 17 1AM 11 50

P TA281 PD=PHILADELPHIA PENN 17 1112AME=
:HAROLD FLEMING=
SOUTHRN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN ST ATLA=

RESERVATION MELBOURNE HOTEL STLOUIS TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY NIGHTS PLEASE PHONE ON ARRIVAL=
FRANK LOESCHER=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

(52)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1955 OCT 17 PM 1 54

AA59

A LLV234 (S LLV186) 8 COLLECT=STLOUIS MO 17 1209AMC=

=HAROLD C FLEMING=

1254 13

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

=SINGLE ROOM RESERVED STARTING TUESDAY OCTOBER 18TH=

=MELBOURNE HOTEL=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TELEGRAPH YOUR
CONGRATULATIONS
IT'S THE EXTRA-SPECIAL WAY
Call WESTERN UNION from any telephone

STERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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=(07)

AA931 SB341

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1955 OCT 13 PM 6 14

=HAROLD FLEMING=

=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

WA 7963 ATLA=

CFMD OFC

=SIGNALS BUSTED, CAN YOU MAKE MEETING 10 AM OCTOBER 19 IN OUR OFFICE 211 NORTH FOURTH ST ST. LOUIS? THIS OKAY WITH LOESCHER, HAS MANY ADVANTAGES. REGARDS=

MARTIN QUIGKLEY

DA 642P HC DA 750P HC

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

to St. Louis

10:50 AM - 12:23

#200 7:50 PM - one stop - 9:37

TO ATL

1955 OCT 13 PM 3 23

CITY ATLANTA GA

4:40 PM -

8:00 PM

#953

6:30 - change Nashville

- 11:34

EMERY AIR FREIGHT CORPORATION

FORWARDER AIRBILL — NON NEGOTIABLE

It is mutually agreed that the goods herein described are accepted in apparent good order (except as noted) for transportation as specified herein, subject to governing rules, classifications and tariffs, in effect as of the date hereof, which are filed in accordance with law. Said rules, classifications and tariffs, copies of which are available for inspection, are hereby incorporated into and made part of this contract.

"Blue Ribbon Service" PREPAID ☑ COLLECT ☐ DATE 10-19-56 E. A. F. NO. N/4774

FROM	TO
Funk Fac Republic	Mr. Harold Fleming
CONSIGNOR	CONSIGNEE
60 East 42nd	63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
STREET ADDRESS	STREET ADDRESS
N.Y.C.	Atlanta Georgia
CITY ZONE COUNTY STATE	CITY ZONE COUNTY STATE

CHARGE TO OR ACCOUNT OF

$ 100.00 DECLARED VALUE | SIGNED FOR CONSIGNOR, PER Gilchrist | DEPT. OR ORDER NO.

NO. PCS.	DESCRIPTION AND MARKS	WEIGHT	SCALE
1	Film "St. Louis Film	~~45~~ 37	

CHARGES		
AIR FREIGHT		
ADVANCE		
VALUATION CHARGE		
SUB TOTAL		
TRANSPORTATION TAX		
SHIPPER'S C. O. D.		
C.O.D. FEE		
TOTAL DUE →		

1110

PICKUP ADDRESS LOCATION TIME

CONSOLIDATION REFERENCE

Richie **CONSIGNEE'S COPY**

4

EAF FORM OP-1 (4-56)

file

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY·INC.
McGRAW-HILL BUILDING
330 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 36, N.Y.

LONGACRE 4-3000

February 1, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Managing Editor, New South
Southern Regional Council
Roome 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I have your letter of January 22 requesting information on the film SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS.

A descriptive circular with purchase price is enclosed. If you are interested in purchasing the film we will be glad to send it to you for examination before purchase. However, if you only wish to have it on a rental basis we suggest you contact your local film rental library as we do not rent films.

Thank you for your interest in our materials and if we can be of service please let us know.

Very truly yours,

Helen M. Allen

Helen M. Allen
Text-Film Department

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FILE COPY

February 15, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

"A CITY DECIDES," A MOVIE ON THE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, IS SCHEDULED BY THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY FOR TELEVISION AT 5:00 P.M., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1957.

FILM CONTENT:

The film concerns the smooth transition of the St. Louis, Missouri, schools from a segregated to an integrated system. Scenes show how school and city officials made their plans, conferences with parents, student reaction, and other phases in the transition period.

SUGGESTIONS:

(1) Alert persons in your area that the film is scheduled.
(2) Telephone the local NBC television outlet to determine if the film is to be shown in your area and, if so, when.
(3) If film is shown, ask your friends to telphone and/or write constructive comments to the local station and to NBC officials. (This might help encourage television officials to schedule other programs of this nature.)

Notice of this program has been inserted in the current New South, being mailed on this date.

"A CITY DECIDES"

A half-hour film on how St. Louis integrated its schools.

Nominated for a Motion Picture Academy "Oscar"

Produced for the Fund for the Republic - Presented under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews as a feature of Brotherhood Week.

NBC - TV Network
Saturday, February 23, 5 p. m. EST
(Over WRCA-TV, New York City area, 2 p. m. EST)

Tell your friends! It will be worth watching!

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

October 19, 1956

Mrs. H. F. Holmes
318 Murray Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Holmes:

Please fill out one of the enclosed forms for each showing of the film "For Fair Play" which is on loan to you from our office.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo
Encs.

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 5, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: Directors of State Affiliates

From: John Constable

Subject: Film "Desegregation in Baltimore"

The Southern Regional Council has two copies of a film concerning desegregation in the Baltimore, Maryland, schools. The movie tells of the planning involved in the desegregation move, what trouble was encountered, and how this trouble was combatted.

This film is available from the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

Each loan period will be for five days except when the borrower asks for an extension in his original request.

JC:mbo

November 13, 1956

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Bldg.
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Milton:

The film "Desegregation in Baltimore" was mailed from our office on Thursday, November 8th, to you. The film is a 16 MM one. I presume it will be there in time for your meeting even though these things travel rather slowly in the mail. Let us know if it doesn't turn up.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — UNITY AMITY

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

PRESIDENT
MRS. ELSIE WHITMAN ROWLAND, LAKE CHARLES

VICE-PRESIDENT
NUMA J. ROUSSEVE, NEW ORLEANS

TREASURER
DR. CLARENCE J. FORCIA, ALEXANDRIA

SECRETARY
DR. S. V. TOTTY, BATON ROUGE

MILTON C. VIGO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Louisiana.

November 12, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I would appreciate it very much if you will let me know immediately if it is possible for the New Orleans Chapter to borrow the film, "Desegregation in Baltimore" for its meeting on Monday, November 19, 1956, because we would like to send out notices now to announce the program for the meeting. If it is possible, I would further appreciate it if you will let me know if the film is 35mm or 16mm in order that we may obtain the projector necessary for that film.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV/jrb

File

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — AMITY UNITY

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

PRESIDENT
MRS. ELSIE WHITMAN ROWLAND, LAKE CHARLES

VICE-PRESIDENT
NUMA J. ROUSSEVE, NEW ORLEANS

TREASURER
DR. CLARENCE J. FORCIA, ALEXANDRIA

SECRETARY
DR. S. V. TOTTY, BATON ROUGE

MILTON C. VIGO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Louisiana.

November 7, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. John Constable, Editor
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I received your memorandum about the film "Desegregation in Baltimore." When I received your memorandum I was in the process of trying to set up the program for the New Orleans meeting to be held on Monday, November 19, 1956.

The New Orleans Chapter would like to borrow this film so that it may be shown on the night of November 19. Therefore, I would appreciate it very much if we may borrow one of the copies of the film "Desegregation in Baltimore." I would further appreciate it if you would have the film mailed so that it may arrive at this office on Friday, November 16.

I will return it to you on the morning of the 20th, which would cover the five-day loan period.

An answer from you as soon as possible would be appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV/jrb

film mailed 11/8

November 21, 1956

Mr. William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
324 S. Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Bill:

Harold is out of town and so I am answering your card of November 19th concerning the film "Desegregation in Baltimore."

We have two copies of the film and we can reserve one for Rev. Barnette in January if you can send us a more specific date. As yet we do not have any request for the month of January but I would suggest that you send the approximate date as soon as possible in order to be certain that the film will not be reserved by someone else.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbc

Florida Council on Human Relations

324 S. BEACH ST. - DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

November 19, 1956

Dear Harold:

We have a request from E. Hampton Barnette, Minister of Education, First Methodist Church, Ft. Lauderdale. They would like to have the movie, "Desegregation in Baltimore" "for a convenient time in January."

Sincerely,

Bill

Wm. K. Williams, Exec. Dir.

AIRMAIL

November 26, 1956

Mr. Curtis D. Gillespie
Dean of Students
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Gillespie:

Your letter concerning the film "Desegregation in Baltimore" has been given to me for reply. I am sorry that both copies of the film we have are now on loan. However, they should be returned shortly and I can mail you one at that time but I doubt that it would get there in time for your November 30th showing.

Please let me know as soon as possible if you would like for me to mail you the film even though you would not be able to show it November 30th.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

DIVISION OF_____

DEPARTMENT OF_____

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

November 15, 1956

RECEIVED NOV 19 1956

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTENTION: Mr. George S. Mitchell

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for information on the film "Desegregation in Baltimore." I a hereby requesting the use of this film for November 30.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis D. Gillespie
Dean of Students

CDG/pew

December 3, 1956

Mr. Theodore B. Cooper, Head
Department of Secondary Education
Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Cooper:

The film "Desegregation in Baltimore" has been mailed to you today. Forms are enclosed and we would appreciate your filling them out after the film has been shown.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo
Enc.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University
Tallahassee, Florida

GEORGE W. GORE, JR., PRESIDENT

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

November 30, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

We are interested in using the film DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE at a meeting dealing with this problem at the University. We would like for the film to arrive on campus December 10 and hold it for five additional days as pointed up in your letter. Permit me to hear from you at your earliest convenience regarding the status of our request.

Very sincerely yours,

Theodore B. Cooper

Theodore B. Cooper, Head
Department of Secondary Education

TBC/jcf

SUSPEND 'TIL JAN. 10, 1957

Request from Rev. E. Hampton Barnette, First Methodist Church, 505 S. E. Sixth St., Fort Lauderdale, Fla., for film DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE. Ltr filed in folder of same name.

File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 3, 1956

Rev. E. Hampton Barnette
First Methodist Church
505 S. E. Sixth Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mr. Barnette:

The film "Desegregation in Baltimore" will be sent to you prior to January 27, 1957 for your use.

We are enclosing several forms in the film case which we wish you would fill out after the film has been shown.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

PLEASE NOTE: The unrest is too great at this time for us to use the picture here, and we ask that you cancel our order.
FIRST METHODIST CHURCH
E. Hampton Barnette

E. Hampton Barnette

Jan. 4, 1957.

YOUR COMMUNICATION Nov. 26.

We would like to have the picture movie "Desegregation in Baltimore"

January 27, 1957.

First Methodist Church
505 S.E. Sixth Street,
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

11/28/56

E. Hampton Barnette
Minister of Education

File in film folder

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The film "Desegregation in Baltimore" on loan to Mr. T. B. Cooper for 10 days beginning Dec. 10, 1956. An extension may be granted if request is forwarded to the above address in sufficient time.

BORROWER IS REQUESTED TO FILL OUT FORM BELOW

1. Type of audience Adult

2. Number of persons in audience 29

3. Reaction of audience Favorable, were impressed by documentation and were stimulated to ask questions and make statements.

4. Suggestions for additional showing of film —

5. Other comments —

(Several copies of this form are included in this package. One should be filled out with each showing of the film.)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The film "Desegregation in Baltimore" is on loan to Curtis D. Gillespie for 5 days beginning January 3, 1957. An extension may be granted if request is forwarded to the above address in sufficient time.

BORROWER IS REQUESTED TO FILL OUT FORM BELOW

1. Type of audience Mixed - College - White & Negro students & Faculty

2. Number of persons in audience 250

3. Reaction of audience Good - Report under separate cover

4. Suggestions for additional showing of film More time given so that film can be shown to surrounding community

5. Other comments

(Several copies of this form are included in this package. One should be filled out with each showing of the film.)

SUSPEND 'TIL Jan 10, 1957

Ltr dtd 12/7/56 fr Armand Ball, Florida Council on Human Relations, Jacksonville, Fla.

re: Film "Desegregation in Baltimore" to be mailed him no later than the 10th.

Mailed 1/8/57
Ed

Suspend til Jan 10, 57

December 12, 1956

Mr. Armand Ball
Program Chairman, Northeast
Florida Council on Human Relations
206 Baptist Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Ball:

Thank you for your letter of December 7, 1956. Yes, we can send you a copy of the film "Desegregation in Baltimore" and you will receive it by January 15th. The film is about thirty minutes.

Forms will be included in the film which we wish you would fill out and return after the film is shown.

We would appreciate return of the film immediately after it is shown since we have some requests for February.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbe

ROYAL AMBASSADORS

SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION FOR BOYS

ARMAND BALL, *State Secretary*
LARRY MOODY, *State Ambassador-in-Chief*

206 BAPTIST BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

December 7, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 11 1956

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would like to secure the movie, "Desegregation in Baltimore", for our January meeting of the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations. Is there a possibility of booking it for January 18, 1957, with the film arriving here by January 15?

We would like to preview it before the meeting, in order to lead a discussion following it.

We would like to know the length of the film, please.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Armand Ball

Armand Ball
Program Chairman, Northeast
Florida Council on Human Relations

RECEIVED JAN 11 1957

DIVISION OF_____

DEPARTMENT OF_____

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

file

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

January 9, 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have just completed the showing of the film "Desegregation in Baltimore" - a most encouraging stand on the part of people who believe in right. More people should have a chance to see this film. We showed this film to a mixed audience of about two hundred and fifty people; white, Negro, students, and faculty. These people were American and foreign. I am listing a few of the comments for the audience:

1. The film "Desegregation in Baltimore" brings into focus a city of citizens of which all America can be justly proud.

2. "Desegregation in Baltimore" did an excellent job of showing what can be achieved in eliminating segregation when people stand together.

3. Re: Film "Desegregation in Baltimore". Excellent! It shows clearly and interestingly how school desegregation can be accomplished when the appropriate authorities discharge their duties without equivocation. The role of community groups in spurring those authorities on to doing their respective duties is also brought out and is an example to others. I hope that this film will be shown widely.

4. This film is a good example of what can be accomplished when the right attitudes and steps prevail.

5. This film shows how right will prevail when the people are willing to discharge their responsibilities.

Thank you again for making the above film available to us. I shall be quite happy when and if ever, the "Clinton and the Law" story is made available.

Most sincerely yours,

Curtis D. Gillespie

Curtis D. Gillespie, Dean of Students

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The film "Desegregation in Baltimore is on loan to Mr. Armand Ball for 5 days beginning January 18, 1957. An extension may be granted if request is forwarded to the above address in sufficient time.

BORROWER IS REQUESTED TO FILL OUT FORM BELOW

1. Type of audience Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations inter-racial adult group

2. Number of persons in audience 60

3. Reaction of audience favorable good discussion following

4. Suggestions for additional showing of film

5. Other comments We were dumbfounded to find the film on the little green spool---we have never seen or heard of such. We opened the film to preview it---and of course, it was impossible to thread the machine from the spool, which meant that we had to wind it off the spool and then rewind it in order to show it. It took us about 2 hours to get it straight. May I suggest we purchase a reel---it will save wear and tear on the film, as well as frustration and disgust from those showing it.

I AM SENDING MY PERSONAL REEL BACK TO YOU AS I KNOW OF NO WAY TO REWIND IT ON THAT STUPID GREEN SPOOL. PLEASE RETURN THE REEL TO ME.

We appreciate the use of the film, but hope you will remedy the reel question, before another group views it.

(Several copies of this form are included in this package. One should be filled out with each showing of the film.)

Armand Ball, 206, Baptist Bldg., Jacksonville, 2, Fla.

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOUISIANA COUNCIL HUMAN RELATIONS AMITY UNITY

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. • NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

MILTON C. VIGO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295

File

February 27, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 18th.

I deeply appreciate your co-operation in sending the film, "Desegregation In Baltimore," before the week of April 15-19 in order that I may preview the film.

With best personal regards, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:bt

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The film Desegregation in Baltimore is on loan to Milton Vigo, LCHR for 5 days beginning March7th. An extension may be granted if request is forwarded to the above address in sufficient time.

BORROWER IS REQUESTED TO FILL OUT FORM BELOW

1. Type of audience Sponsors of CITIZEN'S FORUM ON INTEGRATION Integrated citizens groups

2. Number of persons in audience 35

3. Reaction of audience Well documented, interesting, educational, informative, and suggestive for ideas for the community in which it was shown.

4. Suggestions for additional showing of film Monday evening April 29, 1957 at Institute of Industrial Relations, Loyola University in course The South: Its Fateful Challenge.

5. Other comments

(Several copies of this form are included in this package. One should be filled out with each showing of the film.)

Respond for Fred

April 4, 1957

Dr. David C. Wilson,
Department of Neurology & Psychiatry
University of Virginia Hospital
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Wilson:

Fred Routh of our Office has asked that we send to you the films, "De-Segregation in Baltimore," and "A City Decides." "De-Segregation in Baltimore" is being mailed to you today, but we do not have copies of the film on St. Louis. Fred was mistaken about this.

The Fund for the Republic does have some copies of "A City Decides," which you might be able to borrow.

Instructions for the loan of this film are enclosed in the film case.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

RCV
MT file

July 26, 1962

Miss Joan Titus
Time-Life Broadcast, Inc.
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Titus:

Thank you for your note of July 24. The program evidently had a not so big but, I choose to think, very select audience and one which geographically seemed to fall squarely "between the extremes of both sides."

Let us know any time we can be of help to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RC
MJ-file

TIME-LIFE BROADCAST, INC.

A Subsidiary of Time Inc.

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

JUdson 6-1212

July 24, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

This letter is so late that there is no adequate apology I can make, so I'll just give you what information I have.

Each station using our programs was requested to inform us of the ~~the~~ air-time and date for the broadcasting of "The Children Should Be Heard." Many stations, including one owned by Time Inc., didn't bother to respond (typical, if ironic, circumstance of the communications industry).

This is the most complete list of the stations I have:

WFBM	Indianapolis	(May 20)
WOOD	Grand Rapids	(May 11, 8:30 PM)
WTCN	Minneapolis	(Sunday, May ? at 8 PM)
WFBR	Baltimore	(May 13, 9:30 PM)

I am sorry the structure built around "the extremes of both sides" so bothered you. Either from ignorance or involvement, I was not disturbed by that part of the production. And over all, and in retrospect, I think the show was a good beginning.

Sincerely,

Joan Titus

(Miss) Joan Titus

August 24, 1962

Miss Joan Titus
329 East 55th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Miss Titus:

I have read the presentation of the film, Encounter, and have had it read also by others here on the staff. We think it is excellently conceived and I sincerely hope you shall be able to produce it. It has for long seemed to us that the public media could provide a service of great value by, as it were, putting white and Negro southerners into conversation with each other on a plane of mutual dignity. I think your plan achieves this by putting the Atlanta students on camera with the fine, certain-to-be-perceptive guidance of Lillian Smith.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:jl

329 East 55th Street
New York 22, New York
August 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I am sending you the presentation of a film, ENCOUNTER, because its subject is relevant to the concern of the Southern Regional Council. I believe the concept of the film is an original and potentially powerful way to present the personal and public tragedy of segregation while creating, however briefly, an encounter between Negro and white, between generations, in the South today.

As a private individual I am trying to raise the money for the independent production of this film, hoping that when completed it could be widely shown on television. I think, and I hope you agree, that this film could convey to people throughout the country an awareness of a situation that deeply affects all of us.

As the presentation makes clear, the film is structured upon the remarkable capability and eloquence of Miss Lillian Smith. Because of their faith in her singular capacity to bring alive the image of encounter, Dr. Robert Coles has agreed to help in this endeavor; Mr. Richard McCutchen is contributing his time and talent as a director. The total production cost, therefore, can be kept to $11,000.00.

If you beleive in the idea of the film, I would greatly appreciate the endorsement of the Southern Regional Council. The prestige inherent in the approval of your organization would be of immeasurable assistance to my efforts to raise the funds from foundations and individuals. And if the film is done and shown to a mass audience, I think ENCOUNTER will have great impact, saying what needs to be said by those who can say it most effectively.

My asking for promptness in response is, as you know, a rather untenable position for me; but I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible. As you know, Miss Smith is ill. Our tentative shooting date is the beginning of October. That means there is not much time for raising the funds and making all the arrangements.

Sincerely,

Joan Titus

(Miss) Joan Titus

October 4, 1962

Miss Joan Titus
329 East 55th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Joan:

I am returning the articles for which I thank you very much.

I have heard the bad news about Taconic, although my only surprise there was that they got into it as seriously as they did. How about giving me a call soon and letting me know the score.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures

LWD

letter dictated by Miss Titus to MA; she will be at this number, Judson 6-1212, ex 2623 for one hour or one hour and 15 minutes and hopes that you can call her back before then. It is now 2:40.

Dear Sir:

Since my letter of August ____, the Southern Regional Council, Inc., has expressed ~~its desire and~~ a willingness to work with us in presenting the film, Encounter. The Southern Regional Council, ~~ix~~ a tax-exempt organization, has agreed to sponsor the film. The following is an excerpt from a letter from Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the ~~Southern Regional~~ Council:

> We think it (the film) is excellently conceived and I sincerely hope you shall be able to produce it. It has for long seemed to us that the public media could provide a service of great value by, as it were, putting white and Negro Southerners into conversation with each other on a plane of mutual dignity. I think your plan achieves this by putting the Atlanta students on camera with the fine, certain to be perceptive guidance of Lillian Smith.

I hope you will take into account this new development and ~~endorsement~~ sponsorship when considering our request for financial support.

Titus

Pl. 6-4040
PD 3-5416

OK - , at our request,

has further question before mailing letter; will call in the morning about ten o'clock (9 her time)

MA

News Media

December 5, 1962

Miss Joan Titus
329 East 55th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Joan:

Thank you for your letter. I am glad that all went well. You should not feel " a little dismayed" and we do want to see your film if it is convenient.an

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Tuesday, December 4-

Dear Leslie,

Although I have been both busy and tired since my return to New York, neither state fully accounts for my not having written sooner. Frankly, I am still a little dismayed by the last-minute snag in communication. As I believe I told you (from that none-too-quiet phone booth on Clayton's main street), Time-Life's decision to do the film was taken rather suddenly --- I was on vacation when Dick called to tell me the news on Oct. 26. I was in your office the following Monday; but, in retrospect, I realize I should have left you a note. I apologize for not having done so, and I hope you were not in a too awkward position as a result.

The filming (on November 3, 4, & 5) went very well, and Lillian Smith withstood the unavoidable demands upon her strength better than any of us expected. The rushes look very, very good, and I hope the edited film will live up to the expectations each of us has. From here on I have virtually nothing to do with the production. Dick is presently in Europe, and I don't know when he'll complete the film. Once it is done, I will make sure you see it (and with luck it will get network showing).

At one point in her interview, Lillian Smith talks about the role of southern women, and this portion may be used to broaden the scope of the film. For this reason, I asked Margaret Long to obtain some photographs of Mrs. Tilly for me, and she was very good to do so.

All the students did very well --- four instead of two were interviewed: a white girl and boy and a Negro girl and boy.

Well, as you said, at least the filming was done (still hard for me to believe it). Without the SRC's sponsorship the

attempts to get it done could not have been made; and I am very grateful to you, both for your professional help and your personal encouragement. And I don't think you should consider your efforts wasted. I am certain the men immediately responsible for giving Dick the go-ahead do not know about the independent production attempt; I am equally certain (if only because nothing else explains the situation) that the chairman of the board does know, and that in some gambit of corporate gamesmanship he influenced the decision without revealing Dick's and my role. The fact that the chairman of the board was involved at all is most unusual, and I'm sure the concern of the SRC was a big factor in his stepping in.

Your clipping service has probably forwarded to you the enclosed column, but in case it didn't perhaps it will interest you. I thought the SRC's report (or a t least the excerpts I read in the newspaper) made a point long overdue --- ~~congratual~~ congratulations.

I hope you'll have a nice holiday; and, again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Joan T. Titus

329 E 55th St.
NY 22, NY

PRESENTATION

E N C O U N T E R

This is a half hour film intended to help bridge the gap in the South...the lack of communication between races and between generations.

The program would be filmed in its entirety at the home of author Lillian Smith in Clayton, Georgia. Our premise is that Miss Smith, because of her close involvement with the racial problem over the years, because of her work with both Negro and white children, and because of her eloquent articulation of the tragedy of segregation, is the most eminently well qualified person to help us try to bridge the gap, to bring about an encounter.

The format of the program is simple. The opening sequence would be a short, silent film of Miss Smith: in her home, walking outside. Miss Smith would narrate this sequence. She would recount some of her experiences and how they were touched by or reflected the experience of the South itself. She would recall some of the children she knew in the past, the girls who attended the camp she directed for twenty-two years --- and as she recalls their fears, anxieties and hopes the camera would move through the places where they played their games and held their whispered conversations at night. This sequence would establish Miss Smith's presence and her continuity with the children of the South.

Then we would move to Miss Smith's living room for the filming of the major portion of the program. Miss Smith would conduct conversations, not formal interviews, with two students of the same age: a Negro girl and a white boy, both of whom were graduated in May after a year's experience in one of Atlanta's desegregated high schools. Miss Smith would talk to each of the students separately on a wide variety of subjects: religious faith, moral standards, space travel, ideas of the future. These are intelligent, sensitive young people. We want to capture the quality of their individual personalities. And we want to create a mood in which they will speak freely of the things that concern them, their difficulties as well as their dreams.

The separate interviews would then be intercut in an effort to demonstrate, as no other television program or film has, the tragic waste that racial conflict is for white and Negro alike. This point would be made with all its impact at the end of the conversation when Miss Smith would bring the dialogue around to racial segregation. We hope the net impact of the program would show that these young people have much in common which remains unshared because of the barriers of segregation. And we would like to see this point built to a dramatic climax with a kind of conversational counterpoint, hoping as we go that the viewer will almost forget he is listening to a Negro or white, then demolishing that gentle forgetfulness to reveal the tragedy of segregation: that it keeps people from what they vitally need --- a knowledge of one another.

The program would close with Miss Smith's speaking directly to the viewer, the substance of her remarks being largely dependent on what has gone before. It is not possible to forecast what effect a television camera will have on the students, but the unpredictability of their responses is considerably diminished by the fact that Dr. Robert Coles has agreed to select the young people who would appear on the program. Under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, has spent the past year studying the effects of integration on the students in Atlanta's desegregated high schools. His close relationship with these students and his intimate knowledge of them are invaluable assets. With prior and detailed awareness of the students, Miss Smith will be able to create conversations most relevant to the students' interests and most likely to reveal their attitudes. And Dr. Coles' presence during the filming should help put the students at ease.

ENCOUNTER would be directed by Mr. Richard McCutchen who has received the following awards as Director-Writer:

(1) The Enclyclopedia Britannica award for the film of the year (1958): "Shenandoah Boy".

(2) The Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation award for medical achievement in journalism (1959) for a two hour live organization film done at the State Mental Hospital in Central Islip, New York.

Mr. McCutchen is contributing his professional services as Director.

TOTAL PRODUCTION COSTS: $11,000.00

Southeastern Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

№ 1306

Confirmation of Film Booking

FILM TITLE
FACE OF THE SOUTH 1

Date of Request
1/8/58

MAIL TO:

Mr. Emory Via
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Key
FOTS 1

Your Dates for Use
2/1-2/58

Your Return Mailing Date
2/3/58

We Will Mail the Film
1306
1/24/58 pick up

Service Charge $1.50

PLEASE NOTE YOUR RETURN MAILING DATE
We Have Made Other Bookings of This Print Based Upon Your Prompt Return.

Southeastern Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

№ 1307

Confirmation of Film Booking

FILM TITLE
FACE OF THE SOUTH 1

Date of Request
1/8/58

MAIL TO:

Mr. Emory Via
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Key
fots 1

Your Dates for Use
2/22-23/58

Your Return Mailing Date
2/24/58

We Will Mail the Film
1307
2/15/58 pick up

Service Charge $1.50

PLEASE NOTE YOUR RETURN MAILING DATE
We Have Made Other Bookings of This Print Based Upon Your Prompt Return.

NEWCOMERS TO THE 16MM. FIELD IN REVIEW

By HOWARD THOMPSON

RECENT nontheatrical screen releases provide a bonanza for educators and classroom audiences. The Museum of Modern Art Film Library (11 West Fifty-third Street) has admirably packaged a group of quality features, excerpts and shorts, with special study material, offered primarily for use in courses in the history, art and technique of the motion picture itself. **The Best Years of Our Lives,** for instance, is supplemented with copies of the original MacKinlay Kantor novel in verse plus Robert R. Sherwood's Academy Award-winning script and museum program notes tracing the production of the picture.

Among the other museum package features are **The Grapes of Wrath, The Snake Pit, On the Avenue** and the first **Seventh Heaven.** Other portions include a special compilation of excerpts from **Que Viva Mexico,** the uncompleted Sergei Eisenstein film; the famous Odessa Steps sequence from Eisenstein's **Potemkin,** and three Nazi propaganda film samplings, with detailed museum footnotes. The French **Images Médiévales; World Without End,** the Rotha-Wright film on UNESCO; and the Belgian **Histoire Du Soldat** are among the entries in the documentary group.

An estimated 6,000,000 students reportedly have seen 16-mm. color versions of three featurette-length films in the Bell Telephone Company's interesting science series, first shown on television, of which **Our Mr. Sun** (recently re-shown) was the first. The two successors, **Hemo the Magnificent** (the story of blood and its circulation) and **The Strange Case of the Cosmic Rays** also went into 16-mm. release immediately after their TV premières. And now, with the showing last Wednesday on a National Broadcasting Company program of **The Unchained Goddess** (scientific weather study and forecasting), another newcomer to the series has turned nontheatrical. (Local Bell Company branches are handling the distribution of the group.)

With justifiable pride, Encyclopaedia Britannica Films (of Wilmette, Ill.) has announced an arrangement with N. B. C. to release in 16-mm. form twenty-seven programs in television's **Wisdom Series.** This truly remarkable and highly acclaimed group of filmed interviews, or conversations (averaging twenty-eight minutes in length), focuses on some of the most distinguished personalities of our time. To name but a few subjects (and most effective segments): **Pablo Casals,** the late **Dr. Ernest Jones, Robert Frost, Bertrand Russell, Sean O'Casey, Carl Sandburg, Wanda Landowska, Arnold Toynbee, Frank Lloyd Wright** and **Herbert Hoover** (fifty minutes long).

Five documentaries in the fine Columbia Broadcasting System-TV series called **The Twentieth Century** are now being distributed by Association Films (347 Madison Avenue) and twenty-one others will be available following their network presentation. Already in release are **Man of the Century,** an hour-length biography of Sir Winston Churchill; **Guided Missile; FBI** and **Toward the Unknown,** showing the course of the X-2 piloted rocket.

Two new films, both documentary in approach and dealing with problems of the contemporary American scene, have recently emerged in 16-mm. form. Both are of decided educational value, not only for older students but particularly for thinking, adult audiences. Whatever the individual reaction of the spectator, it is a safe bet that nobody will nap through either picture. They include:

Face of the South (28½ mins., in color): In what is more of a filmed lecture than a movie, an economist uses panoramic footage to discuss problems confronting his native modern South. The commentary, dealing with historical, cultural, economic and interracial development, is simply wonderful in its homespun, hard-grained sensibility. And so is the tonic effect of the speaker, Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell. Directed by Frank Willard; produced by the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council. (Released by the B. F. C. of the National Council of Churches, 220 Fifth Avenue.)

Crisis in Levittown, Pa. (30 mins.): The first of two shorts from Dynamic Films (405 Park Avenue) on changing neighborhoods and housing discrimination, and a sturdy start indeed. This unvarnished documentary blends an intelligent commentary and various on-the-scene testimonies, ranging from hopeful to hair-raising, as caught by the candid camera. Nathan Zucker produced: Lee R. Bobker and Lester S. Becker directed; Ray E. Long was the photographer. The basic comment and analysis was supplied by Dr. Dan Dodson of New York University.

ican wranglers watch a race in "Cowboy," Wednesday at the Capitol. Right to left levy, Glenn Ford, Richard Jaeckel, King Donovan and Victor Emanuel Mendoza.

NYT 2/16/58 NYT 2/16/58

April 3, 1958

Miss J. Margaret Carter
Director of Film Distribution
Broadcasting and Film Commission
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
220 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Miss Carter:

We appreciate your sending the copies of the narration to the film THE FACE OF THE SOUTH as well as the promotional literature. If you can spare them we could make use of another half dozen copies of the narration.

We shall be most interested to see your compilation of comments on the film when it is ready, and wonder if you could let us have about twenty copies of this document.

With many thanks.

Cordially,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

FCL:s

BFC Films 220 FIFTH AVE. N.Y.N.Y.

Broadcasting and Film Commission

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

220 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 9-2968

28 March 1958

Miss Faith C. Lawson, Secretary to
Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Lawson:

We are happy for the opportunity of sending you twenty five copies each of the promotional flyer and press release for FACE OF THE SOUTH. You will also find enclosed several copies of the narration. If you desire additional copies of this, we shall be glad to supply them.

At the moment we are in the process of compiling a release presenting the reviews, evaluations, and comments which have been sent in following previews of the films. When this is ready, we shall be happy to send you copies.

Yours cordially,

J. Margaret Carter

J. Margaret Carter
Director of Film Distribution

JMC:re
Encl:

March 25, 1958

Broadcasting and Film Commission
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
220 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

We would be grateful if you would send us twenty-five copies of each of your promotional pieces on the film "Face of the South". We have on file here two items -- a mimeographed sheet, and a leaflet which includes a picture of Dr. Mitchell: if any other literature is available about the film we should be glad to have copies of that too.

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

FCL:s

April 22, 1958

Mr. Eugene W. Sutherland, Organizer
American Federation of State, County,
and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
1937 Wisteria Street
Baton Rouge 6, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Sutherland:

Both your postcards enquiring about the film "The Face of the South" arrived in our office this morning, and they have been passed to me as Emory Via, our Labor Consultant, is out of town for the whole of this week.

I have checked with the local office of the Anti-Defamation League, the organization which is handling the distribution and booking of the film for us, and unfortunately all their available copies are already booked for the date you mention, 4th May. The earliest by which they could let you have it would be about 10th May. As the Anti-Defamation League is responsible for handling the film it would be quicker and easier for you to arrange a suitable date if you contacted them direct. The person to whom you should write is:

Mrs. B. Wild
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia. Telephone -- JAckson 3-1618.

Other persons who might be able to help you obtain a copy of "The Face of the South" are:

Director of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Director of Film Distribution
Broadcasting and Film Commission
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the U.S.A.
220 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N.Y.

Continued . . .

Mr. Eugene W. Sutherland April 22, 1958

I believe the Arkansas Council on Human Relations also has a copy, and it might be worth getting in touch with the Executive Director, Mr. Nat Griswold, at 1220 West Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas.

I am sorry I cannot give you a more satisfactory reply than this, and also regret that we could not pass your request to the proper quarter sooner. In fact your first postcard (dated April 16) arrived later than your second one (dated April 20) and had been inserted in a plain envelope postmarked "Atlanta, 6.30 p.m., April 21, 1958".

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

FCL:s

1937 Wisteria Street
Baton Rouge 6, La.
4/20/58

Gentlemen: Kindly postpone sending "T he Face of the South" (film) until the week end of May 3. It is now scheduled for showing on May 4th, at the Unitarian Fellowship of this city.

Your co-operation is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Eugene W. Sutherland.

Please confirm this showing.

1937 Wisteria St.
Baton Rouge 6, La.
April 16, 1958

Gentlemen:

Please send the film, "The Face of the South", for a showing at the Unitarian Fellowship Forum, Sunday, April 27, in the morning. I had the privilege of seeing this excellent movie at the AFL-CIO Institute in Lake Charles, La., last fall. If you happen to have a representative in this area at the time, we should be happy to have him present it. Otherwise, I shall make appropriate introductory remarks. Your co-operation is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Eugene W. Sutherland

Either bill or send COD.
Let me know at once if it is not available this date.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Six North Fifth Street . . . Richmond 19, Virginia

April 22, 1958

Miss Faith C. Lawson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Lawson:

Thank you for your letter regarding the film THE FACE OF THE SOUTH. We would like to have the film in early fall and will contact the Anti-Defamation League as you suggested.

Thank you very much for your interest and assistance.

Sincerely,

Ronie Sheffield

Ronie Sheffield,
Executive Director

RS:dmb

April 3, 1958

Miss Ronnie Sheffield
Director of the YWCA
6 North Fifth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Miss Sheffield:

Your enquiry regarding the film THE FACE OF THE SOUTH has been passed on to the Southern Regional Council by Mr. Julian Carper of the Virginia State AFL-CIO. I have checked with the Anti-Defamation League, the organization which is handling all distribution and booking of the film, and unfortunately all available copies are already booked for the date you mention, April 9th. The earliest by which they could let you have it would be about April 16th.

As the Anti-Defamation League is responsible for handling the film it would be quicker and easier for you to arrange a suitable date if you contacted them direct. The person to whom you should write is:

Mrs. B. Wild
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia. Telephone -- JAckson 3-1618.

I am sorry we cannot be of more help to you at this time.

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

FCL:s

650 Lakeside Drive
Rock Hill, South Carolina
15 May 1958

Dear Sirs:

I have seen the film of George Mitchell's map talk, Face of the South, and am wondering whether you have for distribution a sheet or two containing the main points which he brings out in the course of the talk. I made notes but I am not sure I caught all the important facts. I think this might be a valuable adjunct to the film wherever it is shown. I realize this would add to the cost but it would be worth it. I am a member of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Rock Hill Chapter, and also attend meetings of the Charlotte-Mechlenburg Council on Human Relations in Charlotte, N C. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mildred W Hughes

(Mrs Harold K Hughes)

May 23, 1958

Mrs. Helen M. Lewis
The Library
Clinch Valley College
Wise, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Lewis:

Please accept my most sincere apologies for not having responded earlier to your inquiry on the availability of "The Face of the South." Unfortunately, your inquiry was sent to the wrong agency and has just been called to our attention.

Actually, our two copies of the film, which are being distributed by the Atlanta office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, are being reserved well ahead of anticipated use and would not have been available. To help this matter, we are ordering a third print of the film, and this will be in circulation shortly.

If in the fall you would like to show the film, would you please drop a note to us or to the Atlanta office of the A.D.L. At that time we will be most happy to make the film available on short notice.

Again, my deepest apologies in this delay in writing you. And please know that we are grateful for your interest in the film and in the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

The Library Clinch Valley College Wise, Va.

Southern Regional Council:

Do you have the film THE FACE OF THE SOU SOUTH available for loan? If so, we would like to use it anytime prior to May 26, 1958. If it is not available during this period we will wait until next fall.

Mrs. Helen M. Lewis

Emory: I took the liberty of signing ltr for you & enclosed a B.F.E. script since I wasn't sure you'd get back to the office

M.F.

May 28, 1958

Mrs. Harold K. Hughes
650 Lakeside Drive
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Hughes:

Enclosed you will find the script for the film, "The Face of the South." Through an oversight, this was left out of my correspondence to you of yesterday.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

May 27, 1958

Mrs. Harold K. Hughes
650 Lakeside Drive
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Hughes:

Thanks so much for your card regarding the "Face of the South." We appreciate your suggestion to include a copy of the film's script when it is sent for a showing.

Enclosed is a script prepared by the Broadcast and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches. We are in the process of duplicating this script for our own use and will have it included with the film in future mailings.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

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PRESIDENT EMERITUS

August 1, 1958

RECEIVED
AUG 5 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Can you advise us as to the distributors of the George S. Mitchell film on the South?

If this film can be procured through your agency, would you please quote your price for this service?

We anticipate utilizing the film at a conference here during mid-September.

Your advice or assistance in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

JWRedden

James W. Redden
Administrative Assistant

JWR:1

Answer Put on tape 8/6/58

August 7, 1958

Mr. James W. Redden
Administrative Assistant
Office of the President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Redden:

The George Mitchell film, "The Face of the South", about which you inquired is available for sale from the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches. I am enclosing some of their materials.

Our copies of the film are handled through the southeastern office of the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia. They charge a nominal $1.50 service fee. I would suggest that you write them immediately since the film has been in steady use. It will be important to state the exact dates you wish to have the film in Tuskegee.

If the ADL cannot supply the film, please let me know and I may be of some further help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
encls: materials concerning film

October 31, 1958

Professor Mildred I. Morgan
Department of Home and Family Life
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Although we own copies of the film, "Face of the South," they are distributed by the regional office of the Anti-Defamation League here in Atlanta. The ADL will send you a copy of the film for preview at your request, if one of the prints is free at the time you wish to have it. I suggest that you write directly to them:

Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

It is my understanding that the film will be sent to you without charge for preview purposes. The regular fee is nominal - $1.50.

The film is quite useful and I am sure that you will be able to make satisfactory arrangements for previewing and scheduling with the ADL office.

Please let us know if there is any other way we can be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

E.F.V.

The Florida State University

Tallahassee

DEPARTMENT OF
HOME AND FAMILY LIFE
SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS

October 21, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The program chairman of our district association of home economics here in our section of Florida is interested in the possible use of the film. FACE OF THE SOUTH. My good friend, Dr. Louis Killian, of the Department of Sociology, tells me this is in your possession for distribution.

I am writing to find out if there would be a possibility of the program chairman and myself getting the film for preview with the idea of using it in the spring for a meeting.

I asked Dr. Killian about costs of using the film. He told me that it had been used by their human relations group, and he thought the costs were minor.

I should be most happy to hear from you regarding this.

Sincerely,

Mildred I. Morgan

Mildred I. Morgan (Mrs. Wm. H.)
Professor, Home and Family Life

MIM:vkk

Answered Oct 24, 1958

November 4, 1958

Miss Nancy Kester
Associate Director, YWCA
University Memorial Center
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

Dear Miss Kester:

Although we do own two prints of the film, "Face of the South," it is distributed for us by the local office of the Anti-Defamation League. The rental fee is $1.50. A letter to them stating when you want the film is sufficient if the film is available. If it is not, they will suggest alternate dates. The address of the ADL is 41 Exchange Place, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

The film is quite useful. It reproduces a famous "map-talk" of George Mitchell, past Director of the Southern Regional Council, and combines with it excellent movie shots as illustrative material. The lecture itself is done in a Southern, folksy style. I am enclosing some materials which further describe this film.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
(Dictated by Mr. Via but signed in his absence.)

EFV:ls
Enclosures

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
BOULDER, COLORADO

UNIVERSITY MEMORIAL CENTER

E.F.V.

October 28, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

We are seeking information on a film called "The Four Faces of the South". If this is your film, could you send me information on its cost for rental, how and when it may be secured and any other relevant information on its content.

May I hear from you as soon as convenient?

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Kester

Nancy Kester
Associate Director Y.W.C.A.

NK:mb

December 4, 1958

Mrs. Beth Okun
526 Dogwood Drive
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Okun:

This letter is in answer to your inquiry about the film which features George Mitchell's map talk. The title of the film is, "The Face of the South." It is available for rental through the Southeastern office of the Anti-Defamation League at 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia. The cost is nominal, $1.50, to cover handling charges.

A letter to the Anti-Defamation League requesting the film for a given date, or giving alternate dates if you can, would be sufficient. They will let you know if they can book the film for the dates you want and if not, will suggest possible open dates if you so request.

Enclosed is some further information regarding the film.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosure

526 DOGWOOD DRIVE
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr Emory -

I want to find out about the film (may talk) "The George Mitchell Story" (I'm not sure this is the correct title).

Is this film available for rental - If so, what rate & when open for reservation?

Very sincerely,
(Mrs) Beck Okun

Film

April 21, 1960

Mr. Ernest W. Kirk
The Hatch School
Newport, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. Kirk:

Your letter concerning "The Face of the South" has been referred to me. We do not distribute "The Face of the South," it is distributed through three different organizations. They are: The Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia; the United Auto Workers Film Library, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan; and the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of the Churches in the United States of America, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, New York.

Inquiries to these organizations concerning the use of the film would, I am sure, receive immediate attention.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

HATCH PREP
NEWPORT · RHODE ISLAND

The Hatch School,

18th April 1960.

The Secretary,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir,

I write to enquire if the film 'The Face of the South' with commentary by George Mitchell is available for hire. I am going to England in June and I would be interested to know if it could be hired in July to show to small educational meetings there.

I am a teacher and I have seen the film at the Putney Graduate School, at Putney, Vermont.

Hoping to hear from you,

Yours sincerely,

Ernest W. Kirk.

Film

May 11, 1960

Mr. Dallas Patterson
Box 664, G.S.C.W.
Milledgeville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Enclosed is a Film Bibliography which gives the information on the "Face of The South."

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director of
Information

/lec
Encl.

Milledgeville, Ga.
May 10, 1960

Dear Sir:

We are interested in showing the film Face of the South. Would you please send us information on rental charges, etc.?

Dallas Patterson
Box 664, G.S.C.W.
Milledgeville, Ga.

Colonial Film & Equip Co
525-5377
71 Walton St. N.W.
16 mm. film Projector $8.50
4.25 ½ day

May 13, 1963

THE STAFF MMJ

Arrangements are being made to have a showing of the "FACE OF THE SOUTH" in the conference room Wednesday morning at 10:00 am. Y'all come!

THE FACE OF THE SOUTH is a 16mm, color film, 28½ minutes long, narrated by Dr. George S. Mitchell, SRC's second executive director (now deceased). It is said that Dr. Mitchell, in his folksy way, does an excellent job of describing the "old South."

File ~~South Car~~ ~~Ar~~ films "Face of the South"

October 20, 1966

Adult Film Project
North Carolina State Library
Raleigh, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

We note from a publication of the North Carolina Fund that you have available the George S. Mitchell film FACE OF THE SOUTH. For sometime we have been unsuccesfully attempting to determine where we might purchase a copy of this film. Would you be good enough to give us this information.

We appreciate your assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

~~EU~~
MJ

See Items "Face of the South"

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November 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are happy to be able to comply with your request of November 3 for the film, FACE OF THE SOUTH. A new print is being shipped to you today.

Your interest is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Sophie Plich

(Mrs.) Sophie Plich
Assistant to Director
Motion Picture, TV/Radio
Department

SP:sr

November 3, 1966

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Gentlemen:

Is it possible that a good copy of the George Mitchell, FACE OF THE SOUTH, film can still be purchased? If so, would you please ship us a copy and bill us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 10/2/66

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November 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In answer to your query as to where the film FACE OF THE SOUTH might be purchased, I can offer the following information:

FACE OF THE SOUTH, 1956 16mm sound film 30 minutes in color. Cost $180.00
Purchase from:
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

The film is listed in the EDUCATIONAL MEDIA INDEX v. 13 (1964) and in the Anti-Defamation League's latest catalog.

I sincerely hope you are able to obtain a print of this excellent film.

Sincerely yours,

Herschel V. Anderson
Audio-Visual Consultant

HVA:pb

BROADCASTING AND FILM COMMISSION
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.
220 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK ORegon 9-2968

FACE OF THE SOUTH Narration

SRC - Files

A 16 mm Sound Motion Picture in Color
28½ minutes running time

MUSIC

I'M GEORGE MITCHELL -- I LIVE IN ATLANTA - USED TO WORK FOR THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. THAT'S AN OLD ESTABLISHED RACE RELATIONS OUTFIT...RUNS BACK THIRTY-FIVE YEARS. ABOUT HALF OUR MEMBERS ARE WHITE...ABOUT HALF ARE NEGRO: PREACHERS, DOCTORS, TEACHERS, LAWYERS, BUSINESS, LABOR...GREAT MANY CHURCH PEOPLE. OVER THE YEARS, I HAVE BEEN ASKED MANY TIMES TO EXPLAIN THE SOUTH -- AND IN JUST A FEW MINUTES

OBVIOUSLY THIS IS A MAP OF THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES. THE GREEN PARTS ARE WHERE THE MOUNTAINS LIE. WE BEGAN SETTLEMENT OF THAT MAP IN TWO MAIN PLACES: HERE, AROUND CHESAPEAKE BAY; AND THERE, WITHIN REACH OF CHARLESTON HARBOR. IN BOTH THOSE PLACES YOU COULD GET SAILING SHIPS DEEP INTO THE PLANTATIONS AND TAKE OFF THE CROPS. IN BOTH THOSE PLACES, ALTHOUGH NO ONE INTENDED IT, IT WASN'T LONG BEFORE THE LAND CAME TO BE HELD IN BIG CHUNKS: TWO...FIVE...TEN...TWENTY THOUSAND ACRES. THAT GAVE YOU ENGLISH PEOPLE OWNING BIG PIECES OF GOOD LAND, WORKABLE TRANSPORTATION, RICH MARKETS, NO LABOR. SO THEY SENT HOME TO THE BRITISH ISLES FOR LABOR TO WORK THEIR PLACES...WHITE LABOR THAT CAME IN UNDER A SEVEN-YEAR CONTRACT OF SERVICE TO PAY FOR ITS PASSAGE. THE CONTRACTS ALL ENDED WITH THE SAME CLAUSE: "AND WHEN THE SAID WILLIAM JACKSON SHALL HAVE SERVED HIS SEVEN YEARS, HE SHALL BE SET FREE WITH AN AXE AND A PAIR OF BLUE BREECHES AND TWENTY SHILLINGS." WELL, YOU CAME TO THIS COUNTRY FOR LAND AND FORTUNE. YOU WORKED SEVEN YEARS ON SOME MAN'S PLANTATION AND THAT'S WHAT YOU GOT. WELL, OBVIOUSLY YOU'RE GOING TO GO RIGHT THERE INTO THE WOODS AND MAKE A FARM FOR YOURSELF. AND BECAUSE ALL OF THE WHITE LABOR THAT THEY BROUGHT IN DID THAT...IS THE REAL REASON WHY PLANTATION OWNERS HERE...AND HERE..SEIZED ON NEGRO SLAVE LABOR, WHICH THEY COULD HOLD AND CONTROL.

AS LONG AS WE WERE ATTACHED TO THE BRITISH CROWN, FREEDOM GREW MUCH MORE RAPIDLY THAN SLAVERY. OTHER PEOPLE PUSHING OFF THE PLANTATIONS. MANY MORE FREE PEOPLE COMING DOWN THE SHENANDOAH AND OPENING UP ALL THIS. AND SLAVERY GREW HARDLY AT ALL. THAT'S IN HERE. PUSH DOWN THERE - MOBILE - NEW ORLEANS - NATCHEZ -. THE PEOPLE WHO FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WEREN'T WORRIED ABOUT SLAVERY...THOUGHT IT WOULD DIE AN EARLY AND AN EASY DEATH. INDEED, IN 1787, THOMAS JEFFERSON INTRODUCED A MEASURE INTO THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE TO ABOLISH SLAVERY. AND IT FAILED THE PASSAGE BY ONLY ONE VOTE. THEY WERE THAT CLOSE TO IT. AND YET, SO SOON AFTER THAT AS 1800, WILDHORSES COULDN'T HAVE PULLED SLAVERY LOOSE FROM US. THE THING THAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE WAS THE COTTON GIN, WHICH OPENED THE WHOLE OF THAT RICH COASTAL PLAIN TO THE SLAVE CROP. AND SEE HOW IN SIXTY YEARS, SLAVERY AND COTTON SPREAD. REACHED DOWN HERE...UP...DOWN...ACROSS. ...ALL THIS...THAT'S INTO FLORIDA...UP THE RIVER...RIGHT OVER THE DELTA...UP THE RED....PENNYROYAL....LITTLE BASIN....BLUE GRASS....AND STARTED ALL OVER AGAIN IN THE COASTAL PLAIN OF TEXAS. IN SIXTY YEARS, SLAVERY CONQUERED ALL OF THAT. AND WHEREVER IT WENT, IT TOOK TWO FUNDAMENTAL INSTITUTIONS: THE LAND OWNED IN

BIG CHUNKS AND WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR. ALSO, WHEREVER IT WENT, MOST OF THESE LITTLE PEOPLE GOT OUT AHEAD OF IT, FORFEITED IT, OR LEFT IT; SOME INTO THE SANDY COUNTRY, OTHERS INTO THE LOW HILLS, MORE INTO THE MOUNTAINS, OHIO...INDIANA... ILLINOIS...TEXAS...OKLAHOMA.

THIS PIECE WITH THE RED LINES AROUND IT IS THE WHOLE OF THE STORYBOOK "OLD SOUTH." ALL OF THE WHITE COLUMNED MANSIONS WITH THE WHITE MAGNOLIA TREES IN FRONT, BIG FIELDS OF COTTON, FANCY HORSES.....WORSE...ALL THE COLLEGES, ALL THE SCHOOLS, ALL THE NEWSPAPERS, ALL THE BANKS, ALL THE GOVERNORS, ALL THE CITIZENS, ALL THE POLITICAL POWERS. BEFORE 1865, IF IT WASN'T INSIDE THOSE RED LINES, ALMOST CERTAINLY IT WAS POOR, UNIMPORTANT, PUSHED ASIDE. AND THERE WERE A GREAT MANY PEOPLE OUTSIDE THOSE RED LINES, MULTIPLYING FAST. ONE MAN IN THEIR NUMBER WROTE A BOOK, HE WAS A NON-SLAVE-HOLDING WHITE MAN...PUBLISHED THIS BOOK IN AN OMINOUS YEAR - 1858...AND GAVE IT AN OMINOUS TITLE, "THE IMPENDING CRISIS AT THE SOUTH." HE SAID IN HIS BOOK THAT THE SOUTH IN HIS DAY WAS A PYRAMID: SIX MILLION POOR WHITE PEOPLE ON ONE SIDE: FOUR MILLION POOR BLACK PEOPLE ON THE OTHER: AND THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND SLAVE HOLDERS SITTING ON TOP. THEN HE SAID, "THAT'S NOT GONNA LAST: THAT'LL BLOW UP." AND IN ONLY SEVEN YEARS, IT HAD BLOWN UP - WAR - DEFEAT - FAMINE - FIRE A COMPLETE INFLATION THAT TOOK EVERY FORM OF PROPERTY VALUE EXCEPT TITLE DEEDS TO LAND. WELL, WITH THE TOP BLOWN OFF, AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SITTING WHERE THE TOP HAD BEEN, THIS AND THIS PUT THEIR HANDS TOGETHER AND TRIED TO RUN IT. THEY FAILED. ALL IN THE BOOKS SAY THEY FAILED BECAUSE THEY WERE DISHONEST. I THINK THEY FAILED BECAUSE THEY WERE POOR, IN-EXPERIENCED, UNEDUCATED. CERTAINLY THEY FAILED.

FOUR DIFFERENT SOUTHS

AND YET ALL OF THAT TIME WE HAD IN THE SOUTH A PRECIOUS NATURAL RESOURCE WHICH NO ONE WAS USING. IN FROM THE OCEANS COME A PAIR OF WARM WET WINDS. AND WHEN A WARM WET WIND HITS A WALL OF MOUNTAINS, IT TURNS INTO RIVERS. THE RIVERS RUN TO THE SEA. YOU'VE ALREADY HAD LABOR MULTIPLYING IN ABUNDANCE ON SMALL FARMS. IT WAS COTTON ALL AROUND YOU, AND THE RIVERS GAVE YOU POWER. BEGINNING ABOUT 1880 AND WORKING HARD AT IT EVER SINCE, WE HAVE BEEN FITTING TOGETHER IN THAT MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINS AND THE PLANTATIONS A WHOLE NEW PIECE OF THE SOUTH. THE BOOKS CALL THAT "THE PIEDMONT SOUTH." NOW IF YOU LOOK AT THAT MAP CLOSELY, YOU'LL SEE THAT IT DIVIDES THE SOUTH NOT ONLY INTO THREE MAIN PIECES, BUT REALLY INTO FOUR. BECAUSE HERE AROUND THE OUTSIDE IS STILL ANOTHER PIECE, WHICH IS CALLED THE COASTAL FLATWOODS OR THE PINEY WOODS. THAT GIVES YOU FOUR DIFFERENT SOUTHS: THE MOUNTAINS IN THE MIDDLE, THE PIEDMONT NEXT, THE PLANTATIONS NEXT, AND THE PINEY WOODS AT THE OUTSIDE. EACH IS DIFFERENT. EACH HAS A DIFFER-ENT HISTORY, DIFFERENT SET OF PEOPLE, DIFFERENT SET OF PROBLEMS, AND IF WE WERE TO MAKE AN EQUAL AND A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH, THERE ARE DIFFERENT THINGS TO BE DONE IN EACH ONE OF THOSE PIECES.

THE MOUNTAIN AREA

START WITH THE MOUNTAINS. I NEVER UNDERSTOOD ABOUT THE MOUNTAINS UNTIL A MAN FROM UP IN EASTERN KENTUCKY SAID HE COULD LAY IT OUT FOR ME PRETTY PLAIN. DRAW YOURSELF A WINDING MOUNTAIN VALLEY. PUT A STREAM DOWN THE MIDDLE OF IT - OLD HOGBACK MOUNTAIN UP ON THIS SIDE - OLD SCREAMER MOUNTAIN ON THIS. SEVENTEEN AND NINETY-FOUR, HE SAID, THEY CAME UP THERE INTO NORTH CAROLINA - AN OLD FARMER NAMED WILL DRIGGERS - TOOK HIMSELF UP A NICE BOTTON FARM DOWN AT THE MOUTH OF THE VALLEY - BUILT HIM A LOG CABIN RIGHT BY THE CREEK. OLD MAN WILLE'D BEEN MARRIED FOUR TIMES 'FORE EVER HE LEFT NORTH CAROLINA, AND HE BROUGHT SIXTEEN HEAD OF BOYS UP INTO KENTUCKY WITH HIM. AND HE WAS MARRIED TWO MORE TIMES IN KENTUCKY.

SO YOU CAN UNDERSTAND HOW - WHEN THEY BURIED OLD MAN WILL - IT MADE THIRTY-EIGHT FARMS FOR THE DRIGGERS. LOOK AT THE WAY THEY CUT BACK INTO THAT VALLEY. WELL - IT WASN'T LONG BEFORE THERE WASN'T ANY MORE FLAT LAND FOR ANYBODY. BUT THE YOUNG PEOPLE STILL COMING ON. ONE FELLOW WENT TO HIS DAD AND SAID, "POP, ME AN' JESSIE BELLE ARE FIXIN' TO PAIR OFF. BUT THEY AIN'T NO FLAT LAND FOR US, AND WE THOUGHT IF WE GO UP TO SIDE OF HOGBACK MOUNTAIN AND SKIN OFF ALL THOSE TREES, WE MIGHT COULD MAKE A LIVIN'." WELL, THEY DID.

AND THE END OF THAT IS THAT BY 1890, OTHER YOUNG FELLOWS AND OTHER JESSIE BELLES HAVE GONE CLEAN TO THE TOP OF BOTH MOUNTAINS. MIND YOU NOW, THEY SKINNED OFF ALL THE TREES. AND PEOPLE IN THESE BOTTOM FARMS NOTICE THAT EVERY TIME IT RAINS, THE WATER SEEMS TO COME SCOOTIN' DOWN THE CREEK BED FASTER THAN WHAT IT HAD BEFORE. WELL, PRETTY SOON THERE'S FLOODS, AND THE FLOODS RUIN THE CROPS. AND THAT GIVES YOU PEOPLE LIVING AROUND IN THE HILLS -- AND THE CENSUS CALLS THEM FARMERS -- AND THEY'RE HUNGRY. WELL, I ASKED MY KENTUCKY FRIEND WHAT YOU COULD DO ABOUT THAT. "OH," HE SAYS, "NOT AS TOUGH AS IT SEEMS." SEND SOMEBODY IN THERE THAT REALLY UNDERSTANDS ABOUT GOOD FARMING. LET HIM LIVE AT LEAST A YEAR AND GET TO KNOW THE PEOPLE. AS FAR AS HE CAN, PERSUADE THEM TO SWAP LAND SO THAT EACH MAN HAS FOR HIS FARM BOTH A NICE PIECE OF BOTTOM LAND AND A LONG PIECE OF HILL LAND. COURSE, SOME OF THEM WON'T SWAP, BUT THEN MOST OF THEM WILL. THEN YOU GET EVERYBODY THAT HAS SWAPPED TO WORK HIS LAND ON WHAT'S CALLED 'A FARM PLAN.' PUT A COW ON YOUR PASTURE - THAT'S FOR MILK. TAKE HALF YOUR CORN TO THE MILL FOR MEAL. FEED THE REST TO THE HOGS. AND THERE YOU ARE - LIVING IN THE SWEET SMILING STATE OF KENTUCKY -- AND GOT MILK AND MEAL AND MEAT." "BUT," HE SAID, "EVEN AFTER YOU DO THAT, THERE'S JUST ONE MORE THING YOU WANT TO DO. YOU WANT TO COME IN THERE WHERE OLD MAN WILL'S PLACE WAS NOW - CAUSE IT'S BURNED - AND BUILD A VERY LARGE - ONE OF THESE VOCATIONAL TRADE SCHOOLS." "BECAUSE," HE SAID, "ALL THOSE PEOPLE UP IN THERE ARE STILL HAVIN' CHILDREN. AND IF THOSE CHILDREN COME THROUGH THAT SCHOOL, THEN - WHEN THEY GET TO DETROIT - THEY CAN LAND ON THEIR FEET." GOD'S SLOW BUSINESS - VALLEY BY VALLEY - BEGINS TO BE DONE. OTHER THINGS TO DO IN THE MOUNTAINS - LET THE MILLS CLIMB THE MOUNTAINS AND MAKE MORE FACTORY JOBS; MORE FOREST CARE; MORE TOURIST TRADE. IF YOU COULD DO ALL THOSE THINGS, YOU'D HAVE A PROSPEROUS AND DEMOCRATIC MOUNTAIN SOCIETY.

THE PIEDMONT SOUTH

COME DOWN FROM THE MOUNTAINS AND TAKE THE PIEDMONT PIECE. EXCEPT FOR OUR SEAPORT CITIES, MOST OF THE THRIVING CITIES IN THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES TODAY ARE SOMEWHERE INSIDE THAT PIEDMONT COUNTRY. REMEMBER THOSE SMALLER SQUARES? STILL HERE. THE BASIC PATTERN OF FARMING IN ALL THIS PIEDMONT COUNTRY IS THE FAMILY OWNED FARM. AND WONDER OF WONDERS, NONE OF THOSE MEDIUM-SIZED FARMS TODAY IS MORE THAN TWELVE OR FIFTEEN MILES AWAY FROM A FACTORY. THAT'S PRETTY GOOD. THAT'S A BALANCE BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

FURTHER, THE PEOPLE IN THAT AREA HAVE TWO VERY NICE THINGS TO HAVE: A FIRM GRASP OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY SO STRONG THAT - IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS - IT HAS GROWN TO INCLUDE SOME NEGRO VOTERS IN ALL OF THOSE PIEDMONT CITIES; AND, SECONDLY, A BEGINNING GRASP OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY THROUGH TRADE UNIONS AND THROUGH A SPECIAL KIND OF UNION THEY'VE WORKED OUT FOR THEMSELVES WHICH THEY CALL "MIXED UNIONS" - WITH WHITE PEOPLE AND COLORED PEOPLE BOTH IN THEM. I LOOKED AT ONE OF THOSE UNIONS WHEN IT WAS BRAND NEW - HAD A THOUSAND MEMBERS: FIVE-HUNDRED WHITE, FIVE-HUNDRED NEGRO. SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE LOCAL TOOK ME TO HIS HOME BACK UP BEHIND ONE OF THE SUBURBS - NEAT WHITE PAINTED HOUSE ON A HILL. PLENTY OTHER WHITE PEOPLE'S HOUSES LIKE IT UP THERE. STOOD ON HIS PORCH AND LOOKED DOWN IN THE VALLEY. AND THERE WAS A HUDDLE OF TAR-PAPER BLACK SHACKS. I SAID, "WHO LIVES IN THE BOTTOM?" "THEY'RE COLORED." "THEY WORK IN THE SHOP?" "YES, THEY WORK

IN THE SHOP." "BELONG TO THIS UNION?" "YES, THEY'RE MEMBERS." THEN HE SAID, "MR. MITCHELL, CAN YOU SEE A LITTLE PATH RUNNING BACK AND FORTH 'TWEEN UP HERE WHERE WE LIVE AND DOWN THERE WHERE THEY LIVE?" WELL, SURE ENOUGH, YOU COULD SEE IT - KIND OF FAINT. I SAID, "YES," HE SAID, "BEFORE THIS UNION CAME, THERE WASN'T ANY PATH AT ALL."

WELL, I SUBMIT, THEN, THAT A POPULATION WHICH HAS A BASICALLY DEMOCRATIC PATTERN OF LAND OWNERSHIP, A SCATTERED AND DECENTRALIZED AND PROSPEROUS INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY, A FIRM GRASP OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, AND A BEGINNING GRASP OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY - AND IN BOTH FIELDS IS LEARNING TO OVERLEAP THE BARRIERS OF RACE - IS IN PRETTY FAIR SHAPE.

THE PINEY WOODS

SKIP THE PLANTATION ONE, AND TAKE THE OUTSIDE PIECE - THE PINEY WOODS. EXCEPT FOR ITS RICH PORT CITIES, EXCEPT FOR AN OCCASIONAL PATCH OF LAND IN SOME SPECIALITY CROP, IN THE WHOLE OF THAT OUTSIDE PIECE OF COUNTRY THERE ARE ONLY FOUR THINGS: SAND, SWAMPS, PINE TREES, AND POOR FOLKS. TWO THINGS TO DO: SAVE THE PINE TREES, SPREAD THE MONEY FROM THE PINE TREES TO THE POOR FOLKS. WELL, SAVING THE PINE TREES WE KNOW HOW TO DO. SPREADING THE MONEY - HOW? YOU'RE LUCKY. IT'S BEEN LOOKED AFTER FOR YOU IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. THEY USED TO GET FIFTEEN AND TWENTY CENTS AN HOUR, HAD NO MINIMUM WAGE, HAD NO WISP OF A UNION. NOW A MAN WOULDN'T THINK OF WORKING FOR LESS THAN A DOLLAR SEVENTEEN AND A HALF. AND THEY HAVE A FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE. AND THEY'RE FAST JOINING THE CHEMICAL WORKERS AND THE PAPER WORKERS, AND THE WOOD WORKERS. SO I SUPPOSE THEY COME THROUGH.

THE PLANTATION SOUTH

THAT SHOOTS US UP TO THE OLD PLANTATION BELT. THAT'S ALWAYS THE HARDEST ONE TO UNRAVEL. GO ANYWHERE DOWN THERE YOU WANT. DRAW YOURSELF A WINDING COUNTRY ROAD. THIS SIDE OF THE ROAD'D BE THE OLD JUDGE ATKINS PLACE. JUDGE PUT TOGETHER THREE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED ACRES 'FORE HE DIED. 'NOTHER BIG PLACE HERE. 'NOTHER BIG PLACE HERE. THEN ON THIS SIDE OF THE ROAD HAD HIM A LOT OF LAND, BUT HE GOT BROKE ABOUT TEN YEARS AGO AND SOLD THE LAND ON THE FRONT OF THE ROAD AND MADE FIVE SMALLER FARMS. THERE WERE THREE WHITE FAMILIES TOOK UP THERE AND TWO COLORED. 'NOTHER BIG PLACE HERE. 'NOTHER BIG PLACE HERE. BEHIND EACH ONE OF THE BIG HOUSES THERE IS - OR THERE WAS - NOW, LET'S BE HONEST - THIS IS REALLY THE WAY IT WAS FIFTEEN OR EIGHTEEN YEARS AGO AND IT'S CHANGED A LOT SINCE - BUT THE SHADOW OF WHAT WAS THERE IS THERE. EITHER A DOUBLE ROW OF LITTLE BLACK SHARECROP SHACKS AND THE BOSS'S BIG MULE BARN HERE AND THEY WORKED THE WHOLE PLACE TOGETHER. ELSE THAN A MAN HAD HIS LAND DIVIDED UP INTO LITTLE TWENTY-FIVE -- THIRTY ACRE TENANT FARMS -- LITTLE OLD HOUSE AND A PIECE OF BARN ON EACH ONE. DOESN'T MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE WHICH WAY IT WAS. PEOPLE OUGHT TO BE LIVING IN THESE BIG HOUSES DON'T LIVE IN THEM ANY MORE - LIVING IN TOWN, BELONG TO THE CIVIC CLUB, SELL AUTOMOBILES. BUT THEY GOT SOME WHITE FELLOW - PROBABLY THE WIFE'S BROTHER - THO' HE DRINKS A GOOD DEAL - OUT THERE, TAKING CHARGE OF THE PLACE. PEOPLE LIVING IN BIG HOUSES HAVE GOT MONEY - OR THEY CAN GET IT IF THEY NEED IT. PEOPLE IN THE LITTLE HOUSES USUALLY POOR. PEOPLE IN THE BIG HOUSES - ALL OF THEM WHITE. PEOPLE IN THE LITTLE HOUSES - MOST OF THEM COLORED. PEOPLE IN THE BIG HOUSES GET THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS THROUGH THE STATE UNIVERSITY. PEOPLE IN THE LITTLE HOUSES GET THEIR CHILDREN THROUGH ABOUT THE FOURTH GRADE, THEN THEY QUIT. PEOPLE IN THE LITTLE HOUSES DEPEND UPON THE PEOPLE IN THE BIG HOUSES FOR SOME VERY IMPORTANT THINGS: LAND, HOUSE, JOB, WHAT TO DO, SAFETY, GOOD NAME, JUSTICE.

CIVIL RIGHTS

SUPPOSE I WENT DOWN TO THE COUNTY AND CALLED A MEETING OF THE PEOPLE OUT OF THE BIG HOUSES. AND THEN MET WITH THE LUNCHEON CLUB IN THE COUNTY SEAT TOWN.

"GENTLEMEN, MY NAME IS GEORGE MITCHELL. I LIVE IN ATLANTA. I WORK FOR THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. WE BELIEVE IN WHAT THEY CALL 'CIVIL RIGHTS', AND I WANT TO EXPLAIN TO YOU EXACTLY WHAT THAT MEANS IN THIS COUNTY. IN THE FIRST PLACE, IT MEANS YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO ALLOW THESE COLORED PEOPLE TO VOTE - THAT'S ALL OF THEM. SECOND PLACE, IT MEANS THEY SERVE ON JURY - GRAND JURY AND PETIT JURY. IN THE THIRD PLACE, IT MEANS THAT THE SCHOOLS ARE PAID FOR OUT OF THE PUBLIC PURSE. ANY CHILD IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD - COLORED OR WHITE - MUST BE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE BEST SCHOOL THE PLACE HAS GOT. AND THE LAST THING IN IT IS - IF A COLORED MAN IN THE COUNTY BUYS A RAILROAD TICKET, NOBODY CAN MAKE HIM RIDE IN A JIM CROW COACH. AND THAT'S WHAT THEY CALL 'CIVIL RIGHTS.' AND I'M IN FAVOR OF THAT. AND I CAME TO ASK YOU GENTLEMEN TO HELP US GET THAT ROLLIN' IN THE COUNTY. NOW, WHAT DO YOU SAY?"

"WELL," THEY SAY, "MR. MITCHELL, WE'VE BEEN HAPPY TO HAVE HAD YOU AT LUNCHEON WITH US. WE HAD HEARD ABOUT THAT 'CIVIL RIGHTS,' AND WE DON'T THINK MUCH OF IT. AND YOU'VE BEEN FRANK WITH US, AND WE GOING TO BE FRANK WITH YOU. AND THE FIRST THING WE GOING TO TELL YOU IS THAT YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION IN THIS COUNTY. YOU SEE, MR. MITCHELL, THE COLORED PEOPLE HERE HAVE HAD ABOUT FOURTH GRADE EDUCATION. AND WE'RE NOT SAYING IT'S THEIR FAULT. THEY WENT TO THE SCHOOLS WE PUT THERE FOR THEM. BUT WE ARE SAYING - IF THAT'S ALL THEY KNOW - IT'S TOO SOON TO ALLOW THEM TO VOTE. AND ABOUT THAT SERVING ON THE JURY, MR. MITCHELL. OUR PRESENT COUNTY JUDGE IS QUITE UNLIKELY TO PERMIT THAT IN HIS COURTROOM. AND ABOUT THE SCHOOLS - I'LL TELL YOU THE TRUTH - IT'S HARD ENOUGH TO GET THE PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTY TO VOTE MONEY EVEN FOR THEIR WHITE SCHOOLS. AND NOW IF THE TWO SETS OF CHILDREN GOING TO BE PUT TOGETHER IN THE SAME SCHOOL, IT'D JUST BE A VERY DIFFICULT MATTER TO GET UP THE LOCAL TAX MONEY. AND ABOUT THE RAILROAD TRAIN - WELL, WE DON'T HAVE THE RAILROAD IN THE COUNTY, SO THAT QUESTION DOESN'T COME UP. BUT WHILE WE DON'T HAVE THE RAILROAD LINE, WE ARE SERVED BY THE BUS LINE. THERE'S A BUS COMIN' THROUGH HERE ABOUT HALF PAST TWO. I HAVE MY CAR HERE - BE GLAD TO TAKE YOU DOWN TO THE BUS STATION. WE WANT TO BE SURE YOU GET SAFE ON WHERE YOU CAME FROM."

SO - WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT THAT? THAT ONE IS REALLY THE TOUGH ONE. I SHOWED YOU THESE FIVE FARMS HERE. NOBODY HELPED THESE PEOPLE. THEY DIDN'T GET ANY GOVERNMENT LOANS. THEY JUST WORKED HARD, SAVED THEIR MONEY, BOUGHT LAND. FREE AMERICAN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. PERHAPS BY NOW, SOME OF THESE LITTLE FELLOWS THAT HELD THEIR LAND ON A ONE-YEAR UNWRITTEN LEASE HAVE PERSUADED THEIR LANDLORDS TO GIVE 'EM PAPERS FOR FIVE YEARS ON A FARM FOR THEMSELVES. MAN'D FEEL A LITTLE SAFER IF HE'S GOT A FIVE-YEAR WRITTEN LEASE ON HIS PLACE. THERE'S A LITTLE LEFT OF A FEDERAL AGENCY CALLED THE FARMER'S HOME ADMINISTRATION. IN A HEAVY TENANCY COUNTY LIKE THAT, IT IS SUPPOSED TO LEND OUT ENOUGH MONEY FOR FOUR OR FIVE CAREFULLY CHOSEN TENANTS TO BUY FARMS AND FIX 'EM UP FOR THEMSELVES. SOMETIMES HAPPENS THAT WHEN FOUR OR FIVE OF THOSE TENANTS GET THEIR LOANS, THEY WILL POOL THEIR MONEY AND BUY ONE OF THE BIG PLACES AND SPLIT IT DOWN. NOT LITTLE FARMS NOW - BUT BIG ONES - HUNDRED AND EIGHTY - TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY - EVEN THREE HUNDRED ACRES: GOOD BARNS - GOOD STOCK - GOOD PEOPLE; RUN ON THAT WAY FOUR - FIVE YEARS.

A WHITE MAN CAME DOWN THAT ROAD FROM UP AROUND THE COURT HOUSE AND CALLED A MEETING OF THE WHITE FARMERS.

"FELLOWS, YOU ALL KNOW ME. SOME OF US AT THE COURT HOUSE WERE SITTING ROUND THE OTHER DAY, TALKIN' BOUT THE PRIMARY GOIN' TO BE IN A LITTLE MORE THAN SIX MONTHS. STILL TIME TO REGISTER. AND WE FIGURED UP IF WE COULD GET ABOUT TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT MORE VOTES, WE COULD THROW OUT THE FELLOW WE GOT IN THE LEGISLATURE FROM THIS COUNTY. NOW, HE'S NO GOOD. AND WHAT TIME HE'S SOBER UP THERE, HE'S VOTIN' AGAINST WHAT WE WANT. AND I CAME DOWN HERE TO SEE HOW MANY PEOPLE YOU GOT TOWARD THROWIN' 'HIM OUT. NOW, HOW MANY YOU GOT?"

"WELL," THEY SAY, "ON THIS PLACE THERE NOT BUT JUST THE FOUR WHITE FAMILIES. THAT'LL BE FOURTEEN VOTES. YOU'LL GET 'EM ALL. IS THAT ENOUGH?"

"NNNOOO," HE'LL SAY. "I WAS HOPIN' I COULD GET SOME MORE."

"WELL," THEY SAY, "WE'VE TOLD YOU ALL THE WHITE PEOPLE WE'VE GOT." MAN ON THE BACK ROW GET HIS HANDUP - KINDA TIMID LIKE - SAY, "HOW ABOUT THE COLORED? WOULD YOU TAKE THEM?" SOMEBODY ELSE SING OUT. "HOLD ON THERE, COLORED NEVER BEEN ALLOWED TO VOTE IN THIS COUNTY." MAN ON THE BACK ROW SAID, "COURSE, I KNOW THAT'S SO - THEY HAVE NOT. BUT THEN THESE COLORED PEOPLE RIGHT IN ROUND HERE ARE KINDA DIFFERENT. THEY'VE GOT THEIR OWN PLACES. THEY'RE GOOD FARMERS. THEY BEEN COMING OVER HERE AND HELPING US WITH OUR WORK. AND WE DON'T EVEN HAVE TO ASK THEM TO. AND I KNOW IF THEY WERE TO VOTE, THEY'D VOTE WITH US. SO I SAY LET'S GET 'EM TO VOTE. WHAT YOU ALL SAY?" "WELL," THEY ALL SAY, "THAT'S RIGHT. LET'S GET 'EM TO VOTE."

THE POINT BEING THAT - AS SOON AS THEY GOT BASICALLY EQUAL - THEN THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS CAME WALKING DOWN THE COUNTRY DIRT ROAD. NOW, IT'S HARD LINES, BUT WE'VE GOT SOMETHING LIKE THAT TO DO IN THE WHOLE OF THAT OLD PLANTATION BELT. NOT RADICALLY - NOT QUICKLY. I CERTAINLY DON'T SAY, "ISSUE THREE BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF GOVERNMENT BONDS, BUY EVERYBODY A BIG PLACE, AND GIVE IT TO ALL THE POOR PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY." THAT DOESN'T WORK. BUT I DO SAY LET'S HAVE A CONSISTENT PUBLIC POLICY, STRETCHING OVER MANY YEARS, OF PUTTING IN THAT OLD PLANTATION BELT AS MANY ISLANDS OF INDEPENDENT FAMILY FARMING AS WE CAN. OTHER THINGS TO DO IN THERE: PULL THE HIGH TENSION POWER LINES DOWN INTO THAT COUNTRY. A MILLION MORE PEOPLE ARE GOING TO LEAVE THERE IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS, HUNTING JOBS. WHY CAN'T JOBS COME TO THEM? CHANGE THAT SCHOOLING SYSTEM, TOO. THEY'RE HOE HANDS TODAY, AND WILL BE MILL HANDS TOMORROW. TEACH THEM INDUSTRIAL SKILLS. WELL, IF YOU DID THAT, YOU'D HAVE THE FOURTH AND LAST ONE FIXED UP. AND BY DEFINITION, YOU'VE GOT AN EQUAL AND A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH.

STATES ARE IMPORTANT

NOW - A QUEER THING! IN ALL OF THAT, I'VE SAID NOTHING ABOUT STATES. AND YET WE LIVE IN STATES...STATES ARE IMPORTANT. LET'S GET IN THE STATE LINES AND SEE WHAT THEY MEAN. TAKE SOUTH CAROLINA. THE MOUNTAINS JUST GRAZE THE BACKS OF TWO COUNTIES. THE PIEDMONT PIECE IS NARROW AND SHORT. THE PLANTATION PIECE IS WIDE AND LONG. SUPPOSE YOU GOT EVERYBODY UP IN HERE TO JOIN A UNION OR SOME REAL FARMER'S ORGANIZATION, AND THEY PRESSED FOR A LAW THEY WOULD LIKE TO GET THROUGH THE LEGISLATURE. AND THEIR LAW WILL NOT PASS. BECAUSE THEY'RE SO MANY MORE STATE SENATORS FROM DOWN HERE THAN FROM UP HERE. GEORGIA'S THE SAME WAY. LITTLE PIECE OF MOUNTAINS, LITTLE PIECE OF PIEDMONT, BIG PIECE OF PLANTATION. NOTHING CHANGES.

IT'S FAR WORSE THAN IT LOOKS ON THIS MAP. BECAUSE THIS OLD PLANTATIONS BELT HAS BEEN DRAINED OF PEOPLE FOR FORTY YEARS - WITH EXCEPTIONS THAT DON'T MATTER. IT HAS NEVER BEEN DRAINED OF A SEAT IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE YET. SO THAT THEIR JUST BEING THE BIGGEST ON THE MAP HAS ADDED AN ARTIFICIAL POLITICAL

HAMMER LOCK. THE CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH IS THAT THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH ARE ALL HELD IN EVERY PUBLIC - AND IN MOST PRIVATE ACTS - TO THE ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES ACCEPTABLE TO THAT POLITICALLY PREDOMINANT PART OF THE STATE LEAST ADVANCED IN DEMOCRATIC ARRANGEMENTS. FOR CONTRAST, TAKE NORTH CAROLINA: A BIG PIECE OF MOUNTAINS, THE LARGEST PIECE OF PIEDMONT, TWO SHRINKING NUBBINS OF PLANTATION COUNTRY. A STATE THAT DID LEAD US FOR SIXTY-FIVE YEARS.

AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

WELL, AT THE END, WE COME BACK TO CIVIL RIGHTS. THE MATERIAL BASIS FOR CHANGE IS HERE. WE'VE GOT SCHOOL BUILDINGS. WE'VE GOT HOSPITALS. AND THEY AND THE DOCTORS ARE BRINGING US PUBLIC HEALTH. FARM LAND TENURE IS BETTER. AND POOR MEN'S HOUSES ARE TWICE AS GOOD AS THEY WERE FIFTEEN YEARS AGO. AND WAR AND BUSINESS SKILL HAVE BROUGHT US BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN NEW FACTORIES. THESE THINGS ARE JOBS AND FARMS AND HOMES AND SCHOOLS AND HEALTH. THAT'S JUST THE OTHER SIDE OF THE NICKEL TO CIVIL RIGHTS. AND IT'S A CHANGE FROM PAST TRADITION. WE WERE A PLANTATION SOCIETY SO LONG, BUT NOW WE ARE AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. IT IS A CASE WHERE HISTORY HAS CAUGHT UP WITH US. AND WE HAVE TO BRING OUR IDEAS AROUND TO THE NEW WAY WE MAKE OUR LIVING. WHEN YOU GO INTO A COG-WHEEL ECONOMY, YOU NEED NEW RULES. YOU NO LONGER WANT YOUR WORK PEOPLE IGNORANT, FEARFUL, DIVIDED, AND VOTELESS. YOU WANT THEM EDUCATED, ORGANIZED, FRIENDLY, AND FULL CITIZENS. IT IS A CHANGE, FOR WE LOVE TRADITION. BUT WE ARE CALLED UPON TO MAKE IT. WE ARE A RELIGIOUS PEOPLE AND A RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE, AND I BELIEVE WE CAN ACHIEVE WHAT THE AGE DEMANDS.

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GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL

The latest WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA (Volume 29) furnishes the following information about Mr. Mitchell:

George Sinclair Mitchell, American economist, was born in Richmond, Virginia. He received his B.A. at the University of Richmond; his PhD. at Johns Hopkins University; he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship and studied at Oxford University in England from 1926 to 1929.

Mr. Mitchell was an instructor of economics at Columbia University from 1929 to 1935. In 1934, he became special assistant in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior; he was director of labor relations for the Resettlement Administration in 1935; in 1936, he was special assistant to the administrator of the Resettlement Administration, becoming regional director for 1936 to 1939. From 1939 to 1943, he was assistant administrator of the Farm Security Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. From 1943 to 1944, he was with the U. S. Foreign Economic Administration. He was director of the Veterans Services of the Southern Regional Council from 1945 to 1947, when he became the executive director. In that capacity he served until his retirement in the Spring of 1957.

He is the author of "Textile Unionism and the South" (1930), and the co-author of "The Industrial Revolution in the South" (1931), and "Black Workers and the New Unions" (1940).

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October 5, 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

To: State Executive Directors

From: John Constable

Subject: Film "For Fair Play"

The movie "For Fair Play" is concerned with fair employment practices and can be shown to any group. However, it is designed more for the interested layman than for the employer.

Briefly, the film deals with how an individual, through his son, discovers the handicaps that beset a Negro workman; and what he does to help his fellow man.

The film is available on loan from THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Each loan period is ten days.

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Fleming

October 9, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 11 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have sent to you under separate cover two of the four prints of "For Fair Play" which you requested and which is made available to you through a grant from the Fund for the Republic. We are sorry that there has been a delay in sending you your copies. The company which is making the films for us has been unable to get materials but they have assured us that we will have the films within the next month so that you will receive your other two copies sometime before November 9th.

We are enclosing herewith copies of a form asking you for information about the usage of the film which we must in turn report to the Fund for the Republic. Would you please return the form, to my attention, by November 8th, 1957?

We hope that the films will be of great use to you.

Sincerely,

Mary Jane Hancock

Mary Jane Hancock
Librarian

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DR. FRANK S. LOESCHER
THOMAS D. MCBRIDE, ESQ.
LEON I. MESIROV, ESQ.
DR. HOWARD E. MITCHELL
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
DR. JOHN OTTO REINEMANN
MRS. LEO M. ROSENAU
HON. THEODORE O. SPAULDING
DAVID L. ULLMAN, ESQ.

EXECUTIVE STAFF

MAURICE B. FAGAN, *Executive Director*
MRS. MARY CONSTANTINE, *Assistant Director*
DENNIS J. CLARK, *Housing Specialist*
WALTER C. WYNN, *Consultant, Constituent Agencies*
MRS. PHOEBE PATTERSON, *Organizations Secretary*
MISS MARY JANE HANCOCK, *Librarian*
MRS. RUBY J. SMITH, *Press Secretary*

October 15, 1956

Mr. Curtis D. Gillespie
Dean of Students
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Gillespie:

We have mailed you a copy of the film "For Fair Play" which will be on loan to you for ten days beginning Wednesday, October 17th. The film "Commencement" can be obtained from the Presidents Committee on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D.C.

We would appreciate having your comments after the showing of "For Fair Play" as to the type of audience, reaction of audience and other comments about the film.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

DIVISION OF_____

DEPARTMENT OF_____

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

October 11, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 15 1956

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am quite interested in your Film Loan Service and would like to have any information as to regulations, requirements etc., for participation.

I am requesting that you mail to me, either film (1) "Commencement" or (2) "For Fair Play".

These should reach me by Wednesday, October 17.

Most sincerely yours

Curtis D. Gillespie,
Dean of Students

CDG/rcb

Loaned Oct 17, 1956

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PERSONNEL OFFICE

October 16, 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me the Film: "For Fair Play" to be shown on October 25, 1956.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

W. M. Nix

William M. Nix

WMN/b

RECEIVED OCT 17 1956

File

DIVISION OF_____

DEPARTMENT OF_____

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

October 24, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 27 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

First I should like to thank you for your full cooperation in getting the film "For Fair Play" to me. It was a heart warming picture and I feel that every true American should see it.

We had a mixed audience of about 200 college students and faculty members. Listed below are some typical comments:

1. The movie "For Fair Play" shown in chapel this morning depicts techniques and methods of making democracy work in a democratic society.

2. The movie "For Fair Play" shows that children don't care about color unless they are taught. It shows that men basicly need the same thing.

3. More people should have a chance to see the movie "For Fair Play".

4. Good! - - More needed.

5. The movie "For Fair Play" presented the problem very well and should aid materially toward its solution.

Sincerely yours,

C. D. Gillespie

C. D. Gillespie
Dean of Students

P.S. The Film For Fair Play is in the mail

AIRMAIL

November 8, 1956

Mrs.H. F. Holmes
318 Murray Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Holmes:

After you returned the film we had mailed you, we discovered, much to our dismay, that we had sent you a different film than the one you had requested.

However, we do think that the Desegregation film that you received is most worth while.

We do have the movie "For Fair Play", and if you would like to show it to your people there, we would gladly send it along at this time.

Please excuse our error, and let us hear from you if you are interested in "For Fair Play."

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

Equal Treatment and Opportunity for All People

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President

Philadelphia
FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION

260 SOUTH 15th STREET • PHILADELPHIA 2, PA. • KIngsley 5-8430

November 9, 1956

Mr. John Constable
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

There seems to have been some misunderstanding about the date of return of the forms in reference to the film "For Fair Play". I am returning the ones which you sent me along with two new ones. They are to be returned to us at the end of one year - by November 8th, 1957.

I hope that this will clear up the misunderstanding.

Sincerely,

Mary Jane Hancock

Mary Jane Hancock
Librarian

NOV 8 1956

REPORT ON USE OF "FOR FAIR PLAY"

NAME OF AGENCY: The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ADDRESS: 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR FILM: Two

NUMBER OF REQUESTS FILLED: Two

IF THERE WERE UNFILLED REQUESTS PLEASE GIVE REASONS:

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO VIEWED THE FILM: 500

NUMBER OF TIMES USED ON TV: none

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO VIEWED THE FILM ON TV:

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS FILM? The film was effective in that it stimulated a great deal of discussion concerning the problems involved.

DID YOU FIND ANY UNIQUE OR DIFFERENT WAYS OF USING THE FILM? No.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USE OF FILM:

TYPE OF AUDIENCES FILM WAS SHOWN TO: College students and faculty members of both the white and colored races.

HOW MANY TIMES WAS PROJECTOR SUPPLIED WITH THE FILM? None

HOW MANY TIMES WAS A DISCUSSION LEADER OR SPEAKER SENT WITH THE FILM? None

HOW MANY TIMES WAS IT PRESENTED ALONE? Two

John Constable Name of person submitting report

Managing Editor, New South Title

Please return this report in duplicate to Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, 260 South 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Penna. by November 8th, 1957.

DIVISION OF_____

DEPARTMENT OF_____

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS, PRESIDENT

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

December 18, 1956

Mr. Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter concerning film "Desegregation in Baltimore".

I am requesting that the above film be mailed to reach me by January 3, 1957, first choice or January 10, second choice.

Most sincerely yours,

Curtis D. Gillespie

Curtis D. Gillespie
Dean of Students

CDG/pew

March 6, 1957

Miss Helen F. Holmes
318 Murray Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Miss Holmes:

Thank you for your letter of March 4, 1957 concerning the film "For Fair Play".

Yes, the film is available and we will mail it from our office on March 8th which should be in plenty of time for you to preview it if necessary.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc

Deb

~~RECEIVED~~ MAR 5 1957

318 Murray Street
Frankfort, Kentucky
March 4, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In a recent letter, explaining your error in sending a requested film you advised that you would send the movie "For Fair Play", if we were still interested.

We would like to show it at our March meeting, Thursday, March 21, and would like you to have it here by Tuesday, March 19. Please advise if shipment can be made by this date.

Yours truly,

Helen F. Holmes

Helen F. Holmes

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The film "For Fair Play" is on loan to _____ for 10 days beginning _____. An extension may be granted if request is forwarded to the above address in sufficient time.

BORROWER IS REQUESTED TO FILL OUT FORM BELOW

1. Type of audience _____

_____

2. Number of persons in audience _____

3. Reaction of audience _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Suggestions for additional showing of film _____

_____

_____

_____

5. Other comments _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(Several copies of this form are included in this package. One should be filled out with each showing of the film.)

December 31, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Our hearty congratulations and thanks for the "See It Now" report on Marion Anderson's tour of Asia. Miss Anderson's rare personality came through beautifully, and the whole production was deeply moving.

We are wondering whether there is any possibility of our securing at least one print of the film for use by Southern groups. The Southern Regional Council and the Atlanta office of the Anti-Defamation League serve cooperatively as a promotion and distribution center for films with "human relations" import and are prepared to make effective use of this one.

No doubt the showing on CBS reached a considerable Southern audience, but I am sure that many groups throughout the South would like to show the film in their communities.

I shall look forward hopefully to your reply. Meanwhile, all good wishes to you and Mr. Friendly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl: N.Y. Times Reprint

January 30, 1958

Miss Natalie Foster
Assistant to the Producers
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Foster:

Thanks for your letter of January 22 concerning prints of "The Lady from Philadelphia". We very much hope that the film may be available for program use in the South and we appreciate your efforts to make it possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN 24 1958

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York · Plaza 1-2345

SEE IT NOW
EDWARD R. MURROW
FRED W. FRIENDLY

January 22, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of December 31st requesting information about obtaining prints of "The Lady from Philadelphia" has been received. Although I cannot give you an answer at this time, I want you to know that we hope to get the legal clearances necessary for distribution.

As soon as a decision has been made as to whether or not the film will be released, you will hear from us. In the meantime, thank you for your patience and for your kind words about the program. I hope you will not have to wait too long.

Sincerely yours,

Natalie Foster

Natalie Foster
Assistant to the Producers

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 3, 1958

Mr. Paul Rosen
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosen:

Several weeks ago, I wrote to Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly asking about the possibility of prints of "The Lady From Philadelphia" being available to this organization for use by church groups and other interested organizations in the South.

I have been advised by Mr. Murrow's office that, because of legal technicalities, such approval would have to be secured through you. We feel that this film would be enormously effective in advancing better race relations within the South, and I will be most grateful for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 4/28/58
Filmus

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK • PLAZA 1-2345

April 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our apologies for not responding to you at an earlier date regarding your request to have a print of our SEE IT NOW program "The Lady From Philadelphia - Marian Anderson".

We are pleased to advise you that we have now been able to make arrangements under which this film is available for 16 mm. non-broadcast, non-theatrical use in the United States.

Distribution of this film is now being made through Contemporary Films, Inc., 267 West 25th Street, New York, New York, or 614 Davis Street, Evanston, Illinois, and we have forwarded to that organisation your letter. We are sure that Contemporary Films, Inc., will be in touch with you as quickly as is possible.

Again, may we apologise for the delay in responding to you, and may we thank you for your expression of interest in this program and in the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

Sincerely,

Saul Moore

May 26, 1958

Mr. Leo R. Dratfield
Director of Distribution
Contepporary Films, Inc.
267 West 25th Street
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Dratfield:

Thank you for your letter of May 5th concerning the rental of the film, "The Lady From Philadelphia." However, in our earlier inquiry to C. B. S., we expressed interest in purchasing a copy of the film.

We believe there would be considerable value in showing the film to Southern groups, many of whom would not or could not pay a reasonable rental fee. To insure wide circulation of the film in the South, we would like to purchase a copy which could be circulated by us either without cost or for a nominal handling charge.

Therefore, at your convenience, would you please inform us of whether or not copies of the film can be purchased, and if so, the cost per copy.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Contemporary films inc.

267 West 25th Street, New York 1 · ORegon 5-7220

May 5, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You recently expressed interest in renting the Marion Anderson film THE LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA. We are pleased to advise you that the 16 mm version is now available for rental from our office for $25.00 with the stipulation that no admission be charged.

Due to the unprecedented demand for this subject, we suggest that you let us know as soon as possible when you wish to schedule a showing.

Sincerely yours,

Leo R. Dratfield
Director of Distribution

LRD/1

16 mm

Film Releases

A New Check List of Films

ART
MUSIC
FEATURES
CARTOONS
EXPERIMENTAL
DOCUMENTARIES
HUMAN RELATIONS

Contemporary Films, Inc.

13 East 37th Street New York 16, N. Y.

MID-WEST

614 Davis Street Evanston, Illinois

HUMAN RELATIONS

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN (color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00 Sale $100.00**

Produced by United Productions of America. Sponsored by the UAW-CIO. Based on the Public Affairs Committee pamphlet, RACES OF MANKIND. The famous animated cartoon that demonstrates that there are no basic differences between the races of the world. It makes the point that dissimilarities between people are not basic but result from superficial environmental influences.

A CITY DECIDES **28 minutes** **Rental $7.50 Sale $75.00**

Produced by Charles Guggenheim for the Fund For the Republic.

Right out of today's headlines, this is the timely, true story of how integration was effected in the public schools of St. Louis.

An Academy Award Nominee in the 1957 Documentary Class.

"Pretty wonderful all the way. An imaginative semi-documentary." — HOWARD THOMPSON, New York Times

SEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH **60 minutes** **Rental $15.00**

Produced by George M. Martin, Jr. for the Fund For the Republic. Written and directed by James Peck.

A documentary film study of the progress and reaction since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools.

The film traces the effects of the Court's epochal 1954 school ruling and subsequent integration orders in other field's, through the sometimes peaceful desegration in "fringe" communities, the rise of White Citizens' Councils and the reborn Klu Klux Klan, the Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott, violence and martial law in Clinton, Teen., and the current stirrings toward interracial cooperation in even Deep South areas.

THREE OF OUR CHILDREN **30 minutes** **Rental $4.50**

Directed and photographed by Nicholas Read and Ramon Estella. A UNICEF production. Narrated by James Mason.

Three dramatic stories of how UNICEF helps save the lives of children cut off by geography, tradition and ignorance from modern medical knowledge. Maria, remote in a Mount Olympus village, is helped when she is stricken with polio. A doctor and a UNICEF health team coming to a French Equatorial African village, treats Modjena's leprosy. Rufino, born in Luzon, Philippines, is given a better chance to live through infancy because of the modern training given the midwife who delivers him.

ART

THE ADVENTURES OF * (color) **10 minutes** **Rental $10.00**

Produced and directed by John Hubley. Story by James Johnson Sweeney, Director of the Guggenheim Museum, in collaboration with John Hubley and Faith Elliot.

"The Adventures of *" is an animated color cartoon. The story is a condensed account of the life of an average contemporary human being; symbolized by the figure "*".

The life of "*" begins as a baby, who enjoys seeing the new world about him. As he grows, his ability to see and enjoy life is reduced; portrayed by a series of scenes of disapproval and rejection. When he becomes an adult he is unable to react freely to the world about him. He neither sees nor finds pleasure in new things until, through his child, he has a rebirth, seeing the world anew.

Winner, 1957 Venice Festival Award.

GOYA **20 minutes** **Rental $10.00 Sale Apply**

A Ben Berg-Irving Block Production. Original score composed and played by Vincente Gomez, guitarist.

An excellent film on the life of the great Spanish artist, Franciso Goya (1746-1828) told through his work; the political and social effect of his cartoons, etchings, paintings and writings.

INK AND RICE PAPER (Color) **16 minutes** **Rental $15.00 Sale $175.00**

Produced, written and directed by Carson Davidson.

An excellent film on the making of a woodblock print by the artist Lowell Naeve, from preliminary sketch to finished rice paper.

THE LONDON OF WILLIAM HOGARTH **28 minutes** **Rental $15.00**

A Barnard-Cornwell Production. Script by John Waptrus. Adapted by Phil Barnard. Directed and narrated by Phil Barnard.

The human comedy told through masterfully photographed steel engravings of the great eighteenth century English satirist, Hogarth. The rabelaisian London of that day brought vividly to life in a remarkable blend of art, camera and narration. 1957 Golden Reel Award Winner in the Visual Arts category.

BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE RELEASES

MOMMA DON'T ALLOW **22 minutes** **Rental: Apply**

Produced by Karel Reisz and Tony Richardson. Photographed by Walter Lassally.

The young of London out for an evening of dancing at the Wood Green Jazz Club—a hired room in a pub. An exciting on-the-spot study of typists, students, butcher boys, dental assistants, and shop girls out on the town.

TOGETHER **52 minutes** **Rental: Apply**

Directed by Lorenza Mazzeti from a story by Denis Horne. Lindsay Anderson, Supervising editor. Photography by Hamid Harari.

A poignant film of the world created by two deaf-mute friends, a private buffer against a daily existence that means anxiety, helplessness, and loneliness.

MUSIC

PABLO CASALS **28 minutes** **Rental $12.50**

Produced and directed by Robert Snyder.

A day in the life of the great cellist in which he plays the Bach Suite #1 for Unaccompanied Cello. This is an imperishable record of a great musician and a great moral force taken at his home in Prades, France.

"The music swells out with incredible richness and warmth. It is exciting to see his art at close range and to hear it come alive." Wm. Zinsser, N. Y. Herald Tribune.

"A wonderously uncluttered documentary on the great cellist." Howard Thompson, N. Y. Times.

McGRAW HILL RELEASES

Edward R. Murrow's SEE IT NOW SERIES

AUTOMATION **84 minutes** **Rental $35.00 Sale $275.00**

An exploration of the many problems connected with the revolutionary development of automation, and shows automation at work in dozens of industries ranging from aviation to baking. Views presented on automation's social and economic effects include those of Walter Reuther, Thomas Watson, Jr., and MIT professor, Gordon Brown, an authority on Cybernetics. For high school and college students and adult groups.

POLAND **53 minutes** **Rental $25.00 Sale $195.00**

A camera study of changes in troubled Poland since the Poznan riots, including the introduction of rock-and-roll, the new educational and religious freedoms, and the waves of political unrest and anti-semitism. Highlighting the current living conditions in Poland, the film includes an interview with the country's new Premier, M. Cyrankiewicz.

PUERTO RICO **55 minutes** **Rental $25.00**
Sale $195.00

A probing study in migration, slums, prejudice, and the attempts of an underdeveloped area to pull itself up by its bootstraps, this film explores some of the causes and effects of the annual migration of 50,000 Puerto Ricans to New York City and other metropolitan centers. It shows the living and working conditions of these American citizens both here and in Puerto Rico and some of the complex problems connected with their absorption into new communities.

U. P. A. CARTOONS

HOW NOW BOING BOING (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

Gerald, the fabulous sound-effects boy, is back in more hilarious adventures. He learns to talk, but not before he drives a voice professor to distraction.

LITTLE BOY WITH A BIG HORN (Color)
10 minutes **Rental $5.00**

He's the young lad whose horn playing drives his town crazy. Chased out to sea where he can practice without annoying the neighbors, he saves a fogbound ship with his oompahs.

SAFETY SPIN (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

The nearsighted Mister Magoo takes his driving test — on a hook-and-ladder firetruck. Funny misadventures which will please everyone, driver and backseat driver alike.

CAPTAINS OUTRAGEOUS (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

A funny fish story wherein Magoo and his nephew, Waldo, set out to hook a giant marlin. The ocean will never be the same.

THE DOG SNATCHER (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

Magoo, his dog Cuddles, a circus, panthers on the loose, in a wild and wooly epic of pandemonium that starts when Magoo heads for City Hall to complain about treatment to his pet.

FUDDY DUDDY BUDDY (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

Magoo on vacation in Florida strikes up an engaging friendship — with a walrus whom he has mistaken for his walrus-moustached British friend. The usual outrageously funny adventures of debonair Magoo result.

CHRISTOPHER CRUMPET (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

He's an ordinary boy with an extraordinary desire to own a space ship — the real kind! His parents give him a toy one and, angered, he turns himself into a chicken with hilarious consequences.

WONDER GLOVES (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

Little Johnny finds a pair of boxing gloves. When his uncle tells him that those are the very "wonder gloves" that helped him beat the champ, Johnny scoffs. But he finds out — the hard way — that there's a lot of truth to the story. A charming, different cartoon.

FAMILY CIRCUS (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

A charming film about a young child's jealousy of her baby brother, Adorable little Patsy launches into a series of hilarious misadventures to lure her father's attention from her new brother to herself. Finally Dad comes to understand her motives.

GERALD McBOING BOING (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

The U. P. A. Academy Award cartoon of the boy who is shunned by everyone because he can't talk. Then it is discovered that he can make any sound effect known, and he wins fame and fortune. A side-splitting comedy.

MADELINE (Color) **10 minutes** **Rental $5.00**

Ludwig Bemelman's delightful story of one of the most lovable little girls ever to skip across the screen. In charming verse we are told of her many adventures, including the one that makes her a heroine.

DOCUMENTARY

THE BIG CITY **25 minutes** **Rental $7.50 Sale $100.00**

Produced by Richard Hefferon. Written and directed by Charles Guggenheim. Photographed by Victor Duncan.

An extraordinary documentary film explaining the workings of a large city — its many and varied services. The functions of the various city departments of St. Louis are dramatically portrayed. An excellent film for all age levels.

"A fast-moving roundup of services provided to its citizens by municipal governments. An exciting and excellent film." — Cecile Starr, THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

1957 Golden Reel Award Winner.

1957 Venice Award Winner.

QUESTION IN TOGOLAND (Color) **20 minutes** **Rental $10.00 Sale $135.00**

An inspirational story of the first plebiscite held in a United Nations Trust Territory, when the people of Togoland voted to join the Gold Coast and went on to independence as the new nation of "Ghana". A fascinating film on the peoples of Africa, proud of their ancient traditions, but eager to forge their way into the Twentieth Century.

THIRD AVENUE EL (color) **11 minutes** **Rental $10.00 Sale $125.00**

Produced and directed by Carson Davidson.

A delightful documentary — and valuable historical record — of New York's now departed Third Avenue El.

Winner of the 1956 Golden Reel Award, American Film Assembly. Academy Award Nominee. Award Winner at Edinburgh Film Festival.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR **33 minutes** **Rental $7.50 Sale $150.00**

Produced and directed by Louis Clyde Stoumen for Camera Eye Films. Narrated by Raymond Massey.

This is an actual record of the sweep and drama of America's great national experience told through the original Matthew Brady photographs, newspaper cartoons and headlines of the day. An exceptional historical film, it won the Academy Award for 1956.

FEATURES

BULLFIGHT **76 minutes** **Rental $35.00**

Presented by Janus Films. Directed by Pierre Braunberger. Edited by Myriam. Produced by Pantheon Cinema Society. Commentary by Bryant Halliday.

A spellbinding documentary featuring the greatest bullfighters of all time, including Manolete, Belmonte, Dominguin, Conchita Citron, and a host of other famous matadors. BULLFIGHT is a history of the traditions, customs, and techniques of this thrilling pageant from prehistoric times to the present.

ON THE BOWERY **65 minutes** **Rental $40.00**

Produced and directed by Lionel Rogosin. In association with Mark Sufrin, Richard Bagley and Carl Lerner. Written by Mark Sufrin. Edited by Carl Lerner. Photographed by Richard Bagley.

One of the greatest documentaries ever made. Grand Prize Winner at Venice and the British Film Academy for 1956, this film is a searing tale of three men living on New York's infamous skid row, The Bowery. It is a tale of human hope and helplessness, of desolation and humor, of the loneliness and waste of an alcoholic's life. A fascinating, proud film.

"One of the most significant films ever made." Paul Rotha, THE LIVING CINEMA.

"Such prodigious power and understanding it deserves even more than the honors already won at Venice and Edinburgh." Archer Winstem, NEW YORK POST.

MENTAL HEALTH

KID BROTHER **27 minutes** **Rental $7.00 Sale $145.00**

A Mental Health Film Board Release. Produced by Affiliated Films. Written by Irving Jacoby. Directed by Alexander Hammid.

Planned and supervised by psychiatrists and psychologists, this new film explores the hidden emotional conflicts of adolescents in adapting to the world around them. An excellent discussion film.

FILMS OF HANS RICHTER

DREAMS THAT MONEY CAN BUY **Rental: Apply**

Produced and directed by Hans Richter. Photographed by Arnold Eagle. Objects and ideas by Alexander Calder, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Fernand Leger, Man Ray.

A unique film employing a blend of art and cinema. It contains seven dreams shaped after the visions of great contemporary artists. Daring, startling, and unorthodox, this is the greatest psychological film ever made.

PASSIONATE PASTIME **28 minutes** **Rental: Apply Sale: Apply**

Produced and directed by Hans Richter. Photographed by Arnold Eagle. Music by Darius Milhaud. Narrated by Vincent Price.

Chess figures from Carlebach Gallery, A. Van Loen and J. C. Leff Collection.

A fascinating historical pageant of the game of chess over the past 5,000 years. Using rare museum pieces, the film ranges from the origin of chess in primitive times through its refinements and influences up to the present. An experience for players and non-players alike.

ANIMATED FAIRY TALES

ANIMATED FAIRY TALES

A new series of Lotte Reiniger's Silhouette fairy tales have just been released. These lovely stories are in addition to the first set that were applauded upon their release last year. These included *Cinderella, Gallant Little Tailor, Puss in Boots, Hansel and Gretel, Thumbelina,* and *Sleeping Beauty.* Also the adult films, *Papageno, Carmen* and *Galathea.*

NEW TITLES

THE MAGIC HORSE
THE GRASSHOPPER AND THE ANT
SNOW WHITE AND ROSE RED
FROG PRINCE
THE THREE WISHES

The above titles are each 10 minutes. They rent for $3.00 each, and sell for $50.00 each.

THE PRINCESS IN THE TOWER (color) **22 minutes** **Rental $7.50 Sale $135.00**

Produced by Robert Disraeli.

A musical film presenting a life situation of an eleven-year-old girl whose family has just moved into a new neighborhood. She is encouraged to make a satisfactory adjustment to her new environment by learning through the play, songs and dances of the other children that "everybody counts in his own individual way. . . ."

"Excellent film . . . should provide an excellent springboard from which to approach discussions of both interracial and interfaith problems." Irene F. Cypher, Associate Professor, Dept. of Communications in Education, New York University.

"This film is a real contribution to the human relations field. I consider it particularly good because it carries a message which is equally effective for intergroup education work and for child growth and development." Dr. John P. Milligan, Asst. Commissioner of Education, Department of Education, New Jersey.

June 4, 1958

File

Miss Anne Schutzer, Film Librarian
Contemporary Films, Inc.
267 West 25th Street
New York 1, N. Y.

Dear Miss Schutzer:

Thank you for your letter of May 29th concerning the possibility of leasing THE LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA.

We may contact you at a later date to lease one print. However, our immediate impression is that the price of $250 is somewhat excessive in light of the leasing restrictions.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

Contemporary films inc.

267 West 25th Street, New York 1 • ORegon 5-7220

May 29, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In answer to your letter of May 26, please be advised that the film THE LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA is not available for outright sale.

However, the film is available on lease until January 1, 1960, at the price of $250.00 per print, on the condition that the film will be shown on a non-theatrical, non-admission basis only. No handling charge is allowed.

If you are interested in obtaining a print of this film on lease, please let us know, and we shall be happy to make the necessary arrangements.

Sincerely,

CONTEMPORARY FILMS, INC.

Anne Schutzer /er

Anne Schutzer
Film Librarian

AS:rl

R for Info

Movies

June 5, 1945

Mr. Herschel Hawkins
1133 Cleveland Avenue
South Bend 16, Indiana

Dear Mr. Hawkins:

Your letter of May 29 addressed to the "Committee on Interracial Cooperation" has been forwarded to us. The Southern Regional Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in February of 1944, and is carrying on the work of the Commission as one phase of a broad program for social and economic progress in the South.

We do not have any comprehensive listing of visual aids useful in teaching intercultural attitudes, but would like to refer you to the 16 mm. version of "The Negro Soldier" which is available through the Office of War Information, Washington, D. C. You might also be interested in the March of Time film, "Americans All." Miss Phyllis Shevlin of March of Time, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York City, can give you information about showing this film. The Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York has a 30-minute film strip entitled "We Are All Brothers — What Do You Know About Race?" which can be shown on a 35 mm. single frame, silent film projector. The price is one dollar.

Two good sources for additional films are the Motion Picture Bureau of the YMCA, (our nearest office is 1700 Patterson Avenue, Dallas, Texas) and the Distributors Group, 756 West Peachtree Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

I hope this information will be of some help to you. Please let us know if you think we can help you further.

Sincerely yours,

Jane T. Martin

JTM:m

1133 Cleveland Avenue
South Bend 16, Indiana
May 29, 1945

Committee on Interracial Co-operation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am listing visual aids which can be used in developing proper intercultural attitudes in junior high school boys and girls. In this listing I wish to give a description of the film and how it can be used to the best advantage. Will you please send me literature that you have which will be of benefit in my project? Thank you.

Yours truly,

Herschel Hawkins

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 29, 1945

Through the courtesy of Judge A. J. Hartley, Director, State Department of Public Welfare, you are cordially invited to a special screening of "THE HOUSE I LIVE IN" -- a short feature starring Frank Sinatra, on Friday November 2, 1945 at 2:30 P.M. at RKO Radio Pictures, 191 Walton St. N. W., Atlanta.

Inspired by Sinatra's work in schools and with youth groups in the cause of inter-racial and religious understanding, Frank Ross, producer of "THE ROBE", suggested to "The Voice" and Mervyn LeRoy, the director, that a short film based on this theme be made. They volunteered their talents and RKO Radio Pictures provided its studio facilities and distributing organization.

"THE HOUSE I LIVE IN" which has been hailed as a milestone in the cause of Americanism, is a non-profit film, all theatre receipts being donated by the star and producers to organizations working on the problems of juvenile delinquency.

Judge Hartley will give a brief comment on the picture, following which RKO Radio invites you to remain for the showing of "FIRST YANK INTO TOKYO", first Hollywood production based on the story behind the atomic bomb.

Southeastern District Manager

Ga. 1742

RKO RADIO PICTURES, INC.
191 WALTON ST., N. W. • ATLANTA 1, GA.

Movies

Dr. Johnson:

I talked with Miss Hayes, Mr. Prince's Secretary (He was in New York when I called). She says that the picture has not been shown yet, but she will call me when it is booked for a showing.

IBT

Nov. 26

Movies

December 12, 1945

Denver Unity Council
Miss Louise Evans, Executive Secretary
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Dear Miss Evans:

We have received your letter of December 5 addressed to the Committee on Intercultural Cooperation. The Southern Regional Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its related activities in February of 1944.

We hope the following information on films and filmstrips will serve your purpose. These are highly recommended:

WE ARE ALL BROTHERS --WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT RACE? 35 mm. filmstrip unit, for showing on a single frame silent projector. Printed commentary for discussion leader or teacher, and copy of The Races of Mankind. $1.00 plus mailing. New Tools for Learning, 280 Madison Avenue, New York 16.

#1-2-3-4 leaflet

TOWARDS UNITY, 16 mm., sound, 11 minutes, rental $1.50, sale $30.00. Documentary film on the theme that all men regardless of race, color, or creed have mutual needs, emotions, thoughts and problems. Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

AMERICANS ALL, running time: 16 minutes, is The March of Time's study of the vital problem which many U. S. communities are concerned with today: how to prevent racial and religious intolerance. It is a film that Professor Gordon W. Allport of Harvard calls "a public service of the first magnitude." ....."The film is an honest presentation of intolerance as a menace to American liberty as guaranteed in our Constitution." Rental: 3 days - $5.00; $2.00 per day for extra days. The March of Time, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.

HENRY BROWNE, FARMER, 16 mm., sound, story of a Negro family in war-time. This is a U. S. Government film. It may be had for a service charge of 50¢ and may be ordered from the Y.M.C.A. Motion Picture Bureau, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

THE STORY OF DOCTOR CARVER, 16 mm., sound, the story of a Negro slave boy who became a scientist. Y.M.C.A. Motion Picture Bureau. Rental $1.50.

Others: Home I Live In, an M.G.M picture starring Frank Sinatra; The Negro

C.W.
12/12/45

Soldier; We've Come a Long Way.

A Photographic Exhibit: THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE may be secured from the Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42nd Street New York 17.

Then there is the Cranbrook Exhibit: The Races of Mankind. Information concerning this exhibit may be secured from Mrs. Edmonia Grant, The American Missionary Association, 287 4th Ave., New York 10.

Other sources we suggest you contact are: The Columbus Council for Democracy, Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 9, Ohio; and The American Council of Race Relations, 32 W. Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Under separate cover we are sending you some of our current materials which we hope will be informing and interesting. We shall be glad to hear from you.

Yours truly,

(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

separate cover

Executive Committee
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President
CHARLES A. GRAHAM
First Vice-President
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RAY J. SMITH
ELMER TENORIO
E. J. WITTELSHOFER

Denver Unity Council

Americanism is a matter of the mind and the heart, and not a matter of race, ancestry, or religion.

December 5, 1945

Committee on Intercultural Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are interested in materials in the intercultural field which might be used by the Program Committee of the Denver Unity Council. We would appreciate your letting us know of any good films, recordings, etc. in this field which we might preview.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Louise Evans

Louise Evans
Executive Secretary

February 20, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

SPC

Dear Sirs:

We, as members of the Sociology class of St. Joseph's College, West Hartford, Connecticut, this semester, are concerned with the study of Immigration and Race Relations. Our material is rather limited. As a result we feel a great measure of responsibility in getting more facts on the subject. This course is not dealing with theoretical problems but rather with living issues and we want to get some really constructive ideas upon which to build.

As a resource, would you help us by sharing what information you may have on either subject but especially on that of Race Relations?

We have planned various approaches to the study. One is through audio-visual aids - movies, recordings, etc. The Negro Soldier and Greater Victory are already on our schedule. Do you have any free films? Can you advise us on other sources? One of our best approaches is through current pamphlets or booklets, maps, charts, bibliographies, etc. which would point out cultural backgrounds and contributions to past and present day society as a whole. If you have any such free material would you send us some? If there is a particular material for which there is a slight charge but which you feel would be of value to us, would you also let us know? We would also appreciate any personal suggestions or comments you may wish to make.

It is with deep interest in community life, in the improvement of race relations and in promoting better human relations among all people that we ask your cooperation.

Yours very truly,

Mary Gorde

262 Ann Street
Hartford, 4, Conn.

Similar answers to all requests

Movies

January 24, 1946

Mr. James P. Mondi
Director of Visual Aids
Edward J. Tobin Elementary School
Oak Lawn, Illinois

Dear Mr. Mondi:

Your card of January 16 has been forwarded to us as the Southern Regional Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which sponsored the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

We hope the following information on films and filmstrips will serve your purpose:

WE ARE ALL BROTHERS—WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT RACE? 35 mm. f filmstrip unit, for showing on a single frame silent projector. Printed commentary for discussion leader or teacher, and copy of The Races of Mankind. $1.00 plus mailing. New Tools for Learning, 280 Madison Avenue, New York 16.

TOWARDS UNITY, 16 mm., sound, 11 minutes, rental $1.50, sale $30.00. Documentary film on the theme that all men regardless of race, color, or creed have mutual needs, emotions, thoughts and problems. Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

AMERICANS ALL, The March of Time, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17.

#1-2-3-4 Complete

C.W
1/24/46

cont.

HENRY BROWNE, FARMER, N. M. C. A. Motion Picture Bureau, 347 Madison Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF DOCTOR CARVER, 16 mm sound. Y.M.C.A. Motion Picture Bureau. Rental $1.50

THE NEGRO SOLDIER , a 16 mm. version. May be secured throught the Office of War Information, Washington, D. C.

Other highly recommended ones are: Home I Live In, an M.G.M. picture starring Frank Sinatra, and We've Come a Long Way.

Under separate cover we are sending you some of our current materials which we hope will interest you. If we can be of further service, we shall be glad to hear from you.

Cordially yours ,

(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

separate cover

The Ohio State University
13 Page Hall - Columbus 10, Ohio

Gentlemen:

I am preparing a list of films and filmstrips for use in intercultural education. Would you kindly send me a list of the films and their sources which you would recommendas useful.

Cordially,

Edgar Dale

Edgar Dale
Professor of Education

EDWARD J. TOBIN
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
POST OFFICE ADDRESS
OAK LAWN, ILLINOIS

GENTLEMEN:
WE WOULD BE VERY APPRECIATIVE IF YOU WOULD FORWARD A CATALOGUE OF 16 MM. SOUND MOTION PICTURES AND OTHER VISUAL AIDS AVAILABLE THROUGH YOUR EDUCATION SERVICE.

PLEASE PLACE OUR NAME ON YOUR MAILING LIST OF FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS,

James P. Mondi

JAMES P. MONDI
DIRECTOR OF VISUAL AIDS

RECEIVED
JAN 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir: Com.

Jan. 4, 1946

I have read your publication, "Twelve Million Negro Americans", and find it very stimulating.

Please send, as soon as possible, whatever suggestions you have about Sound Motion Pictures which you would recommend on the Negro Situation in America.

We are anxious to obtain a sound movie for the second or third week in Feb. Your recommendations will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
~~Rev. Wm. H. Mathae~~
St. John's Methodist Chur
5000 Washington Blvd.
St. Louis 8, Missouri.

Movies

March 25, 1946

Mr. Owen Dodson, Executive Secretary
American Film Center
45 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Dodson:

I understand that the American Film Center is working on the development of educational films portraying the Negro in America. The Southern Regional Council is very much interested in this project. We get a great many requests for visual education material and we would like to build up a library of films and exhibits which we could lend out. Please put us down to receive information about any materials of this sort which you have available or which you are in process of developing.

Incidentally, if you are in the market for a man who knows the Southern scene intimately, I suggest that you consider Mr. A. C. Robinson of Buffalo, Alabama. He has had a rich background of experience, including mill work, farming, government service, special surveys for Charles S. Johnson, and some investigations for the Southern Regional Council. Although he is not a polished writer, he has a gift for portraying the lives of the common people of the South. He is a person who in my opinion might be very useful to you in planning Southern pictures and in producing scripts for them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

October 18, 1946

Miss Joan Roger
Assistant Film Officer
British Information Services
907 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Roger:

Thank you for your reply to my letter of October 10. We are ordering the film MAN-ONE FAMILY, for showing at a conference in Atlanta on the evening of November 14. I enclose the order form.

We would indeed like to see the copy of your complete catalogue.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP
Enclosure

Telephone
EXECUTIVE 8525

Reference for reply

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
907 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 12, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Thank you for your letter of October 10th.

MAN-ONE FAMILY is in 16mm. sound and requires sound projection. I am sorry not to have included this information in my original letter.

Yours sincerely,

Joan Roger

Joan Roger
Asst. Film Officer

P.S. Would you like to receive a copy of our new complete catalogue?

October 10, 1946

Miss Joan Roger
Assistant Film Officer
British Information Services
907 Fifteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Roger:

Thank you for calling our attention to the new film entitled Man-One Family. I believe that we will have a use for this film in the near future. However, I am asking that you let me know whether it is silent or with sound, so that we may arrange for the proper projector before ordering the film.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Return to G.B.J.

Telephone
EXECUTIVE 8525

Reference for reply

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
907 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 9 1946
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

October 7th, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson,

We have just received prints in our library of a new film which I feel may be of interest to you.

I am attaching a write-up on MAN-ONE FAMILY, a 20-minute film dealing with the question of racial equality. The film may be borrowed by application to this office. The dealer which handles and stores our films makes a rental charge of $2. for the film, and the borrower must pay transportation to and from our Washington library.

I am enclosing an order form for your convenience in requesting this film on any given date and look forward to hearing from you if we can be of service.

Yours sincerely,

Joan Roger

Joan Roger
Assistant Film Officer

encl.

MAN - ONE FAMILY

This film was made by the British Government for showing in the liberated territories as they opened up. It was realized that people exposed to Nazi propaganda and Nazi domination might well require to have some of their beliefs resurrected and reinfused.

This film was, therefore, made to show the fallacies in Hitler's race doctrine.

The film uses a number of filming devices, including diagram and cartoon and at one point the commentator carries on a dialogue with a sceptical Englishman, who quotes Mein Kampf as an authority.

The film was prepared by Professor Julian Huxley and Professor J.B.S. Haldane, two world famous British scientists, whose arguments step by step, demolish the Hitler fallacies. The film proves from scientific fact that there is no such thing as a pure race in the Hitler sense. It is true that there are certain recognizable types, but even these shade off in the middle grounds. Pure types only exist as the result of highly skilled scientific breeding and even these types, such as Leghorn hens, greyhounds, etc., quickly revert under normal conditions. The film also explodes the notion of the average in a type. It is popularly supposed that Germans are blond, fair and tall and that Spaniards are short, dark and Swedes tall and fair, but this average man is himself a myth, for there are many dark Swedes, tall Spaniards and fair Spaniards. An interesting shot in the film shows six photographs and you are invited to guess which nationality is represented. Almost invariably, people are at a loss to pin nationality on the given example of a racial type.

It is clearly shown that Hitler's contention that there is a pure Aryan type is nonsense. The very word Aryan is a linguistic term describing a group of languages probaly originating north of India and passing gradually across Europe. The word has no racial significance whatsoever.

Hitler's main attack, through his race theory, was on the Jewish people but even the Jewish people are not a distinct race in Hitler's terms, or in anyone else's. The film proceeds to demolish the generally accepted concept of a Jewish race, showing that Jews, wherever they live, have amalgamated with the local populations to their mutual advantage.

Hitler claims that all great inventions sprung from the so-called Aryan race. This is not true. Even the page on which he writes owes its numeral to the Arabs, its ink to the Chinese and its paper to the Egyptians.

Superiority of race is a tempting theory, however, but this is largely a matter of geography. Coloured people are physically superior in Equatorial Africa, being immune from the white man's diseases there. The white man is superior in the sub-tropical areas, where the coloured man is susceptible to diseases/to which the white man is immune.

The real conflict in the world today is between the democratic way, which holds that human beings are noble, not by their blood or descent, but by what they do, and which holds that however slowly, however gradually but surely, the democratic way must extend itself wider. The war has taught us one great lesson. When people of like mind stand together in equality, they cannot be conquered: that if people move forward in brotherhood, we can indeed prove democratic theory that man is one family.

* * * * *

907-15TH STREET, N. W.
TEL. EXECUTIVE 8525

RECEIVED
OCT 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

With the compliments of

Joan Roger

British Information Services
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Thank you for your letter of Oct. 18th, with order for film MAN-ONE FAMILY. Confirmation of shipment of this film for date requested will go forward to you under separate cover.

I am enclosing herewith our new catalogue, which has just been received.

81—9-46

16 Nº 2622

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
907 15th STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

Telephone: EXECUTIVE 8525

RECEIVED
OCT 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

As requested, we have booked the following films for date set out below.

For use on 16mm. sound projector only.

Show Date	Dep. No.	Titles	Reels	Print Number
Nov. 14	406	MAN ONE FAMILY	2	A

Ordered by:
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Att: Mr. Guy B. Johnson

Dispatch Date: Nov. 7

Via Railway Express Collect

Pick-up Route 18

Service charges for one day, payable C.O.D.—$1.00 per reel (maximum $5.00 per subject).

Please return films on the same reels and in the containers supplied with them to.

PAUL BRAND, FILM LIBRARY
2153 K Street, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.

RETURN DATE Nov. 15

Via Railway Express Prepaid.

Special Remarks:

Jane Logan

IMPORTANT
Your prompt report on attached sample is urgently requested.

Borrowers are responsible for the safe return of the films, and for the cost of repairing films damaged by them.

16 Nº 2622

November 8, 1946

Secretary
Catholic Interracial Council
1003 Lawyers' Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Sir:

Let me express our deep appreciation for your kindness in sending us a complimentary copy of your film strip, "The Negro and Economic Security."

This film strip is an excellent piece of work and the students of Marygrove College are to be commended for their ingenuity. We plan to use the film at a meeting of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta next week and it is quite likely that we shall want to order several additional copies later on.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

1003 LAWYERS' BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
CADILLAC 2176

BLESSED MARTIN DE PORRES O. S., PATRON

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1946
Southern Regional Council

ANNOUNCING

"The Negro and Economic Security"

An original slide film

Produced by the students of Marygrove College

Here is an unusual, educational treatment of the economic aspect of the race question, aimed at a wide interest level including adult, college and high school groups.

Interracial councils, civic committees, study clubs, fraternal organizations, history, economics and sociology students, and teachers, will find this film a valuable aid to their programs.

The film strip, complete with commentary printed in easily-read form, contains 72 frames, and can be shown on any 35mm. single frame silent film strip projector to audiences numbering up to 800. Running time is twenty minutes.

Pre-view audiences are unanimous in their opinion that the students of Marygrove College have made an outstanding contribution to a better understanding of the race question in the research, photography, art work, and script writing, which have gone into "The Negro and Economic Security."

Both film strip and commentary may be purchased for $1.00 (this is a non-profit enterprise), or the Council will be glad to exhibit the film anywhere in the Detroit area upon invitation.

Extensive surveys conducted by the Council reveal a definite preference for slide film presentation of new subjects; other surveys indicate a desire on the part of most Americans to be better informed on the vital race question.

The film in an authoritative, Christian-American approach to a problem which has rightly been titled: "America's greatest failure in the past, but her incomparably great opportunity for the future." (Gunnar Myrdal, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA)

DIRECT ALL REQUESTS EITHER FOR PURCHASE OR EXHIBIT OF THE FILM TO:

The Catholic Interracial Council
1003 Lawyer's Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Pictures For Democracy

A National Service of the Council Against Intolerance in America

ALEXANDER ALLAND
Director Picture Service

HENRY A. ATKINSON
ARTHUR CAPPER
BISHOP FRANCIS J. HAAS
Co-Chairmen

HENRY SMITH LEIPER
Treasurer

EVELYN LINWOOD
Secretary

ANNETTE SMITH LAWRENCE
Educational Director

JAMES WATERMAN WISE
Director

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

To acquaint the general public with what is being done toward fostering better relations between racial and religious groups in America, we are now assembling a show of pictorial material titled, "Tolerance Can Be Taught." This exhibit, which demonstrates that democracy is people - living together as equals, will be available, free of charge, to organizations throughout the country after its first showing in the Norlyst Gallery in New York.

The show will consist of posters, placards, maps, cartoons and graphs; tear-sheets from books, magazines and newspapers carrying special illustrated features, comic strips and advertisements; slide films and documentary photographs recording intergroup activities in government, schools, churches, organizations and local neighborhoods.

We invite your participation in this timely and vital exhibit. Please send us, as soon as possible, examples of the visual material you have prepared for national or local use. Any pertinent data as to the size of circulation, groups which the material is designed to reach, availability and use will be helpful. Full credit to your organization, of course, will be given for any of the material used.

As time is limited, we would greatly appreciate your immediate response in forwarding your material. I will be glad to answer any queries and, if you wish it, to discuss the exhibit with you personally.

Cordially yours,

AA:H

17 East 42 Street - New York 17, N. Y.

~~59 West 56 Street • New York 19~~ • VAnderbilt 6-5584

SUGGESTIONS FOR USE OF THE POSTERS

"We Hold These Truths"

THE PURPOSE OF THESE FOUR POSTERS, illustrating statements of four great Presidents, is to reveal to American boys and girls that we are a country of many national backgrounds, of many religions, of many racial origins. Thomas Jefferson's pronouncement on freedom of religion; Abraham Lincoln's plea for equality; George Washington's stress on citizenship and Franklin D. Roosevelt's recognition of the dangers of a divided country can all be springboards for discussion of the urgent necessity for a united America. These statements can, indeed, be more than springboards for discussion. They can be starters for a study of the contributions of all nationalities, races and creeds to our country. They can serve as a basis of community surveys in order that your students may find the positive factors in your own town or city.

We all need to realize our interdependence on each other. People in the United States are too prone to think that we are superior to all others. We sometimes forget that our country could never have even come into being if we had not had the benefits of many civilizations which were old before we had our first birth pangs.

To illustrate our debt to many peoples, a teacher may have students serve an imaginary or actual meal. They will find that the dishes, silverware, the linens and the food are ours by benefit of some other people. Even turkey and cranberry sauce are ours by virtue of the Indians. We may, however, claim considerable credit for adaptation and improvement upon our inheritance.

Here are other suggestions for continued activity, based on the posters:

Students can make their own posters, similar to the four created by the Council Against Intolerance. Other great Americans have enunciated their belief in the principles of democracy upon which this nation was founded. Wendell Willkie, for example, in many of his writings made sound pronouncements. So did Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Eric Johnston and other leaders.

Freedom of the press, of religion, of speech and of assembly can be similarly illustrated choosing either the exact wording of the Bill of Rights or a quotation from an outstanding American.

A member of your own community may be a worthy subject around which to build a poster. Choose someone who has been outstanding in his work for all Americans whatever their ethnic background, their religion or their color.

Photographs can be collected and mounted on cardboards to give the same effect as these. Be sure that all groups are represented showing their everyday activities and some of their contributions to America.

You will, no doubt, think of other ways in which these posters can be used to stimulate a recognition of the debt we owe to all people and your students, too, may have ideas for other projects.

(*over*)

Council Against Intolerance in America

17 EAST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

IN THREE CENTURIES OF OUR HISTORY, hardly a day has passed without the arrival on American shores of immigrant groups who sought freedom for their religious beliefs.

Thomas Jefferson was our foremost spokesman against religious bigotry and intolerance. His message is illustrated with documentary photographs giving evidence that even though a great majority of Americans profess Christianity in its many forms, we nevertheless, have in our population large groups which believe in other religions.

At the top of the poster next to the steeple of the Protestant church and the Protestant bishop, is a Moslem mulla reading from the Koran and behind him is a statue of Buddha with a priest facing it. Below are Catholic fathers unveiling a crucifix on Good Friday. At the left we see a Jewish worshiper, whose head and body are covered with a praying shawl. Under the cornice in the synagogue, are two stone slabs with the ten commandments cut upon them in Hebrew. At the bottom are scenes from services in Protestant churches.

☆ ☆ ☆

Bigotry in any form, or persecution of anyone because of his political beliefs, his national origin or racial background, does not have the sanction of the government of the United States, said George Washington.

The poster in which we see the blood donor; men and women in the Armed Services, voting for the peoples' representatives; and children singing "My Country 'Tis of Thee," gives some illustration of how free people react as dutiful citizens in times when their country needs their support.

To illustrate Franklin D. Roosevelt's warning that only in mutual respect for our differences can there be "unity of freedom and equality"—the photographs selected for this poster present Americans of many different origins.

At the top left are American Jewish grandparents absorbed in reading a newspaper printed in Hebrew. Next, are children and grown ups whose ancestors came from the British Isles to give birth to about one-third of our population. Below are portraits of Chinese and Negro Americans—illustrating that we are a people of all races of mankind. At the bottom, enjoying the turkey dinner is a family whose origin may well be that of many European stocks; while at the right are Americans of Portuguese background—a few examples of the sixty different racial, national and religious groups which comprise America.

☆ ☆ ☆

America—made up of people who came here from every corner of the earth—is unique. Our great grandfathers, our fathers and even some of us came to America because we wanted to live in dignity and freedom.

The photographs on the poster illustrate the equality of opportunity in the school, in the factory and on the farm, as well as good neighborliness and intergroup cooperation. They document the immortal speech of Abraham Lincoln when he said, "Our Fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

☆ ☆ ☆

Dear Friend:

This is to inform you that we have moved to new quarters. We will continue to serve your film needs with the best information and entertainment films, program planning and projection service from

115 West 44th Street*
New York 18, N. Y.

Very Sincerely,

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

*For those who visit with us occasionally, this is the Belasco Theater, and we are on the 2nd floor, over the box office

Award films

CHickering 4—0640

RECEIVED
APR 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL COOPERATIVES, INC.

167 West 12th Street New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

Knowing of your interest in the field of audio-visual education, we think you will be interested in seeing our new catalogue of co-op films and recordings, a copy of which is enclosed.

More and more people are becoming interested in the cooperative movement and we believe these filmswill do much to give information on this important part of our economic life.

We will be happy to send you preview prints without charge and to arrange for rentals. Rental prices are shown with each film and purchase prices are listed on page 11, of the catalogue.

We will be glad to send you additional copies of this catalogue free of charge. Please let us know if we can be of further service.

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL COOPERATIVES, INC.

Caroline Meyer

Caroline Meyer
Film Department

enc.

Films

TELEFILM Corporation
12 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Payment Enclosed ☐
Please Bill me ☑
Send C.O.D. ☐

Please send me ..... copies of the filmstrips checked below:

1. In the Chinese Manner -Silent ☐ Sound ☑
2. China's Children -Silent ☐ Sound ☑
3. Food for China -Silent ☐ Sound ☑
4. A Nation of Scholars -Silent ☐ Sound ☑
5. China's Tomorrow -Silent ☐ Sound ☑

Silent $2.50 each,
Sound $7.50 each.
Silent Series $12.50,
Sound Series $37.50.

Name Mrs. .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1947
Southern Regional Council

Brandon Films Inc.
1600 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
CIRCLE 6-4868

PRODUCTION
DISTRIBUTION

June 11, 1947

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On the suggestion of Mr. Fred G. Wale, we are writing to suggest that you consider purchasing copies of BROTHERHOOD OF MAN for use in your educational work. This animated cartoon in color is considered to be the most effective introductory film on the subject of "Races of Mankind" in the opinion of Pare Lorentz who selected it for use in the War Department's Civilian Affairs Division. Copies of this color film sell for $80 each.

We hope we can be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

BRANDON FILMS, INC.

Thomas J. Brandon

Thomas J. Brandon

TJB:ew

264

October 10, '47

Miss Ruth Hawes
3607 Seminary Avenue
Richmond, Va.

Dear Ruth,

Very nice to hear from you.

I called my friends in the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai - B'rith, here in Atlanta. Noone there had actually seen The Burning Cross movie, but the head man had heard it discussed by friends of his in New York who saw the movie.

He says that as far as the message of the film goes it is all right - a good and proper message, anti-Klan in emphasis. It happens to be otherwise just a poorly-made movie. It is a full-length job, but a "quickie". Sloppy is another adjective that seems to fit.

I hope you get a city manager.

Best love to you both.

Houston wrote me that Julia had been to see him. He was genuinely sorry he couldn't rearrange his schedeule so that he could do some work for you.

Love to Eleanor.

Sincerely,

G.

3607 Seminary Ave.
Richmond 22, Va.
Oct. 6th

Dear George,

Miss Cornelia Adair asked me if I knew anyone in Atlanta who may have seen the movie, "The Burning Cross". We were told that it was shown freely in Atlanta. The picture was brought to Richmond, but our board of censors banned it.

Mrs. Virginia Beecher (now Mrs. Alfred Leiserson) sent a telegram to Mrs. Gellman, saying it is an excellent picture and should not be banned. Mrs. Virginia Burr also thinks it should be shown. Julia went to see our Unitarian minister, who wrote a very moderate, tactful letter requesting that some of us be permitted to see the preview, but this was not granted.

The N A A C P here feel that "The Birth of a Nation" filled people's minds with an erroneous idea of the need for a K K K after the Civil War. We quite agree with them in this. According to them, "The Burning Cross, an expose of that infamous group, should be shown in this city". Can you give us your opinion? Have you seen the picture?

Our League of Women Voters has been canvassing the city to urge everyone to vote in the coming election, when the referendum for the adoption of the city-manager form of government will be the main issue.

It was indeed good to see you and yours this summer. How your dear girls have grown! Julia joins me in love to Alice and you all. Eleanor Easily, so like her mother in appearance is at Westhampton this session. She appears to be in blooming health. As ever, Ruth B. H -

December 13, 1951

Mr. Gordon Weisenborn
Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.
Wilmette, Ill.

Dear Gordon:

The best I can do is send you my one and only file copy of the printed version of the Will Driggers story. Do, please, infallibly send it back to me, because I ought to have a copy here.

I commend the files of this magazine to you as being tolerably well stuffed with the sort of thing you are looking for.

If you need something else I can do, let me know.

We miss you hereabouts. Come back to see us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Rural development film

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA FILMS INC.
WILMETTE, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1951
Regional Council

December 10, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am terribly sorry that John Barnes did not get to see you. For years I have told him about you as undoubtedly all your other friends have spread the gospel of your colloquial biting tongue. However, one of these days we will both get down together.

Rural — John and I are working on a film project currently known simply as "World Redevelopment" sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund. We are reading all the books and theories about
Rural — world planning and redevelopment; however, there is always the stinking old problem of 'where to begin.' We have tarried around with this idea and that, and we have a whole file of half completed ideas to pick from.

However, the real problem comes up when in developing a film form on the reorganization of our quickly diminishing river valleys, we lose flavor as more of the necessary information, and social theories are woven into it. The point is simply this: We are short on "flavor" and the definition of our wasting land in the terms of the small farmer.

This, of course, is where you come in. I wonder if it would be too much trouble for you to sit in front of your dictaphone or someone else's, or an available tape recording machine, and reel off a number of timely anecdotes and stories, with which you are so richly loaded, concerning: (a) the interdependence of people (b) the cutting away of our timber and the loss of our top soil (c) one or two of the old stories about how a southerner never gets buried with anything that is produced in the south except a hole in the ground and so forth.

Naturally, one of your great stories that I am thinking of is the one about the frontier family that settled in a Kentucky bottomland with the offspring moving up the hill and eventually causing the flood of the bottomland. That was a terrific one.

At the moment, I can offer you no more than the physical or money replacement of the recording material, but I know that once our bosses hear some of your material and see how it contributes to the film, we can make some kind of -- I hope -- satisfactory payment.

I do hope that this request won't cut into too much of your valuable time. As always, when stuck for the essence of a problem in the terms of the people who suffer from them, I always turn to you.

With best regards to you and the family.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon Weisenborn

IR

Films

October 6, 1952

Mrs. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Dabbs:

I had not known about the movie and am excited that it is done. What a good idea!

Something of your general message is in AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, of which I send you ten copies. It hasn't been revised now for five or six years, so some modern famous names are not in it. There is also a pamphlet on the economic contributions of the Negro, of which some copies also are going to you.

For convenience reference, I put in a file of the last eight or ten issues of NEW SOUTH, which will hit on various tension spots and ways of getting things done.

I have every confidence that the ideas you have worked out for yourself, spoken sincerely to your audience, will be more appropriate than anything in print.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

South Carolina Council of Church Women

Mayesville, S. C.
October 3, 1952

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1952

Dr. George C. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

This may seem an odd request fr om the wife of the S. C. chairman. The fact is that on Oct. 14-16 United Church Women will hold a five-state Conference in Jacksonville, Florida. One of my assignments is a share of the panel discussion on the tensions amid which we must work in this Southeastern Region in particular. I've promised to discuss the Racial Tensions.... I who had rather crawl under the bed!

For that I need more simple facts than seem to be in my head. I do feel that I can afford to be definitely more optimistic than I might sound in conversation with people I well knew had worked hard in that field and knew all the reasons for optimism. For those timid souls of the vast majority, who are afraid of nobody knows what except just Change, it might be an excellent thing to be able to prove that the most difficult part of the necessary revolution in our racial relationships has already been accomplished and without disaster. As I see it, all we need for perfect harmony is good will. As simple as saying all we need is Christianity. (The adjective, "intelligent" is understood.) Perhaps I can make an initial contribution to that general attitude of intelligent good will to that group, if I can show three things. I believe the Southern Negro is making incredible progress. He is doing it, not because of, but with the cooperation of a limited number of White people of genuine good will. Most important of all, perhaps, he is earning his way, proving himself, and making a unique contribution at every stage as he progresses. It would be just too perfect if I could prove the Negro as a Negro has given us (either the South or America) certain things the White man could not have given.

But you see where I am thinking and that I have thought very little. I've been struggling night and day with the Interpretation side of the program.... press, radio television, etc., etc. Now, at last, I must get to work on the panel. Can you think of a couple of leaflets or such which you can send me without doing research on it? If there's nothing at hand already done, you must let it alone. But if it might be a relatively easy thing, I'd appreciate your help greatly. I believe it would be very helpful to to know just how old SRC is, how many states are organized, and approximately how many enrolled members as well as several of the major projects common to the several divisions.

This sounds like I'm asking you to come down and make the talk. That certainly would be better, but I can trust you to understand that I am not trying to "use" you.

Please give my best regards to your family.

Sincerely,
Edith M. Dabbs

P. S. We finished our film....without benefit of Anybody....and have sold 3 copies!

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

Sponsors

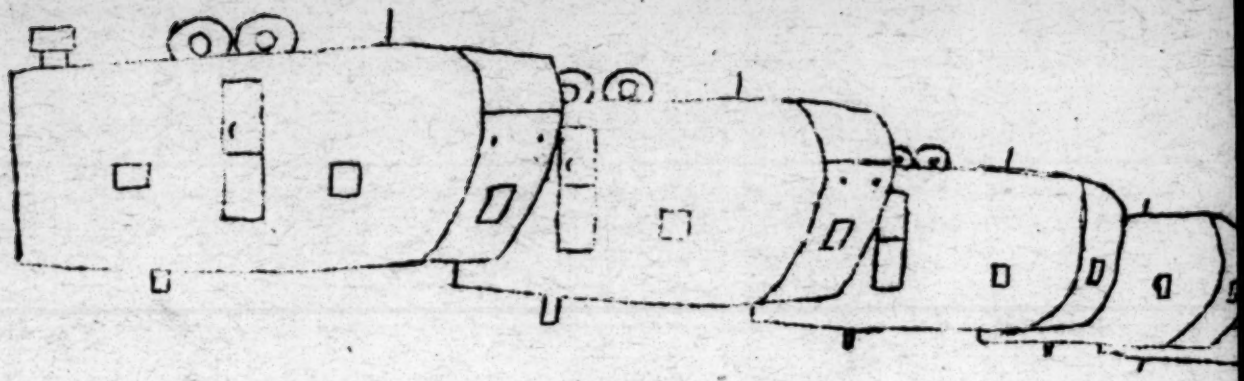
and

RUTH & TOM BAKER

Produce

".... a tool with which to interest Christian citizens in the needs of these our nearest neighbors."

16 m m, black and white, sound. 12 minutes.



NO PLACE TO PLAY

Address:

Rev. G. T. Baker, Jr.

1703 Glenn Echo Road

Nashville, Tennessee

Or:

Mrs. James McBride Dabbs

Hayesville

South Carolina

FILMS AVAILABLE

FOR SALE: Price $60.

FOR LOAN: On condition that a free will offering be taken following the showing of the film and sent to the South Carolina Council of Church Women to be applied on Protestant work in the Savannah Area. Offerings may be ear-marked for specific work within the project.

FOR RENT: (Only under circumstances forbidding an offering) $5. per showing, plus postage and 10¢ insurance, payable with reservation. Any unreasonable delay in return of film will be charged for at the rate of one showing per day.

BACKGROUND

Down along the Savannah River, the Carolina woodlands roll back into farm country. The men who cut their homes from this wilderness taught their sons to trust in peace and freedom. Since Indian days, their descendants have tilled these farms and lived out their lives.

But suddenly the people are herded out and the farms turned under by bulldozers. 9000 Displaced Americans are uprooted and the world's largest industrial plant is being built to house the Hydrogen Bomb. 220,000 acres, fenced in by steel, are guarded and patrolled.

Outside the fence, beyond camera range, hundreds of trailer camps have sprung up. Some 40,000 construction workers have their families parked here. These are good, average American folks with more economic security than most. But no schools, no churches, no local responsibilities bind them into communities. Not even a corner drugstore! Thousands of tomorrow's citizens.... as well as today's.... live side by side, row on row, in sunbaked trailers.

Films

March 20, 1953

Mr. Jules Levey
2008 RKO Bldg.
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Levey:

The Southern Regional Council is concerned with race relations in general and has no particular links to the various theaters that have built up a specialized Negro attendance. My interest in THE BOY KUMASENU stems from a general interest in African matters, which, in turn, arises from the light thrown on these Southern matters by things over there.

I became acquainted a couple of years ago with a mighty fine man who has organized a chain of theaters in the South which show mainly to Negro audiences. Straight commercial proposition, and I think doing quite well. He is Mr. Alfred Starr, Bijou Amusement Company, 423 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville 3, Tennessee. He happens also to be a person of sensitive artistic appreciation, with, I believe, a good deal of knowledge of things French. He, uniquely among people of my acquaintance, would know the answers on the possibilities of commercial exhibition of THE BOY KUMASENU in the Southern States.

You are quite at liberty to mention my reference to him.

I still hope that, somewhere along the line, I can get a chance to see what must be a most interesting film. I have observed the remarkable rush of cultural activities in the Gold Coast in recent years, and thought of this film as tangible evidence of the cultural consequences of partial independence.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 7-7956

JULES LEVEY

2008 RKO BUILDING
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

March 16, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 17
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge yours of the 10th. THE BOY KUMASENU is a highly specialized motion picture. By this I mean it would be very exciting and of great interest to Negro theatre-goers. Therefore, I would like to know whether or not it would be possible through your Council to work out a special deal whereby your group would substantially arrange for the exhibition of BOY KUMASENU for the best financial results.

Please advise.

Sincerely yours,

JULES LEVEY

44

Memo

FILM COUNCIL OF AMERICA

600 Davis Street, Evanston, Illinois · DAvis 8-7272

Because of the growing interest of organizations in the use of films as aids to learning and discussion, the Film Council of America is building up a file of information about the program emphases as well as the film services of voluntary associations. The principal objectives of most organizations are described in one or more directories*, but it is obviously impossible for such reference books to keep up to date with the formulation of detailed policies and plans of action by successive conventions. Therefore, we are requesting the text of the resolutions and other policy-statements adopted at your most recent convention or general meeting. We do not want to put you to the trouble of digging up the answers to a questionnaire on this subject, and so a mimeographed or printed text will be adequate. It is not our intention to publish this material - merely to use it for our own guidance.

Your cooperation will be warmly appreciated.

(Mrs.) Esther C. Brunauer
Associate Director

ECB:sb

*We have recently published one, ourselves: A Guide to Film Services of National Associations (Film Counselor Series No. 2. $2.00), describing the film activities of 133 organizations. If you maintain film services and were not included in the Guide please let us know so that we can be sure to list your organization in the next edition.

(7/21/54)

New Horizons In Human Relations

12th Annual

Institute of Race Relations

Conducted under auspices of

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOC.
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

JUNE 27-JULY 9, 1955
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

THE HOUSES WE EAT ARE A
GIFT FROM ALL PEOPLES

New Horizons In Human Relations—

CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE COMMUNITY

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race . . . may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place.—United States Supreme Court, May 17, 1955.

Now is the time, the challenge, the opportunity. The place is everywhere—the communities, cities and towns where we live, where our children grow into the full bloom of adulthood, and where all of us together seek to make real and concrete the democratic ideal which has sustained and nurtured America.

The Court has spoken to *all* of us—to you and me—and it becomes *our* opportunity, if we are alert of action and strong of faith. CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE COMMUNITY—this becomes the practical task before us, in which we must use the knowledge of social engineering, the experience of public servants, and the tools of education, law and organization for effective implementation.

This is the call and purpose of the 12th ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE to which we invite you. It is to be held at Fisk University, June 27 through July 9. Parent and preacher, social worker and educator, labor union leader and industrialist, student and teacher—the invitation is to you. Come and learn from the experience of responsible leaders from about 22 states, North and South. Sessions are in the new, air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall.

During eleven years of existence, the Institute has provided for lay and professional community leaders the opportunity to develop new understanding and insight about racial and human relations. It is concerned with the problems of all so-called minority groups—Spanish-speaking groups, racially-defined groups and religiously-defined groups. A faculty drawn from the country's top authorities in social science, housing, education and law will be available as resource leaders.

The roots of the Institute are planted in deep religious and moral conviction. It was established by the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational Christian Churches' Board of Home Missions and enjoys joint sponsorship by Fisk University, one of America's leading institutions of higher learning.

LECTURES AND CONSULTANTS

(A PARTIAL LIST FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTES)

GORDON W. ALLPORT, Department of Psychology, Harvard University
JOSEPH W. BIRD, College Relations and Recruiting Division, RCA
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Department of History, Columbia University
SAVILLE R. DAVIS, American Editor, *Christian Science Monitor*
JAMES C. EVANS, Civilian Aide to the Department of Defense
GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Department of Education, CIO
JOHN E. IVEY, Southern Regional Education Board
CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University
JOHN LaFARGE, S. J., *America*
EDWARD LAWSON, Division of Human Rights, United Nations
HELEN V. McLEAN, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
CAREY McWILLIAMS, Editor, *The Nation*
THURGOOD MARSHALL, Chief Legal Counsel, NAACP
GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Director, Southern Regional Council
M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University
JOSEPH J. MORROW, Personnel Manager, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.
P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor, *Pittsburgh Courier*
MARK STARR, International Ladies Garment Workers Union
JULIUS A. THOMAS, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League

INFORMATION ABOUT THE 1955 INSTITUTE

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee WHEN: June 27-July 9, 1955

WHO ATTENDS: YOU: All interested citizenry—religious leaders, students, teachers. Representatives of trade unions and management. Members of human relations committees and other governmental agencies.

COST: $80.00 for room, board, and tuition for the two weeks' session.

CREDIT: Institute members may earn three semester hours of academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Twelfth Annual Institute of Race Relations.

☐ I would like additional information about the Institute.

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

Address Inquiries to:

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville 8, Tennessee

FISK UNIVERSITY
17TH AVENUE AND MEHARRY BLVD.
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

ANNUAL REPORT

1957

MERRILL LYNCH STOCK APPRAISAL ON

GULF OIL CORPORATION

LISTED N Y S E - SYMBOL GO

Revised December 2, 1958

PROSPECTS: Industry problems derived priarily from oversupply impaired operations in the first half of this year, particularly in relation to stepped-up activity in the 1957 first half caused by the Suez crisis. Improvement in the fundamentals has already been reflected in third quarter reports. Gulf's world wide interests and strong industry position assure full participation in the continuing recovery.

EARNINGS: Net income reached a record high in 1957 of $9.99 a share (excluding a nonrecurring gain of $0.95), up from the previous record of $8.74 per share in 1956. A disappointing 6 months showing this year held 9 months figures to $6.31 per share, well under the $7.58 of last year's similar period, despite an improvement in third quarter reports to $2.74 a share from $2.30 in the comparable 1957 quarter, based on the 32,386,000 shares to be outstanding following the stock dividend payable in December.

COMMON STOCK

1958 PRICE RANGE: 125 5/8 – 96 1/4

RECENT PRICE: 118

DIVIDEND: $2.50 (Plus stock paid in last 12 mos.)

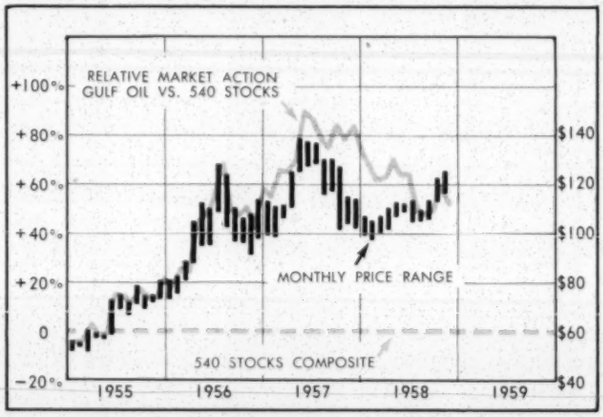
YIELD: 2.1%

TYPE OF STOCK: Investment type issue of a major integrated oil company with good longer-term growth potential and a large income from expanding foreign operations.

DIVIDENDS: Gulf has been paying quarterly dividends of $0.62 1/2 per share since 1955. Stock dividends have been paid since 1952; 4% in 1952–1955, raised to 5% in 1956 and 1957, and reverting to 4% this year.

DOMESTIC OPERATIONS: Primarily as a result of increased number of allowable producing days in Texas, Gulf's average daily crude production in this country rose to 325,000 b/d in the third quarter of 1958, up from a daily rate of 299,202 b/d in the second quarter. For the full year 1957 production in this country averaged 322,929 b/d (a new high) compared to 284,186 b/d in 1956. Natural gas production increased substantially, reaching 897,403 MCF a day compared to 799,723 MCF daily in 1956. Refinery runs in the U.S. were off slightly to 536,215 b/d in 1957. In 1957, Gulf introduced a new higher octane gasoline called Gulf Crest. Petrochemical activities continued to grow in 1957 with ethylene production reaching a new high. A new benzene plant is under construction. In addition, Goodrich–Gulf Chemicals (50% owned) is continuing to expand its activities. During 1957 Gulf purchased a 25% interest in Callery Chemical, in the high energy synthetic fuel field. In 1957, the production and sale of natural gas liquids and the sale of natural gas were transferred to the Warren Petroleum subsidiary acquired in 1956.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS: Gulf's net foreign crude production reached a new high of 898,783 b/d for the first half of 1958. 1957 foreign crude production averaged 794,371 b/d, coming from Kuwait, Venezuela, Canada, Iran, France and Sicily with Kuwait by far the most important. Gulf's share of Kuwait production in 1957 averaged 551,563 b/d. Development drilling continued in the proven fields as well as in the area of the Raudhatain discovery last year. A pipeline is under construction from this area to the port facilities. A new discovery was made in Kuwait with the Sabriya well. A refinery expansion program was completed early in 1958 with the result that refining capacity was increased from 27,000 to 171,000 b/d. In Iran, Gulf has a 7% participation in the Consortium and their share of production was 37,193 b/d. In terms of production the second largest foreign holding of Gulf is Mene Grande, operating in Venezuela. Gulf receives 50% of the



DELTA AIR LINES, INC.

Quarterly Report

DECEMBER 31, 1958

Delta AIR LINES

GENERAL OFFICES • ATLANTA AIRPORT • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

INDEX 175 150 125 100 75 50 25 0

BUSINESS WEEK

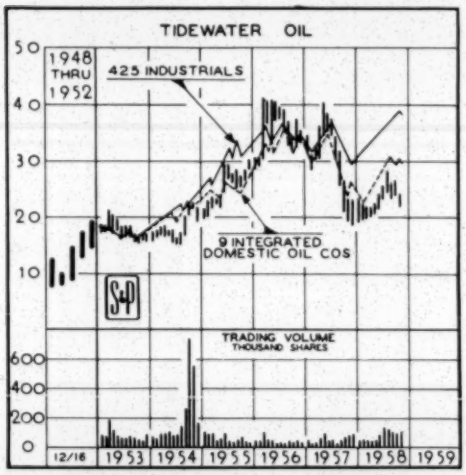
A McGRAW-HILL PUBLICATION FIFTY CENTS DEC. 13, 1958

McCarthy and Smith of Merrill Lynch: As a corporation, Wall Street's innovator ends a tie with tradition.
(Money and Credit)

Tidewater Oil

Stock—	Approx. Price	Dividend	Yield
COMMON	23¼	[2]-----	[2]-----
$1.20 PREFERRED	22¼	$1.20	5.4%

RECOMMENDATION: Tidewater, a medium-sized complete unit, normally produces more than half of its crude requirements and markets products through well-established outlets on both the east and west coasts. The California refinery has been up-graded and a large fully-modern refinery put into operation in Delaware to serve the eastern market. The startup of the new units, restrictions on imports, and the lag in demand contributed to recent losses, but some nearby improvement is expected. The COMMON is considered a good value for patient holders. The PREFERRED may be retained for yield.



GROSS OPERATING INC (Million $)

Quarter—	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953
March.....	134	158	132	121	119	112
June.....	132	153	127	118	110	120
Sept.....	146	140	126	115	109	119
Dec.....		145	138	125	121	122

Gross operating income in the first nine months of 1958 declined 8.9%, year-to-year. Crude and liquids production and refinery runs were down some 9% and 14%, respectively. Unit sales of products dipped 7.2%. With crude imports restricted, margins were pared and operating income dropped 35%. Fairly heavy property and interest charges extended the fall in pretax net to 98%. A final deficit of $328,000 was sustained, against a profit of $27,001,000 in the 1957 period. After preferred dividends, the loss was equal to $0.19 a common share, compared with earnings of $1.87 (adjusted) a share.

[3] COMMON SHARE EARNINGS ($)

Quarter—	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953
March.....	0.004	0.81	0.63	0.55	0.54	0.54
June.....	d0.10	0.71	0.89	0.69	0.54	0.54
Sept.....	d0.10	0.35	0.58	0.64	0.54	0.58
Dec.....		0.55	0.60	0.71	0.55	0.62

PROSPECTS

Near Term–Both demand and product price realizations have improved over the depressed levels of the 1958 first half. Thus, despite the loss of revenues from the recently sold central marketing division, nearby year-to-year comparisons of gross may be better.

Withdrawal from marketing in the Midwest will have little effect on over-all spreads, since this activity was a very narrow margin operation. On the other hand, the basic problem of restrictions on the importation of low-cost foreign crude remains to be overcome. However, with first half 1959 sales possibly somewhat higher and charges incident to drilling about unchanged, at least some improvement in profits is likely over coming months. Excluding a possible capital gain on the sale of the marketing outlets, earnings for 1958 will be only of nominal proportions, against the $2.42 a share of 1957 (adjusted for the June, 1958, stock disbursement). The policy of paying dividends in stock instead of cash probably will continue for some time ahead.

Long Term– The program for upgrading operations should contribute to an improved rate of growth. Possible union with other Getty interests has favorable implications.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The sale of the central marketing division involved more than 500 outlets. A new Saskatchewan gas find has been indicated.

DIVIDEND DATA

Earned surplus available for cash dividends on the common at December 31, 1957, amounted to $100,974,000. The common payment in the past 12 months was:

Amt. of Divd. $	Date Decl.	Ex-divd. Date	Stock of Record	Payment Date
5% Stk...	Apr. 29	May 7	May 12	Jun. 23'58

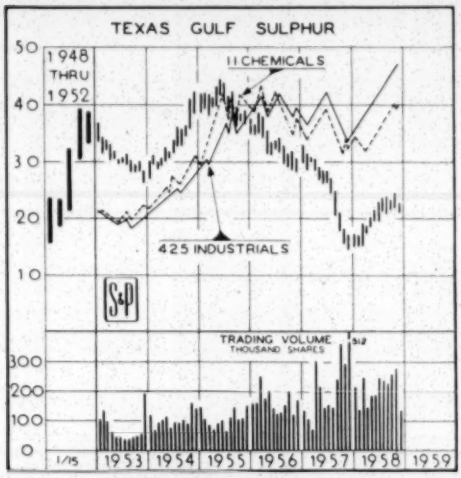
[1] Listed N.Y.S.E.; common also listed Pacific Coast S.E. and traded Boston and Phila.-Balt. S.Es. [2] 5% in stock on June 23, 1958. [3] Adjusted for 5% stock dividends each in June of 1954-58. d Deficit.

STANDARD LISTED STOCK REPORTS
STANDARD & POOR'S CORPORATION
Published at Lancaster, Pa. Editorial & Executive Offices, 345 Hudson St., New York 14, N. Y.

Texas Gulf Sulphur

Stock—	Approx. Price	Dividend	Yield
CAPITAL	22¾	[2]$1.00	[2]4.4%

RECOMMENDATION: Sulphur is one of the world's most important industrial materials, and Texas Gulf is the largest producer. Supplies from Mexican producers and from increased recovery of spent sulphuric acid have created a competitive situation that may take several years before it is fully corrected. However, over the near term, demand for sulphur is expected to parallel the improvement in industrial activity, and sulphur prices should in time be raised. We would retain holdings in the stock.



GROSS REV. (Million $)

Quarter:	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953
March.....	12.1	17.8	21.7	24.4	17.7	17.2
June	14.2	19.2	22.9	24.3	22.4	22.2
Sept.	14.0	15.3	20.7	20.7	22.0	18.7
Dec.		14.6	19.3	24.2	23.4	20.2

Sales in the nine months ended September 30, 1958, declined 23.1% from those of the like year-earlier period. Shipments of Frasch sulphur are indicated to have been down some 9%. About half of the drop was due to reduced demand for elemental sulphur, a result of the business recession, and the remainder was due to competition from both recovered sulphur and non-domestic (principally Mexican) sulphur. Absence of year-earlier nonrecurring costs helped to widen margins, despite lower sulphur prices, and pretax net was off only 14.8%. After taxes at 23.9%, compared with 11%, final net dropped 27.2%. Earnings in the respective periods were equal to $1.00 and $1.37 a share.

[3]CAPITAL SHARE EARNINGS ($)

Quarter:	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953
March.....	0.35	0.56	0.73	0.88	0.71	0.63
June	0.35	0.54	0.75	0.81	0.84	0.66
Sept.	0.31	0.28	0.70	0.72	0.79	0.57
Dec.		0.37	0.63	0.82	0.71	0.59
12Mos.Sept.	1.38	2.01	3.00	3.12	2.93	2.36

PROSPECTS

Near Term—Sales in 1959 should compare favorably with the $55 million estimated for 1958; aggregate volume a year before equaled $66.9 million. Sulphur consumption in the months ahead should improve in line with prospective further gains in the general economy. The expected increase in fertilizer consumption is also a constructive factor. Moderating these gains will be increased competition from recovered and non-domestic sulphur.

Profit margins should widen on the projected larger volume. A sulphur price increase will await a more sustained increase in consumption. Earnings in 1959 are expected to exceed the $1.35 a share officially estimated for 1958; profits equaled $1.75 a share a year before. Dividends should continue at the $0.25 quarterly rate.

Long Term—Demand for sulphur will undoubtedly continue to expand. However, increasing domestic output, coupled with growing foreign competition, will restrict results in nearby years. Nevertheless, this situation should later correct itself.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Company is presently constructing a plant for sour natural gas recovery at Okotoks, near Calgary, Canada, under an agreement with Devon-Palmer Oils, Ltd. and Shell Oil of Canada, Ltd. The plant, which will have an annual capacity of over 100,000 tons, is expected to be in production by the summer of 1959.

DIVIDEND DATA

There are no restrictions on dividends. Payments in the past 12 months were:

Amt. of Divd. $	Date Decl.	Ex-divd. Date	Stock of Record	Payment Date
0.25.....	Feb. 20	Feb. 26	Mar. 3	Mar. 15'58
0.25.....	May 15	May 21	May 26	Jun. 16'58
0.25.....	Jul. 17	Aug. 19	Aug. 22	Sep. 15'58
0.25.....	Nov. 20	Nov. 25	Dec. 1	Dec. 15'58

[1]Listed N.Y.S.E. and traded Boston, Phila.-Balt., and Pacific Coast S.Es. [2]Indicated rate. [3]Adjusted for 3-for-1 stock split in Jan., 1955.

STANDARD LISTED STOCK REPORTS
STANDARD & POOR'S CORPORATION
Published at Lancaster, Pa. Editorial & Executive Offices, 345 Hudson St., New York 14, N. Y.

Rec'd 8/11/65

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA

POST OFFICE BOX 4148

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

H. W. WHITMAN, JR.
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

August 10, 1965

File F

PPV My file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We were very interested to learn of your appointment as Executive Director of the Marshall Field Foundation, Inc., effective September 30.

While I do not believe the announcement specifically said, I assume that this means you will be leaving Atlanta, and I am certain that you will be missed.

We would like to wish you every success in your new association, and hope that if you or Mr. Anthony feel that we may be of service to you in any way, that you will not hesitate to telephone us (my number is 588-6515) or come by to see us.

As a matter of fact, I have not had the pleasure of meeting you, and hope to remedy this shortly after you have received this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Harry W. Whitman

Assistant Vice President

HWW:lp

Rec'd 10/27/65

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA
POST OFFICE BOX 4148
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

October 26, 1965

H. W. WHITMAN, JR.
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT

PHA v
MS

file - Sec'y Gen.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Please accept our very sincere thanks for the fine account which you opened here for the Council last week. We are delighted to be a bank of account for the Council, and consider it a privilege to serve you whenever possible.

I would still like to get together with you over lunch soon, and I plan to call you soon to see if we cannot set a date.

Again, thank you for banking with First National.

Sincerely,

Bo

Assistant Vice President

HWW:jj

March 18, 1966

Mr. George West, Jr.
First Federal Savings and Loan
40 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. West:

In response to an inquiry from your office, we are enclosing several items about the Southern Regional Council; a list of the Council's members and life fellows, a brief description of the organization, and a copy of the Council's quarterly magazine.

The Southern Regional Council was incorporated in 1944 as an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was incorporated in 1919. The Council's Incorporators were: Mr. Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Bishop Arthur Moore, all of Atlanta; the late Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina, and the late Dr. Charles Johnson, President of Fisk University in Nashville.

For sometime, as one of its several programs, we have attempted to encourage self-help activities in depressed rural and urban areas. Since there has been a great deal of public attention given to Vine City, we thought a number of this community's

leaders might be interested in our account of the first year's efforts on the part of a number of programs and agencies to work in a typical city slum. Some thousands of copies of this report will be distributed to other agencies and other persons who might be interested as a guide on how to develop programs, and as a warning that these things are never done easily and quickly.

If we can provide you with additional information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

File
SRC - General
Make feeder:
First Nat'l Bank of Atlanta

June 27, 1966

Mr. H. W. Whitman, Jr.
Assistant Vice President
The First National Bank of Atlanta
P. O. Box 4148
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Bo:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I received recently. It reflects an unfortunate incident in terms of the individual involved and our account with the First National Bank. I pass this on to you for your information.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
Ltr. from Winifred Fallsx, AFSC dtd June 15, 1966

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

May 25, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I should like to bring to your attention the 12th Annual Race Relations Institute, to be held at Fisk University from June 27 through July 9. The Institute theme is "New Horizons in Human Relations: Closing the Gap Between the Court and the Community," and this gives emphasis to the broader opportunities which lie ahead because of the May 17 Supreme Court Decision announcing that the official policy of our nation fully supports the Judeo-Christian ideals of Justice and human equality.

We invite your participation in this year's discussions, which will take a departure from the implementing orders which the Court will have made by the time we convene. Thurgood Marshall, Charles Abrams, Robert Weaver, Frank Horne, and Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell are among the 20 or more consultants who will participate.

In the event that you cannot come, we ask your cooperation by promoting the attendance of a member of your organization as a representative. As in years past, we expect approximately 125 participants from 22 states, North and South. You will find this experience stimulating, helpful and enjoyable.

Your interest and participation will be appreciated. We are grateful for whatever additional promotion you may be able to give toward the participation of members of your own organization or agency.

Very sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

FBC

June 3, 1955

Dr. Herman Long
Institute of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Herman:

The Southern Regional Council is requesting that all of its employed state professional staff members attend the coming Institute at the expense of the Council. We have also urged that they encourage members of their Boards and other lay leadership in their state to attend.

We will be grateful if you will send to each of the attached list several copies of the announcement. Please send a single announcement and any of the material regarding the Institution to the following people suggested by various members of state staffs.

Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 19, Tex.
Mrs. Tommie Stroud, 2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Tex.
Mrs. Eidson, Waco, Texas
Mrs. W.H. Wheatley, Greenwood, Miss. (P.O. Box 307)

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

GTH:rnf
encl.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building - Room 206
South Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. James Pierce
284 S. Jackson
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Nat Griswold, Ex. Sec.
211 Izard
Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.
119 E. Barraque St.
Pine Bludd, Ark.

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Ex. Sec.
Georgia Committee on Interracial
Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Holsey-Cobb Institute
Cordele, Georgia

Dr. C.H. Parrish
SRC Consultant
926 S. Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. Margaret Dagen, Ex. Dir.
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
1319 Heyburn Building
Fourth and Broadway
Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Ex. Sec.
La. Council on Human Relations
Rm. 303, Bd. of Trade Annex Bldg.
New Orleans 12, La.

Mrs. M.J. Lyells, Ex. Sec.
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Miss.

Rev. Harry S. Jones, Ex. Sec.
N.C. Council on Human Relations
Room 209, 121 E. Third Street
Charlotte, N.C.

Mrs. E.H. Spearman, Ex. Sec.
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Ex. Sec.
Texas Commission on Race Relations
309 West 21st Street
Austin, Texas

Mr. John H. Marion, Ex. Sec.
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Bon Air Presbyterian Church
Buford Road,
Bon Air, Va.

Mr. William F. Cooper
Hampton Institute
Hampton Institute, Va.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

June 10, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks a great deal for your note today, saying that a good contingent of SRC state staff people would be at our Race Relations Institute. It is encouraging to have this kind of interest and cooperation. For people just beginning work in this area, I think that the Institute affords an excellent opportunity. Even for us "old heads," it is a useful source of ideas.

I hope that both you and CH Parrish can come. If your schedule makes this possible, please let me know. At any rate, I will reserve housing space for both you and CH among our so-called "consultant group." The "so-called" applies to numerous people who have experience and wisdom in the field, and we occasionally ask their participation in an informal panel. All of us are institute members except the few whom we ask to prepare special papers. We would be glad to provide room accommodations without cost and to forego the tuition charges we ask of the regular members, in the case of you and C.H. This is not much of a "come-on" but at least it is an effort.

Heartiest and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

HHL/dw
Enclosure

Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

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CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*

July 14, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

Christopher Mercer and I are back at 211 Izard. At a supper at the home of Fred Darragh Monday night, we had a long session on program emphases. Chris was especially enthusiastic about the second week. Unfortunately, I missed it.

The enclosed travel voucher represents both of us. In as much as I felt obliged to return early for benefit of the Arkansas Council, I am letting it pay my return travel fare. On my clergy this is modest enough.

We both feel that the experience at Fisk advanced our education greatly in the area of human relations, particularly at the point of acquaintance with leaders in this field.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG:c
Enclosure:

WHEATLEY & COMPANY
COTTON

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

Box 307

July 18, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Asst. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I have just sent to Mrs. Lyles for distribution to our Board members of the MCHR. I am asking her to send it out because I do not have at this time a complete list of our Board.

I thought you might like to know that the experience at Fiske meant a great deal to me. I am sorry that I was unable for various reasons to meet with the Southern Regional Council folks at their various get togethers.

Sincerely yours

Elizabeth W. Wheatley

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley

Box 307
Greenwood Mississippi
July 19, 1955

To the Board Members
Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Dear friends:

This is a brief informal report to you of a most interesting and splendid experience.

At the request of Mrs. R. S. Lyells, our Executive Director, I accepted an invitation to go to Fiske University for one week of the twelfth annual Institute of Race Relations, (June 27-July 9, 1955). She and I represented our Miss. Council on Human Relations. Mrs. Lyells was able to stay the full two weeks, as I wish I might have done. We lived while there at beautiful old Jubilee Hall built in 1873, which is the women's dormitory of the University.

The president of the University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson was the Director of the Institute, and Dr. Herman H. Long of the Race Relations Department assisted.

Anyone who is privileged to hear Dr. Johnson speak, as he did in opening the Institute must be aware of a highly organized incisive intelligence controlled by visible integrity. I am hoping that we may be able to get several copies of Dr. Johnson's opening address for distirbution among our membership. Dr. Long is a very accomplished chairman of meetings and group leader - stimulating participation on the part of the group and refreshing minds weary with long hours of discussion. I am sure that he was responsible for the smooth conduct of the Institute and for our comforts.

The Institute was organized in the pattern of lectures by persons of expert knowledge, panel discussions and free questions from the floor. This gave full opportunity for every one to express opinions and bring out valuable ideas. There was, however, no complete agreement on all subjects, and few definite conclusions. After all, the time is not yet for embracing inescapably true conclusions. The firm basis of opinion in which I think all shared was that all citizens of these United States should <u>be</u> citizens with full rights and privileges and with free participation in every part of our life and culture, and with equal responsibilities for our common welfare.

The lectureres were all persons of very distinguished attainments. I wish that I might give you a complete list with a small digest of important statements by each one but this is not possible. Matters discussed in the first week were housing, which is very important in the school integration problem, Church and race, problems of the American Indian, of the Latin Americans, and of Puerto Ricans in continental United States, recreation in integrated military installation, and of course and chiefly the Supreme Court decisions on public schools.

To me, the very best day was that in which Dr. Kenneth Clark, Associate Professor of Psychology at the City College of New York, discussed psychological testimony which he helped to prepare for presentation to the Supreme Court. Dr. Clark seemed to me the example of the scientist at his best, activated by the determination to find the fact, regardless of bias, or of emotional feeling. In concluding his day of discussion he said that he hoped the psychological testimony given to the Court would not establish a precedent. He said that there should be a "higher level" for judicial decisions. This explains what I mean by the honesty of the honesty and humility of a fine mind.

We had fine fellowship with all the group, about 150 persons from many States in the Union. The meals served were very good, and at meal times, coffee hours, and afternoon teas there was opportunity for much exchange of opinions and evaluation of the proceedings. Numbers of Nashville people came out to the University for special events. Twenty persons represented the Southern Regional Council's State branches. Among other extra events of special interest to me was meeting Arna Bontemps, Librarian at Fiske poet and collector of Negro poetry, whose work I have much admired. He told me that there are several recordings in the Folkways series of Negro poets reading their own poems.

A great deal of printed material was made available on all the subjects discussed. I hope we may be able to use some of this for our group.

Any of you who may have the chance another year to go to one of these annual Institutes should surely do so. It is a grand experience to hear top flight minds in action - and to meet people who are achieving good things.

Sincerely yours

Elizabeth W. Wheatley

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson 3, Mississippi
July 18, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Please send us a supply of Finance report forms.

Sent 7/22/55 Mha

We are planning a meeting for July 28. Some twenty or thirty individuals whom we hope will rise to the occasion financially are being invited. Since Dr. Mitchell cannot be with us, Msgr. Brunini thinks we might try it on our own.

Mrs. Wheatley and I both found the Fisk Institute very stimulating. She attended the first week.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

RSL:svd

P.S. Miss Dawson, whose tax forms is enclosed will be working as secy for the next month or six weeks.

RSL

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

July 19, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

We were sorry you could not be with us more at Fisk.

I was very disappointed not to have seen Mr. Frank Loescher, from the Funds for the Republic, when he was traveling about South. Has he completed his travel? If so, is he planning to be here any time in the near future? I am really interested - eager to talk with him sometime soon.

Perhaps you better send me his address if he isn't.

Sincerely,

Alice

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman,
Executive Director

ANS/ig

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

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CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX
Secretary

July 29, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Assistant Director of State Organizations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Just wanted to tell you how much the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University meant to me and how appreciative I am that your efforts made it possible for us to be "sponsored" to it.

Words are quite inadquate to convey the full impact of such an experience, but suffice it to say that the Institute was an invaluable source of food for thought. The personal enrichment which those in attendance received I am sure, will be reflected in the renewed efforts back home. Even while the Institute was in session the news of its influence radiated out to the far reaches of the South and left its fruits. I have no doubts that the harvest for SRC will justify the monies and efforts expended. This message of appreciation is somewhat belated, but nevertheless I wanted to make it a part of the record.

As you know, I am now working full time with our Council and this has caused me to have a change of address from Pine Bluff to Little Rock, however, most of my correspondence from the Central office is still being sent to my Pine Bluff address. This causes both delay and inconvenience in the receipt of my mail from Atlanta. I would appreciate it very much if you would be so kind as to adjust this matter for me. My new mailing address is the same as our office address.

I trust that your work is receiving its rewards and I wish for you every success in it.

Very truly yours,

Chris Mercer

Christopher C. Mercer

/c

PROGRESS * OUR MOST IMPORTANT PROJECT

ADDRESS by F. T. LANE

RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE

July 1955

Introduction

When this Institute on Race Relations began 12 years ago, it helped to usher in a new era in human relations and a new chapter in race relations here in the South. We commend the foresight and courage which were required in its planning and prosecution. Many of those who have been in attendance here have gone forward in various communities in the country -- and have carried high the torch of inspiration and leadership which was ignited here.

The founders of this Institute must have had prophetic insight as to its possibilities. They certainly had faith in themselves, in the power of truth and in God. All of these were vital from the beginning.

Our assignment here through the years has been to discuss some of the problems and progress of Negroes in the urban setting. Here, many changes have occurred in the past dozen years and I shall attempt to outline a few. Also, we shall point out some of the related factors on the American scene which significantly affected the Urban Negro population

When this Institute began 12 years ago, the world was involved in war. The matter of race interest seemed a factor when Hiroshima was selected as a target for the A-bomb instead of Germany. Since that war the walls of race prejudice began to tumble down here in our own country. Those of us attending this Institute in 1944 dared not dream that in ten years our Supreme Court would have rendered its decision on Desegregation in Public Schools, and support it a year later by an edict on compliance.

Also, integregation took place in our armed services, big league baseball, grand opera, and in colleges and schools (high) in the South. Many churches, too, have changed their racial practices. The heads of three Negro foreign countries have slept in the White House in Washington, and many first-class hotels throughout the country have a policy of open occupancy.

Patterning after the Institute here at Fisk, many colleges in the North sponsored summer workshops on human relations, and Human Relations Commissions became a part of the legal machinery of numerous states and cities. As a "king size" human relations Institute, the United Nations and the Bandung Conference made a terrific impact on the world. We have come a long way in 12 years, but there is still a long way to go; and certainly -

PROGRESS IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT PROJECT

First class citizenship for Negroes is still America's great challenge. Because of the numbers involved, urban areas are a significant point for observation.

At the beginning of the century, more and more, people began leaving the rural areas for the villages, cities and towns. During World War I when European immigration was cut off, Negro migration from the South to cities in the North was stepped up to meet the demand for labor in those industrial centers. Usually, this was at the bid of industrial management. During this period certain states like Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama passed laws making it illegal for Northern labor scouts to induce workers to leave the South.

As a result of the impact of this new group on the urban landscape, it was not unusual that race riots occurred in Chicago, Omaha, Washington, D. C., to mention a few. Being newcomers, they occupied the old and unwanted slum buildings and were constantly constrained by restrictive covenants which were tantamount to a plastic curtain around a given area. But the tribe increased in numbers and the love of the almighty dollar found them salvaging old unwanted properties and victims of exploitation, double shift schools and acts of discrimination of all kinds.

The Urban League was in its infancy, but virile enough to interpret, through its interracial board, what the problems were and to give a helping hand in many ways Just as the Social Settlements had aided the immigrants in becoming citizens, so had the Urban League aided in the adjustment of the newcomers from the South.

Twelve years after the first World War came the depression and a large percentage of the Negroes in the big cities were recipients of local and federal relief. "They were the first fired and the last hired." On the positive side, thousands of Negroes who formerly were unskilled or were farm workers were obtaining more skills in a variety of occupations.

Despite hardships there was a general feeling of well being. They were "free", could get a fair trial in case they got into difficulty and could vote (although a lot of them did not bother to do so).

By World War II the Negro population in the North and West had almost doubled and interracial headaches became a common urban problem. Just as they had always done since the revolutionary war, Negroes joined the fighting forces and went to battle for their country (in separate outfits) just as if they were colonials. They also bought war bonds and participated in the patriotic celebrations with fervor.

With the growth of the segregated Negro urban community, it began to develop a new prestige. New job opportunities were opened and there was an increase in the number of Negroes elected to public office. The picture became more and more optimistic.

On close examination, however, these crowded cities have a darker side.

Big Town Burdens

When Southern rural Negroes move to the big cities of the North, they may have a feeling that their troubles are over --- but in truth, they may begin to multiply. There is no welcome mat - nor outstretched arms indicating "we are glad you made it." In a time of shortage of manpower, as when we are at war, the newcomer may be appreciated. Otherwise, the whites look upon him as a problem or a project, and the Negroes who came 10 years earlier show no sympathy or interest in his welfare. He becomes a double D.P. (displeased person in the South and a displaced person in the North).

The Urban Negro family in the North increased so rapidly, social agencies were not adequately prepared to do a fair counselling job. Consequently, statistics on crime, delinquency, school drop-outs, illegitimacy and desertion are for Negroes far above those of any other identifiable group. Were it not for the road block of prejudice and discrimination in the South, we wager that Negroes in the urban South would fare better than the majority of those in the North. The Jim Crow street car is the basic difference between the North and the South.

An important factor in the welfare of Negroes in the urban North is the bad public relations which the entire Negro community has had from the daily papers. Over a long period these newspapers in Chicago have pointed out the increasing number of Negroes who came from the South just to get on relief; the large number of non-white unmarried mothers; projection of population figures to show that Negroes will take over the city by 1970 and that Congressman Dawson's political block is bad for Chicago. Also, there is an old stereotyped attitude that when Negroes move into a neighborhood, a slum is sure to follow. Outside of sports and entertainment, there is little constructive news about Negroes. Thus, there is more to fear in Chicago of the Negro population which is about 10% of the total than there is in Memphis where the population is almost 40%. It is this kind of fear that has kindled the flames at Trumbull Park Homes which have kept burning for almost three years.

Recently, a newspaper reporter told me that it is being suggested in some circles among the power structure of the city that Negroes should be advised of the conditions here before they leave the South, and in this way migration would be cut down. On last Monday night, Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, told a Negro audience in Chicago that the Delta Council in Mississippi was sure that desegregation would eventually come and they planned to reduce the number of Negroes in the State before that time. Their method is to reduce wages. Cotton pickers who were formerly paid $5.00 a day are now receiving $1.50 a day. The 600,000 Negroes in Chicago now may soon go up to a million, he said.

Important, for it indicates a new kind of warfare between the North and South.

There are now more Negroes in Chicago than in the four largest southern cities and the majority live in compact areas. It is possible for many Negroes to come to Chicago, live in the Negro district and not realize much of a change in race relations. With the exception of those who happen to have white school teachers, the pattern is almost the same as in the South. Most of the money they earn comes from white employers and is paid out to white merchants and landlords. 80% of local retail merchants are white.

The pseudo feeling of freedom may be over emphasized and several years of residence are required to develop a real feeling of belonging in a new world and becoming a responsible person.

In BIG TOWN we have many burdens. It is the general feeling of those with problems that the cause is their color and their poverty. (The woman with the light bill) They all need guidance and an occasional soft shoulder to cry on. Some 10% of the Negroes are on public assistance. Our prison population is 4 times our population ratio. When we consider the fact that the Negro family is the youngest social unit in America, the facts could be a lot worse. (90 years)

It is often said by people of good-will in the North that "conduct" more than "color" is the cause of discrimination. They easily arrive at this conclusion because as they pass through the Negro area they observe the unkempt and noisy ones as they loiter on the corners. Often they are accustomed to seeing only the laborers in the plants or view the slum buildings from the railroad, 95% of which are owned by absentee white landlords. The average white person has little or no contact with the better class Negro. Thus, when Dr. Percy Julian moved into Oak Park, Illinois, they did not check on the quantity or quality of his money or his morals. They only knew that he was not white, which was cause enough to set fire to his house.

Conduct is important, however, especially for a conspicuous group which has been handicapped by the use of vicious stereotypes. The Chicago Urban League has long since recognised this and "better conduct" campaigns were promoted to help induce new patterns. Also, at the present time our League is sponsoring its 10th ANNUAL BLOCK BEAUTIFUL CONTEST. This event is part of an all year program which stimulates civic pride, property improvement and cooperation at the grass roots level. This pattern has now been adopted city wide by urban redevelopment organizations.

To offset the bad publicity which the Negro community has received, the Urban League sponsors Human Relations Tours. Each year hundreds of white people from high schools, colleges, churches, clubs, etc., come over behind "the curtain" and see some of the positive aspects of our life. It is the first time most of them have seen first class businesses owned by colored people or talked with school principals, post office superintendents, sales girls in department stores and preachers who are not white.

They visit the oldest house in Chicago which is owned by a Negro minister, The Rosenwald Apartments which we call our "Gold Coast" and several miles of streets lined with well kept residential buildings.

Recently a group of white business and professional women from the swank North Shore took our tour. It was on Sunday and they asked to visit a church. They brought along their lunch. In the afternoon we stopped for coffee at the local Y. M. C. A. and they were amazed to find that the hostesses were colored business and professional women. The two groups agreed to keep in touch with each other.

Our tours have also included representatives of all the daily papers and the exclusive Union League Club, one of the oldest in the city. It is difficult to evaluate this kind of public relationa but we are certain that their racial attitudes change after our tour..... they may get better, they may get worse.

Perhaps you may wonder why I say their attitudes may get worse. Yes, there are a lot of white people who prefer to see non-whites not doing so well. It helps their ego to be able to look down on some one who may be beneath them. In 1955 I thank God that they are very few and earnestly pray for them.

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

I hope what I have been saying about the Negroes in the Urban culture can be interpreted as having some relationship with the two most prominent words in the public mind today---Integration and Desegregation.

In light of what the Supreme Court has done recently, all of us have a great responsibility. It is not only a test of our religious discipline but a serious challenge to our respect for law and order. In my opinion, we arrived at this status through the fear of Communism, the valiant work of organizations like the C. I. O., the organized Christian bodies, the Y. W. C. A., the organized churchwomen in the South and other numerous groups who were activated by the will of God.

The difference in the color of the human beings involved in our task of the future will not be the most significant factor because we witnessed the massacre of the Armenian Christians in 1913 and the persecution of Jews in Germany in 1943.

All over America we must reach a new high in our Ethics in relationships with people. And we must be activated by a new zeal for justice and decency and not operate from a complex of fears.

Our problems in this area would be easier to solve if we would make wider use of POSITIVE THINKING and the newly discovered theory of MORAL REARMAMENT.

Let's face it, Negroes have passed every test from farm hand to diplomats in government and their loyalty in peace and war is well established. They are entitled to the equality of opportunities for first class citizens.

I have often wished that in some way the non-white Americans could do something to help the white people resolve certain of their dilemmas. The whites have done a lot for us. They made great sacrifices after the civil war and established educational institutions in the South which gave us leaders like Walter White, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. T. R. M. Howard and Thurgood Marshall. They sent their missionaries to Africa and Asia and told those dark people that God loved them just as he did anyone else.

They have built the strongest and most prosperous country in the world. Yet, they are dominated by fears. They own and control everything and even have fears of the non-white population which is out-numbered ten to one. What can we do to help them have peace of mind. Out of our capacity to endure hardships, we may find the key for our missionary effort to save them.

(National Association for the Saving of All White People)*

HINTS OF POSITIVE THINKING IN RACE RELATIONS

1. All human beings have many things in common, including the common fatherhood of God.

2. Don't inflict on the other person what you would not want him to inflict upon you.

3. Always check your attitudes and actions toward others with your religious teachings.

4. So live and act that God and your country will be proud of you.

5. Seek the Truth--act the truth and you will enjoy a peace of mind.

PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS MUST BE OUR MOST IMPORTANT PROJECT.

* The initials for the new organization humorously suggested by Mr. Lane were N. A. S. A. W. P. I'm not sure that I remembered the words.

L. K.

July 23, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your recent letter with the kind words about my chairing the panel at the Fisk Institute. The panel members were the real contributors to a better understanding of the Southern Regional Council. My part was small indeed but I was glad to be able to help.

You mentioned C. H. Parrish and I had not sent in an expense account for our trip to Fisk. It was not our intention to do so. You all were so good about providing room and tuition for our state staff people that it would be most ungrateful and ungracious of us to even think of asking for reimbursement for our travel. Further, this certainly promoted a better understanding of the Southern Regional Council and for all of these reasons we have assumed the expenses involved.

Best personal regards to you, Mrs. Johnson and Bob.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mbo

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

Karl —

Please indicate as of what date the following states employed professional staff:

		Subsidy as of
Alabama	Oct 1, 54	1 Oct
Georgia	June 1 54	1 Oct
Louisiana	June 1 '54	1 Oct
Mississippi	Jan 1 54	1 Jan
N. Carolina	Oct 1, 54	1 Oct
S. Carolina	Oct 1 54	1 Oct
Texas	November 1, 54	1 Nov

Thanks —
Fred

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

Letters to following states re:
Financial committment for
GSM's signature:

Texas
Ga.
Miss
Ala
Ga
SC
NC

GSM did -
Ark. -
Va
Tenn
Fla.
Ky

Fisk Institute on Race Relations

Topics for the "Model" Community Action

A. Defining Organizational Procedure
1. Defining philosophy, goals, & objectives.
2. Defining your terms
3. Selecting best methods and techniques.
✓ 4. Inter-organizational correlation - cooperation - coordination

B. Understanding the Community -
1. Deciding what a/the community is.
2. Understanding Community structure
3. Knowing power structure, reaching status people
4. Knowing Community resources
5. Identify leaderships, develop new
6. Understand minority community & its aspirations
7. Decreasing minority apathy; broading participation
8. Identifying & coping with opposition

C. Specific Community procedures -
1. Making and implementing policy -
3. Bringing in organizational & material resources -
✓ 4. Applying resources to Needs -
✓ 2. Discovering un-met Needs in community.
5. Reaching total community - publicity - etc.

D. Evaluating Effectiveness.

Ken Clark - Milford - Del

Desegregation - an appraisal of the evidence -

2 weeks of "partial" desegregation before incident. No overt signs of protest. Negroes accepted by other students including on foot-ball team.

Local radio carried announcement of protest meeting (owned by Lt. Governor) other radio stations refused to carry it.

Bryant Bowles didn't instigate protest - Gov and Atty Gen'l in Milford - mayor asked them to make strong statement against meeting he refused - Gov later called leaders in - gave dignity to howlers - asked NAACP to withdraw Negro kids - after this Bryant Bowles came at this point.

State Bd of Ed met in Dover - in legal not atmosphere came through said Milford Bd had right to admit Negroes - then State Ct decided it couldn't rule til after Supt decree - meanwhile Negroes to go to Negro school -

Impt - NAACP - polite - firm - never backed down -

Local Negroes - "If they want to start a riot - we can't stop them - but we'll be here, let them come."

Ministerial Alliance - tried to urge calmness but it seemed half-hearted, apologetic; one exception Supt of Schools - stood firm refused to make any concessions to bigots - Later he and Bd resigned -

Sit - impact - racial - moderation - only hand - recovery - resolution - aftermath.

January 11, 1955

Dr. Charles Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your recent letter inviting me to participate in the Southwide Interorganizational Conference at Fisk. I shall be pleased, indeed, to act as Co-chairman of Section III - Professional and Civic Organizations: General Community Activities.

I will look forward to the possibilities of this Conference. I think there are many potential gains that may come from it. It seems to me that one of the great problems facing us in this whole field is the problem of communications, not only between the two races but also between the organizations which work in this field. If we can work out better communications between the organizations at the Fisk Conference it will have been well worthwhile.

With every good wish for your health and the continued success of your work in this New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
encl.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

24 May 55

To: GSM

Re: Fisk Institute, who should go.

1. It seems to me there are two groups of our state people who should go to the Fisk conference, June 27-July 9, 1955;in oreder of priority they are:

A. All professional staff from the twelve State Organizations then functioning. This would amount to a maximum of twenty-four (24); the Exec. Director and Associate Director from each state. This is dependent upon each state being enabled to hire associates.(see our proposals to FFR)

B. A team of four laymen from the Board of Directors of each state organization. Such a team to be racially integrated and representing the organization.

2. The cost of such a proposal is not prohibitive; for estimated cost see below:

A. For the twenty four professionals at $ 80 each (tuition, rooms etc)	$ 1,920
travel (rough est)	$ 1,000
Total	$ 2,920
B. For forty eight laymen	$ 3,840
travel (rough est)	$ 2,000
Total	$ 5,840
The grand total for sending both	$ 8,760

3. It might be wise, if time can be found, for CH and me to attend the conference as a team.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

May 25, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

MAY 28 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I should like to bring to your attention the 12th Annual Race Relations Institute, to be held at Fisk University from June 27 through July 9. The Institute theme is "New Horizons in Human Relations: Closing the Gap Between the Court and the Community," and this gives emphasis to the broader opportunities which lie ahead because of the May 17 Supreme Court Decision announcing that the official policy of our nation fully supports the Judeo-Christian ideals of Justice and human equality.

Ky. Labor School 6/27 - 7/1 ent

We invite your participation in this year's discussions, which will take a departure from the implementing orders which the Court will have made by the time we convene. Thurgood Marshall, Charles Abrams, Robert Weaver, Frank Horne, and Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell are among the 20 or more consultants who will participate.

In the event that you cannot come, we ask your cooperation by promoting the attendance of a member of your organization as a representative. As in years past, we expect approximately 125 participants from 22 states, North and South. You will find this experience stimulating, helpful and enjoyable.

Your interest and participation will be appreciated. We are grateful for whatever additional promotion you may be able to give toward the participation of members of your own organization or agency.

Very sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

MAY 26 1955

FBR

PRESS RELEASE -- For Immediate Release

John Hope II

NEW HORIZONS IN HUMAN RELATIONS TO BE FEATURED AT 12TH ANNUAL AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE, JUNE 27 -- JULY 9.

Nashville, Tennessee ..... The 12th Annual American Missionary Association Race Relations Institute will be convened in the new air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall at Fisk University, June 27-July 9. The theme is NEW HORIZONS IN HUMAN RELATIONS: Closing the Gap Between the Court and the Community.

This session will draw interested citizenry from some 22 states, North and South, including religious leaders, students, teachers, representatives of trade unions and management; organizations concerned with housing and other forms of public accommodationdation, members of human relations commissions, and other governmont agencies. Students attending may obtain academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

The nation's top authorities in social science and social engineering, in housing, education, and law will serve as resource leaders in discussing the maney facets of the Institute theme with this representative group of community leaders. These lecturers and consultants will face with the Institute membership the challenge and the promise of revitalized communities unfettered by legal racial segregation. They will consider the specific problems faced by communities and develop appropriate techniques for the faithful, wise and effective implementation of the May 17th, 1954, Supreme Court decision in the many and varie communities from which the the membership comes.

Lecturers and consultants who have participated in previous institutes include: Gordon Allport, Department of Psychology, Harvard University; Henry Steele Commager, Department of History, Columbia University; Joseph W. Bird, College

Relations and Recruiting Division, Radio Corporation of America; Saville R. Davis, American Editor, Christian Science Monitor; James C. Evans; Civilian Aid to the Department of Defense; George T. Guernsey, Department of Education, CIO; John E. Ivey; Southern Regional Education Board; Clyde Kluckhohn, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University; John LaFarge, S.J., America; Edward Lawson, Division of Human Rights, United Nations; Helen V. McLean, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry; Carey McWilliams, Editor, The Nation; Thurgood Marshall, Chief Legal Counsel, NAACP; George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council; M. F. Ashley Montagu, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University; Joseph J. Morrow, Personnel Manager, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.; P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor, Pittsburgh Courier; Mark Starr, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and Julius A. Thomas, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League.

During the eleven years of its existence, the Institute has provided for lay and professional community leaders the opportunity to develop new understanding and insights into problems of intergroup relations. It has dealt with the problems of all so-called minority groups -- including racial, religious and national origin of groups. In recent years, increasing attention has been directed to the Spanish-speaking groups, the American Indian, and to our newest minority, the Puerto Rican.

The Institute was established by the American Missionary Association Division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches and is jointly sponsored by Fisk University, one of the nation's leading institutions of higher learning.

(The cost of room, board, and tuition for the two week's sessions is $80.00.)

June 2, 1955

Mr. Herman Long
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

We would appreciate it if you could send to this office 50 more copies of the announcement about the forthcoming Race Relations Institute, and any further information on program plans for the Institute. that you may have available for distribution.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell

EAB/

June 3, 1955

Dr. Herman Long
Institute of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Herman:

The Southern Regional Council is requesting that all of its employed state professional staff members attend the coming Institute at the expense of the Council. We have also urged that they encourage members of their Boards and other lay leadership in their state to attend.

We will be grateful if you will send to each of the attached list several copies of the announcement. Please send a single announcement and any of the material regarding the Institution to the following people suggested by various members of state staffs.

Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 19, Tex.
Mrs. Tommie Stroud, 2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Tex.
Mrs. Eidson, Waco, Texas
Mrs. W.H. Wheatley, Greenwood, Miss. (P.O. Box 307)

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

GTH:rnf
encl.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building - Room 206
South Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. James Pierce
284 S. Jackson
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Nat Griswold, Ex. Sec.
211 Izard
Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.
119 E. Barraque St.
Pine Bludd, Ark.

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Ex. Sec.
Georgia Committee on Interracial
Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Holsey-Cobb Institute
Cordele, Georgia

Dr. C.H. Parrish
SRC Consultant
926 S. Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. Margaret Dagen, Ex. Dir.
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
1319 Heyburn Building
Fourth and Broadway
Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Ex. Sec.
La. Council on Human Relations
Rm. 303, Bd. of Trade Annex Bldg.
New Orleans 12, La.

Mrs. M.J. Lyells, Ex. Sec.
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Miss.

Rev. Harry S. Jones, Ex. Sec.
N.C. Council on Human Relations
Room 209, 121 E. Third Street
Charlotte, N.C.

Mrs. E.H. Spearman, Ex. Sec.
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Ex. Sec.
Texas Commission on Race Relations
309 West 21st Street
Austin, Texas

Mr. John H. Marion, Ex. Sec.
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Bon Air Presbyterian Church
Buford Road,
Bon Air, Va.

Mr. William F. Cooper
Hampton Institute
Hampton Institute, Va.

Mrs. E.H.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

June 4, 1955

Miss Elizabeth Brantley
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Brantley:

I am enclosing fifty copies of the announcement of the 12th Annual Race Relations Institute which is to be held here at Fisk this summer.

Program plans for the institute are not yet completed, but we should be able to send more information within the next week or so. You will be interested to know that Thurgood Marshall, Frank Horne, Robert Weaver, Kenneth Clark, Charles Abrams and Secretary of Labor James Mitchell are among the speakers already agreeing to come.

Please express to Dr. George Mitchell our deep appreciation for the interest and cooperation of his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

Mailed to:

Hughes
Pierce
Griswold
Mercer
Wells
Pitts
Parrish
Dagen
Vigo
Lyells
Jones S
Spearman
Sutherland
Marion
Cooper

Duncan Hunter
Fred Darragh
Chas. Walker
Paul Finner
W.C.Taylor~~xxxxx~~
G.E.Clary
B.R.Brazeal
High Brimm
Albert D'Orlando
Joseph Taylor
Mantinband
H.H.Wheeler
R.D.Wellons
Claude Evans
F.W.Beckman
Elsie Lewis
Haskell Miller
James Colston
Mrs. Crate
W.Carrol Brooke

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FILE COPY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 8, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Executive Directors of state organizations affiliated with SRC

From: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant for State Organization

Re: Fisk Institute on Race Relations

The Twelfth Annual American Missionary Association Race Relations Institute will be convened in the new air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, June 27th-July 9th.

The theme is New Horizons in Human Relations: Closing the Gap between the Court and the Community.

Provision has been made to pay all expenses (travel, tuition, room and board) to the Fisk Conference out of funds from the Central Office. We request that you make every possible effort to attend this institute. It is to be hoped that two professional staff people from each SRC state affiliated organization will attend. In the event that it is impossible for two staff people to attend, it would be most helpful if the state chairman or another member of the Executive Committee of the state organization could attend with the Executive Director.

Any inquiries to the Institute of Race Relations should be addressed to Dr. Herman Long.

Please inform your Executive Committee of the Institute.

6/8/55
rnf

June 8, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I can and will come up with pleasure for July 4th, and will do the talk that evening.

Unfortunately, I am committed to be back at Clark College at 9:30 on the morning of July 5th. But I will get to town as early as I can on the 4th and spend a good deal of that day at the Institute.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. My only way to get back to Atlanta overnight is to catch the Georgian at 1:20 a.m. July 5th. I am a sleepy-head and not a night owl. Could the housekeeping people be kind enough to save me a bed for a couple of hours between speechmaking and train-catching the night of July 4th?

JUN 7 1955

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June Six
1 9 5 5

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I believe I told you to keep our Institute dates free--especially the second week. Would you be in a position to begin the second week of the Institute (July 4) with a major presentation on "The State of the South and the Recent Supreme Court Decision"? We would want to make this an evening public presentation. We would, of course, expect you to stay and participate as consultant in our Clinic sessions for as long as your busy schedule will permit.

July 5th
9:30 a.m.
Clark College
assembly

Could I have some word on this.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:aef

June 10, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: FBR

FROM: GSM

I cannot budget a sum in excess of $2,000 for the meetings at Fisk. I would like that sum of $2,000 to cover the registration fees and travel and per diem for yourself and Mr. Parrish for such days as either or both of you are to be there.

If, as the conference approaches, you find need for committing a sum in excess of the $2,000 please confer with me before you do so.

eab/

cc: KS

FBR

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

20 June 1955

JUN 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I note in your June 15th SRC Newsletter an item, calling the attention of your State Staff people to the Race Relations Institute, and offering to cover transportation from your Central Office. This is excellent.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

C
S
J/vlr

June 21, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: HCF

From: GSM

July 4th I have to make a set speech for the Race Relations Institute at Fisk on the subject "The South Today and the Supreme Court's Decision.

At this stage, what I am inclined to build the talk on is the shift of the controversy from blanket desegregation to competitiveness between local areas as to which shall comply with the Court's command of early start in good faith.

That would fit in neatly with some account of the encroachment of nearly complete desegregation smack up to the borders of the South; and of the jump-over of desegregation into such spots as it has now reached, in fact or in announced intention, within the South.

If you can collect anything that would be helpful for a speech along this line, or on other and better lines, please do so.

GSM/eab

Fisk Corr

June 22, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: FBR

FROM: GSM

I had occasion to be on the telephone with Vigo this morning. He asked me to pass on to you that he, Vigo, would be at Fisk the whole two weeks and that the head of the New Orleans Committee, Mr. Taylor, would go. He was uncertain whether Taylor would stay the whole two weeks -- had an idea that Taylor would depart before the last three days. I promptly suggested, as a money-saving measure, that if Taylor was only going to be there half-time he only stay a complete week. I didn't press this, but said that it was your business and Taylor's business, not mine. I am merely saving Vigo's secretary by getting this word to you.

GSM/eab

July 5, 1955

KS:

I submitted expenses to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk in the sum of around $36.00 or $37.00, suggesting an honorarium also. Left expense account with Herman Long's secretary last night. They should send a check down — don't know whether there will be another $50.00 or not.

SRC bought plane ticket $16.28, Train ticket, $17.79, total $34.07. Differ nce between $34.07 and amount of expense account belongs to GSM.*

*Note on attached sheet GSM spent 82¢ for taxi to Clark July 5th.

July 11, 1955

Mr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

The Institute did a richly rewarding service for our staff people, and we are all extremely grateful to you to and Fisk for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 15, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I don't know anybody whose good opinion I covet more than yours; thanks.

I wrote Herman Long that the Institute very greatly broadened our people who were there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

13 July 1955

JUL 14 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

As usual, you were magnificant -- providing as always that ingredient so necessary in an Institute such as ours. I believe this was our best Institute to date, and your own role in helping to make it so was beyond doubt a substantial one.

Again, our thanks,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:aef

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL LECTURERS AND CONSULTANTS OF RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE

For introduction and publicity purposes, we should like to secure from you immediately appropriate biographical data that might be used for that purpose.

Please send these data to:

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

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Milton Vigo La.	75	
Ruby Lyells –	60	60 42 21 July
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Alice Spencer SC	40	
Francis Marion Tenn.	25	
Tom Sutherland –	75	
Mrs Crouch	75	
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November 5, 1954

To: GSM

From: GTH

In view of the opportunity to enlarge the experience of our state chairmen and staff, I suggest that their names be included for invitations to this meeting. This suggestion is made not only in terms of the contribution of the individuals above to the meeting, but also in terms of contributions possible to them.

It would seem to me also good to mention the names of our staff at work in the region (Routh and Parrish) for invitations.

- I suggested that your letter be held.

November 4, 1954

Mr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Delighted to be present at the Fisk Conference November 26th and 27th. Unfortunately, I have promised to be in Birmingham on the night of the 26th, but I can slip down there on the plane and be back at Fisk the next morning.

I am sure you will have thought of most of the people who ought to come. As a precaution, I suggest that you invite Mrs. Ruby Hurley, who is Regional Secretary of the NAACP, 624 Masonic Temple Building, 1630 Fourth Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama.

I would appreciate it if an invitation could go to Mr. Robert Hughes, Executive Secretary of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, Room 206, Moore Building, Court Street, Montgomery. Also to Mr. Guy Wells, Executive Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Also, Mrs. Alice Spearman, the Executive Secretary of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, 3315 Colin Kelly Drive, Columbia, South Carolina.

Emerson Smith, Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, 199 West Grace Street, Richmond, Virginia, is head of an independent agency and may be able to come. Quite helpful if he could.

For Kentucky, I suggest Mr. Hugh Brimm, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, in his capacity as unpaid president of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations which has not yet selected paid personnel.

I doubt the need of inviting the new Executive Secretary in Texas, Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, or our Executive Secretary in Louisiana, Mr. Milton C. Vigo.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 2, 1954

RECEIVED
11/4/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The enclosed letter is being sent out to approximately a hundred persons representing agencies and organizations in the South. When we mentioned consultants, naturally we had you in mind as one of the key persons in such a conference. Will your schedule permit your being on hand for the two days mentioned? (November 26-27)

Also, could you send along to us at your very earliest convenience the names of key persons in the region whom you think ought to be invited to such a conference? There isn't too much time for setting up the conference so word from you at your earliest convenience will be greatly appreciated.

Any suggestions you would care to pass along in connection with the proposed conference will be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/blk
Enclosure

Mrs Ruby Hurley
Robert Hughes

Reservation
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November 1, 1954

Mrs. G. E. Anderson, President
Metropolitan Council of Negro Women
508 North 11th Avenue
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, the number of persons and organizations in the Southern Region expressing a real concern for meeting constructively the challenge and opportunities offered by this historic decision have been encouraging and numerous. This concern has been expressed by many religious, educational, professional, trade union and general civic organizations within the region which have taken a straight-forward and constructive attitude toward desegregation and the Court's decision.

In a two-day Southwide Inter-organizational Conference to be held at Fisk University, Friday and Saturday, November 26-27, organizations such as those mentioned above are being asked to present to this conference any policy statement regarding segregation or the Court's decision which they may have developed. Professional organizations in the South such as social workers, librarians, and nurses associations, state and county medical associations, and other such professional groups which have eliminated racial restrictions on membership are being asked to detail how this was brought about, what general lessons were learned as a result of the experience, and to recommend what steps should be taken in order to attain a greater degree of integration. The conference would have the benefit of a group of expert consultants on various aspects of the field of human relations. After a careful review of the present situation, consultants would recommend realistic next steps.

As stated above, since both the need for and interest in such a conference have become so evident, Fisk University has had placed at its disposal a limited budget to meet the "cost-of-living" for conference guests during the two-day period. Unfortunately the University is not in a position to assume the financial responsibility for travel. It is hoped that the agency or organization which you represent might consider such a conference as part of its official program interest and feel justified on that basis in assuming the financial responsibility of its representative. Should an agency be in a position to assume the complete financial responsibility -- travel plus cost of living for two days -- this would, of course, be greatly appreciated. Since it is hoped that the proceedings of such a conference might be printed for wide distribution, the more money we are able to save out of our "cost-of-living" budget the more we will have to spend for the publication and its distribution.

Since time is short before the conference date, could you let us know at your very earliest convenience whether you would be able to attend such a conference? If you cannot attend, would you be in a position to suggest a person in your organization who might be invited?

With the incentive of a new situation, and the coordination of constructive leadership resources, the South could so marshal its power to bring a new dynamic to the region and a new spirit to the nation. I sincerely hope your busy schedule will permit your attendance at what we hope to be a significant and much needed undertaking in the Southern Region. As the region most affected by the old and burdensome patterns of racial segregation, the South now faces new challenges and opportunities for the establishment of democratic patterns of human relations. The key to a successful response to these challenges and opportunities is to be found in constructive leadership which by and large must come from organized groups in the region.

We look forward with much anticipation to an early reply indicating whether you will be able to participate in such a conference.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/blk

November 22, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Johnson:

We congratulate the Department of Race Relations for calling the forthcoming Southwide Inter-organizational Conference, which we are looking forward eagerly to attending.

The three of us have talked informally in order to clear up our own thinking about the potentialities of the conference and our own possible contributions to it. We believe that first priority should be given to a formulation of the present situation in the region, the major needs that can and should be met through organizational activity, and the competencies of the several agencies in terms of these needs. If such a formulation could be achieved, then each organization would be in a better position to assess its role in the light of overall needs and resources.

While we recognize that these concerns of ours are doubtless those which inspired the conference, we feel that getting the consensus of the conference on these points reduced to writing should be the key objective. Such a document would be of inestimable value to each organization in orienting its own program to the total needs of the South as it moves toward an integrated society.

We are looking forward to seeing you on Friday.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Levin
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith

R.A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Southern Regional Council

November 19, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have taken the liberty of inviting Dr. C.H. Parrish of the University of Louisville to attend the Southwide Inter-organizational Conference to be held at Fisk University on November 26-27.

Dr. Parrish is serving the Southern Regional Council as a part-time Director for State Organizations and I believe he will have much to contribute to the meeting. As you may remember, he did a special job for the Council last Spring while he was on sabbatical leave and during the summer months. The purpose of his travels over a large part of the region was to explore and evaluate for the Council the potentials for constructive adjustment to the Supreme Court decision.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf

November 16, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for the invitation to participate in the Southwide Inter-Organizational Conference to be held at Fisk University on November 26th and 27th. The delay in response is due to the fact that I am now on leave from the Director's position of the Atlanta Urban League and am full time as an Associate Director of the Southern Regional Council, so the invitation was delayed in reaching me.

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to attend in his place -- and I will be glad to be present. It is gratifying that one of the proposals from the Williamsburg meeting is emerging as this conference.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/rnf

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 1, 1954

Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, the number of persons and organizations in the Southern Region expressing a real concern for meeting constructively the challenges and opportunities offered by this historic decision have been encouraging and numerous. This concern has been expressed by many religious, educational, professional, trade union and general civic organizations within the region which have taken a straight-forward and constructive attitude toward desegregation and the Court's decision.

In a two-day Southwide Inter-organizational Conference to be held at Fisk University, on Friday and Saturday, November 26-27, organizations such as those mentioned above are being asked to present to this conference any policy statement regarding segregation or the Court's decision which they may have developed. Professional organizations in the South such as social workers, librarians, and nurses associations, state and county medical associations, and other such professional groups which have eliminated racial restrictions on membership are being asked to detail how this was brought about, what general lessons were learned as a result of the experience, and to recommend what steps should be taken in order to attain a greater degree of integration. The conference would have the benefit of a group of expert consultants on various aspects of the field of human relations. After a careful review of the present situation, consultants would recommend realistic next steps.

As stated above, since both the need for and interest in such a conference have become so evident, Fisk University has had placed at its disposal a limited budget to meet the "cost-of-living" for conference guests during the two-day period. Unfortunately the University is not in a position to assume the financial responsibility for travel. It is hoped that the agency or organization which you represent might consider such a conference as part of its official program interest and feel justified on that basis in assuming the financial responsibility of its representative. Should an agency be in a position to assume the complete financial responsibility -- travel plus cost of living for two days -- this would, of course, be greatly appreciated. Since it is hoped that the proceedings of such a conference might be printed for wide distribution, the more money we are able to save out of our "cost-of-living" budget the more we will have to spend for the publication and its distribution.

Since time is short before the conference date, could you let us know at your very earliest convenience whether you would be able to attend such a conference. If you cannot attend, would you be in a position to suggest a person in your organization who might be invited?

With the incentive of a new situation, and the coordination of constructive leadership resources, the South could so marshal its power to bring a new dynamic to the region and new spirit to the nation. I sincerely hope your busy schedule will permit your attendance at what we hope to be a significant and much needed undertaking in the Southern Region. As the region most affected by the old and burdensome patterns of racial segregation, the South now faces new challenges and opportunities for the establishment of democratic patterns of human relations. The key to a successful response to these challenges and opportunities is to be found in constructive leadership which by and large must come from organized groups in the region.

We look forward with much anticipation to an early reply indicating whether you will be able to participate in such a conference.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ
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DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NIGHT LETTER

November 23, 1954

Dr. Chas. S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Regret Fleming and Routh cannot attend. SRC will be represented by Mitchell, Hamilton, Parrish and some state personnel. Regards.

Harold C. Fleming

DON'T WAIT TELEGRAPH!
FORM 8249(50)

WESTERN UNION

(20).

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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TU ATLANTA

DR HAROLD C FLEMING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

=WE ARE PLEASED THAT YOU ARE ATTENDING THE WEEKEND CONFERENCE. WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SERVE AS CONSULTANT FOR ONE SECTION OF PROGRAM?=

:CHARLES S JOHNSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Regret Fleming & Routh cannot attend. SRC will be represented by Mitchell, Hamilton ~~and~~ Parrish and some state personnel. Regards.

HCF

DON'T WAIT
TELEGRAPH !
FORM 8248-50

WESTERN UNION

(19)...201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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...time on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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A.NHA321 PD=NASHVILLE TENN 23 320PMC=

TO ATLANTA

:DR FRED ROUTH=

:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

:WE ARE PLEASED THAT YOU ARE ATTENDING THE WEEKEND CONFERENCE. WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SERVE AS CONSULTANT FOR ONE SECTION OF PROGRAM?=

:CHARLES S JOHNSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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GEORGE S MITCHELL• SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=•

IN VIEW OF POSTPONEMENT OF SUPREME COURT HEARING AND PRESSURE OF THANKSGIVING THE SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 26 WILL BE POSTPONED• CONFERENCE HAS ELICITED WIDESPREAD INTEREST AND WILL BE RE-SET FOR JANUARY• LETTER FOLLOWS•=

CHARLES S JOHNSON FISK UNIVERSITY

RECEIVED 11/24/54 Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Send or get "cash in a flash" by Telegraphic MONEY ORDER

6292 (54)

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
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LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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HAROLD C FLEMING• SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=•

IN VIEW OF POSTPONEMENT OF SUPREME COURT HEARING AND PRESSURE OF THANKSGIVING THE SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 26 WILL BE POSTPONED• CONFERENCE HAS ELICITED WIDESPREAD INTEREST AND WILL BE RE-SET FOR JANUARY• LETTER FOLLOWS•=

CHARLES S JOHNSON FISK UNIVERSITY••

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Send or get "cash in a flash" by Telegraphic MONEY ORDER

6392 (54)

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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FRED ROUTH.S SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=.

IN VIEW OF POSTPONEMENT OF SUPREME COURT HEARING AND PRESSURE OF THANKSGIVING THE SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 26 WILL BE POSTPONED. CONFERENCE HAS ELICITED WIDESPREAD INTEREST AND WILL BE RE-SET FOR JANUARY. LETTER FOLLOWS.=

CHARLES S JOHNSON FISK UNIVERSITY..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

check with Ann

December 31, 1954

Dr. Preston Valien
Chairman
Social Science Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

I have let myself get promised ~~away~~ for January 21st and 22nd. So, unfortunately, I won't be able to get to Nashville for the Interorganizational Conference.

But I am asking Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Tilly, and Mr. C. H. Parrish to represent the Southern Regional Council at the meetings.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. C. H. Parrish
GTH
KS
MET

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
12/31/54
Southern Regional Council

An Important Announcement and Enclosure

THE SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE

This important conference -- "establishing democratic patterns of human relations in the South," has now been scheduled to convene at Fisk University on Friday and Saturday,

January 21 and 22, 1955

Within a few days you will receive the complete program.

In the meantime, would you be good enough to work through carefully the items on the enclosed sheet and, if possible, return your replies not later than January 15 to:

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Social Science Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

We would like to have this material for a pre-analysis.

We are looking forward with much pleasure to your presence at what we expect to be a significant occasion for the region and the nation.

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Each Agency and Organization participating in the SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE at Fisk University, January 21-22, 1955, is requested to furnish as much of the following information as is relevant to its position on desegregation or integration.

1. What is your agency's or organization's statement of policy with regard to segregation or integration? Here we would like the detailed statement of policy as approved and adopted by your organization.

2. When was this statement adopted (date)?

3. Under what circumstances did it come into being? (detail)

4. Was there any initial opposition to the policy? If so, what was the nature of the opposition?

5. Had there been any conscious planning, or preparation on the part of your organization or agency before the formal statement of policy? If so, what was the nature of the preparation?

6. What was the community reaction to this statement of policy? The reaction of the press?

7. In your opinion, has such a statement had any influence on other organizations or agencies in your community? What has been the nature of this influence -- positive or negative? Detail.

8. Approximately how many people within your agency or organization come under the direct influence of your statement?

9. How influential do you feel your agency or organization is in your community? Give basis upon which you make your statement.

10. What, in your opinion, are some of the "favorable" signs in your community, i.e., positive attempts toward integration? Detail.

11. What, in your opinion, are some of the "negative" influences in your community which will forestall or retard integration?

12. In what areas do you feel you or your agency or organization need assistance in bringing about a more favorable climate in which implementation of the decision might be accelerated?

13. What steps has your agency or organization taken to implement its policy?

14. What future steps are planned with regard to implementation?

SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
January 21-22, 1955

Please return the following form immediately and in any event not later than January 15 to:

The Office of the President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

_____ I plan to attend the conference

_____ I do not plan to attend the conference

but my organization and I will be represented by the following person:

_____

_____ I will arrange my own housing accommodations

_____ I would like for the conference to arrange housing for me

Name: (Please type or print)_____

Organization_____

Street Address_____

City and State_____

January 5, 1955

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Social Science Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

We have considered the questionnaire which each agency and organization participating in the Southwide Interorganizational Conference was asked to complete and return to you. Most of the questions seem to be related to organizations operating in a local community setting rather than those which are regional or national. Rather than completing the questionnaire as such we are enclosing the statement of policy and aims of the Southern Regional Council. There has been no further articulation of policy by the Council since the May 17th decision. We are also enclosing a statement of criteria developed for use by the state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council which are in the process of becoming established in the twelve states of the region. I hope that this will provide the kind of preliminary information requested.

On November 22nd Arthur Levin, R.A. Thompson and I had a conversation in preparation for the meeting which was then scheduled for November. We would still hope that the conference would include opportunities for "a formulation of the present situation in the region, the major needs that can and should be met through organizational activity, and the competencies of the several agencies (represented in the conference) in terms of these needs."

We will look forward to the opportunity which the conference makes possible for some joint thinking and planning.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/raf
encl.

cc: C.H. Parrish
R.A. Thompson
G.S.M.
F.B.R.

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

An Important Announcement and Enclosure

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January 21 and 22, 1955

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In the meantime, would you be good enough to work through carefully the items on the enclosed sheet and, if possible, return your replies not later than January 15 to:

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Social Science Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

We would like to have this material for a pre-analysis.

We are looking forward with much pleasure to your presence at what we expect to be a significant occasion for the region and the nation.

January 7, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am honored that you should want me as a participant in the forthcoming Southwide Interorganizational Conference.

We have discussed the Conference here with much interest and, as it worked out, the SRC staff members who are to attend are Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton, Mrs. M.E. Tilly, and Dr. C.H. Parrish, as well as staff members of various affiliated state organizations. Since I have a heavy backlog of duties here, I am not one of that fairly substantial number.

I know you will understand that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be present and to make any contribution I might to the Conference, but under the circumstances I must regretfully decline your very kind invitation. I am sure that anyone of the others will be glad to serve in any way that will be helpful.

My best regards to you and my best wishes for the Conference, which I am sure will be an outstanding contribution to progress in this field.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

4 January 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As you know, the Southwide Interorganizationsl Conference formerly scheduled for November is now being held the weekend of January 21 and 22, and we very much want you to participate as one of our conference experts and resource personnel.

While the Conference is to be, for the most part, a closed one, we are having one public meeting which is scheduled for the evening of January 21. This is to be a presentation on The Present Status of Desegregation and Integration to be discussed by a panel of experts. It is suggested that each panel member take from ten to twelve minutes setting forth in broad outline the significant trends in his own field as they relate to the topic under discussion; these presentations will be followed by a question and answer period of about an hour in length. Because you know so intimately what is going on in the South which give indication of a readiness to acceptance of desegregation (here, we might suggest some of the positives in areas throughout the South), we would like to have you confine your discussion to this particular subject-matter area delineating it as you see fit.

In your capacity as a resource person, we should like very much to have you participate as one of the summarizers and analysts following the opening plenary session on January 21. It will be the responsibility of this group to listen to reports from communities and to ferret out significant trends and problems that might be used as a base for further study and action, and indicating as far as practicable logical next steps.

Interest in the Conference is very high and the contribution which such a Conference can make at this time is unquestioned. We know that your perceptive presentation will help make it so.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience?

With every good wish to you for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

January 11, 1955

Dr. Charles Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your recent letter inviting me to participate in the Southwide Interorganizational Conference at Fisk. I shall be pleased, indeed, to act as Co-chairman of Section III - Professional and Civic Organizations: General Community Activities.

I will look forward to the possibilities of this Conference. I think there are many potential gains that may come from it. It seems to me that one of the great problems facing us in this whole field is the problem of communications, not only between the two races but also between the organizations which work in this field. If we can work out better communications between the organizations at the Fisk Conference it will have been well worthwhile.

With every good wish for your health and the continued success of your work in this New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
encl.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

JAN 13 AM 10 58

..AA11

A.NHA058 PD=NASHVILLE TENN 13 937AMC=

GEORGE S MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR=

=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

YOUR TRANSPORTATION TO SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATION CONFERENCE JANUARY 21 - 22 WILL BE COVERED=

CHARLES S JOHNSON=(

JAN 13 1955

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NEXT STEPS

These are the questions that were asked at the Fisk Conference, January 22, 1955 by Ken Clark, the chairman of the panel of analysts who listened to the reports of the various organizations present.

1. How do we translate statements of policy into community action by members?

2. How do we strengthen the hands of whites who believe in desegregation?

3. How do we strengthen the hands of whites who are not opposed to desegregation?

4. How do we make clear that opposition to the Supreme Court decision is undemocratic and unAmerican and, therefore, make the opposers lose status in the community?

5. How do we provide economic support to Negroes in this struggle who are subject to reprisals?

6. How do we communicate to Negro parents methods of desegregating the schools?

7. How do we politically educate Negroes?

8. How do we reach actual individuals within the power structure?

Lists

SOUTHWIDE INTERORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
January 21 -22, 1955

List of Delegates and Consultants
(with Organizational Affiliations)

Adams, Inez, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Department of Social Sciences

Alston, Reverend J. Henry, 1704 Vera, Fort Worth, Texas
Third Episcopal District, C.M.E. Church, State of Texas

Anderson, Mrs. Rachel A., 77 Donelson Street, Nashville, Tennessee
A.M.E. Church

Beavers, Reverend E. Paul, 2104 Charlotte Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee
A.M.E. Church

Beckman, F. Woods, 5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville 39, Tennessee
Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Bertholf, Lynn W., P. O. Box 6068, Nashville, Tennessee
Tennessee League for Nursing

Brimm, Hugh A., 2801 Lexington Road, Louisville, Kentucky
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Kentucky Council of Human Relations

Bowen, H. A., 320 - 21st Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee
Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes

Bradley, Mrs. Elizabeth G., 331 East 83rd Street, New York 28, New York
Child Study Association of America

Butcher, Margaret, 1712 - 16th Street, Washington, D. C.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Carson, Loftus C., Box 62, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina
NAACP

Carter, Robert L., 2225 - 5th Avenue, New York City
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Clark, Kenneth B., 31 West 110th Street, New York, New York
City College -- New York

Collier, Mrs. A. B., 1701 Scovel Street, Nashville, Tennessee
A.M.E. Methodist Church

Colston, James A., 1605 Exeter Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee
Knoxville College; Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Crutcher, Reverend W. T., 611 Owen Street, Knoxville, Tennessee
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

Current, Gloster B., 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York
NAACP

Dinkins, Mrs. C. L., 3605 Batavia Street, Nashville, Tennessee
Nashville Branch, NAACP

Dinkins, Reverend Charles L., 3605 Batavia Street, Nashville, Tennessee
First Baptist Church of East Nashville; Nashville Branch, NAACP

Dombrowski, James A., 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Doyle, Bishop Bertram W., 1702 Heiman Street, Nashville, Tennessee
C. M. E. Church - Sixth District

Dutton, Benson L., 339 Arena Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee
National Technical Association

Elder, Morton T., P. O. Box 3821, Fairview Station, Birmingham, Alabama
Catholic Committee of the South; United Steelworkers of America

Fuson, Mrs. Marion D., 1815 Morena Street, Nashville, Tennessee
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

Fuson, Nelson, 1815 Morena Street, Nashville, Tennessee
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

Greene, Reverend Sherman L., Jr., 414 - 8th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee
A.M.E. Church, Board of Education

Greene, W. L., 125 East Hagett Street, Raleigh, North Carolina
North Carolina Teachers Association

Griffith, Mahlon J., 512 Arrington, Nashville, Tennessee
Nashville Branch, National Alliance of Postal Employees

Guernsey, George T., 718 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, D. C.
CIO, Education Department

Hamilton, Mrs. G. T., 582 University Place, NW, Atlanta, Georgia
Southern Regional Council; Atlanta Urban League

Harper, W. V., Tennessee A and I State University, Nashville, Tennessee
National Negro Business League

Harris, M. LaFayette, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas

Hatcher, Mrs. Lillian, 8000 East Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, UAW-CIO

Haynes, Reverend L. L., 313-21st Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee
St. Louis Area, Methodist Church

Hill, Mozell, 600 Beckwith Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia
Atlanta University

Hill, Mrs. Veronica B., 2607 Soniat, New Orleans, Louisiana
~~American Federation of Teachers~~

Holmgren, Mrs. Martha, 727 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois
United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO

Hope, John II, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
National Religion and Labor Foundation; Race Relations Department

Hurley, Mrs. Ruby, 624 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Alabama
NAACP

Johns, Mrs. Hellyn B., 917 - 15th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee
Southern Regional Director, Phi Delta Kappa Sorority

Johnson, Charles S., President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Director, Southwide Interorganization Conference

Johnson, Mrs. Guion G., 18 Westward Drive, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
North Carolina Woman's Council

Johnson, Guy B., Box 652, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Institute for Research in Social Science - University of North Carolina

Johnson, Robert B., Twenty South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Russell Sage Foundation

Key, Mrs. Florence B., 808 Ramsey, Nashville, Tennessee
A. M. E. Church

Kibler, L. R., 808 Butler Street, Shreveport, Louisiana
C. M. E. Temple Church

Kurke, N. H., 216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tennessee
CIO - Region IV

Lacy, L. H., 5630 Yale Boulevard, Dallas, Texas
Jobs Opportunity Project -- Dallas

Levin, Arthur J., 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Lewis, Hylan, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Atlanta University; Unitarian Service Committee

Long, Herman, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association

Lovejoy, Gordon W., Box 578, Guilford College, North Carolina
National Conference of Christians and Jews

Marshall, Thurgood, 107 - West 43rd Street, New York City
NAACP

Martin, Mrs. Hattie L., 1051 - 2nd Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee
African Methodist Episcopal Church

Masuoka, J., Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Department of Social Sciences

Martin, Mrs. Hattie L., 1051 - 2nd Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee
African Methodist Episcopal Church

McDaniel, Vernon, Box 338, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
NAACP, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

McPherson, J. Westbrook, 3584 Virgil Boulevard, New Orleans 22, Louisiana
Urban League of Greater New Orleans

Miller, A. C., 4500 Harpeth Hills, Nashville, Tennessee
Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention

Mitchell, E. C., 1331 Bernard Street, Atlanta, Georgia
A.M.E. Church of Georgia

Mitchell, George S., 63 Auburn, Atlanta, Georgia
Southern Regional Council

Noar, Gertrude, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Parrish, Charles H., 926 South 6th Street, Louisville, Kentucky
Southern Regional Council and Louisville Urban League--Committee on Desegregation

Puryear, M. T., 250 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia
National Urban League

Routh, Frederick B., 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia
Southern Regional Council; NAIRO

Satterfield, Lucile, 3730 Keowee, Apt. X, Knoxville, Tenne
Tennessee State Nurses' Association

Spearman, Alice N., 3315 Colin Kelly Drive, Columbia, South Carolina
South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Sweet, Reverend Henry B., 1852 Simpson Road, Atlanta, Georgia
Presbyterian Church, U.S., Board of Church Extension

Telfer, John H., Box 728, Atlanta 1, Georgia
United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO

Thompson, Charles H., Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Tilly, Mrs. M. E., 1013 Highland View, NE, Atlanta, Georgia
Southern Regional Council

Trent, W. J., Jr., 22 East 54th Street, New York, New York
United Negro College Fund

Trigg, Martelle D., 743 Polk Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee
Le Moyne College

Tydings, J. Mansir, 808 Starks Building, Louisville, Kentucky
Lincoln Foundation and Kentucky Council on Human Relations (SRC)

Valien, Mrs. Bonita H., 339 - 21st Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee
Southern Education Reporting Service

Valien, Preston, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Chairman, Department of Social Sciences

Van Loon, Thomas J., 902 South Wilson, Nashville, Tennessee
General Board of Education, Methodist Church

Van Til, William, 900 Tower Place, Nashville, Tennessee
Formerly Bureau for Intercultural Education

Wells, Guy H., 974 Los Angeles Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

Wilcox, Mrs. Virginia Randall, 1816 Lake, Knoxville, Tennessee
Fellowship House of Knoxville

Wills, Reverend W. Clark, 1709 Villa Place, Nashville, Tennessee
A.M.E. Church

Wolfe, James E., 312 Armory Place, Louisville, Kentucky
Department of Research and Education, Kentucky State Federation of Labor-AFL

Yokley, Raytha, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Department of Social Sciences

Young, Louise, 105 Cherokee Road, Nashville, Tennessee
United Church Women

Campbell, P. Clifford, 2519 Meharry Boulevard, Nashville, Tennessee
Ninth District, C.M.E. Church

Patterson, F. D., 101 Park Avenue, New York, New York
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Johnson, Joseph A., Sr., 321 - 15th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee
Ninth District, C.M.E. Church

Welch, Wilson, Jr., Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Department of Religion

January 24, 1955

Mr. James E. Wolfe
Director
Department of Research and Education
of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor
312 Armory Place
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Jimmy:

I thought that one of the most helpful suggestions that came out of the Fisk Conference was that labor people in local communities concern themselves more with the work of the PTAs.

As you were one of the principal labor people at the Conference, would you take that up with some of the head A.F. of L. people in Washington or elsewhere if you agree that it is a wise idea?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

January 24, 1955

TO: KS

I sold, at the Fisk University Southwide Inter-Organizational Conference on Establishing Democratic Patterns in Human Relations, about forty-three copies of Answers for Action. Two or three got away from me for free. Here's a check for $3.20, and cash for $4.35.

Expense account attached.

January 24, 1955

TO: HCF

A good many at the Fisk Conference deplored the absence of any kind of news about the doings of various organizations in this field in the South. I wonder whether New South could, at some stage, pick up such a service? Difficult to manage, and hard to keep other agencies from merely blowing their own horns. News, general program, personnel changes, publications, addresses.

GSM/eab

January 24, 1955

TO: GTH

I heard it said at the Fisk Conference that the national PTAs had adopted a statement on integration, favoring it. Do you think we could get a copy of the statement and make use of it to squeeze the local branches against that parent statement?

GSM/eab

January 24, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Fisk meeting did a great deal of good and we are all grateful to you for arranging it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

26 January 1955

JAN 28 1955

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Conference was, I think, a very effective and probably an historic one, and much of its success was due to your contribution and operating interest.

This is just a note of thanks to you for sharing your time and energy in this enterprise.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr

January 26, 1955

Dr. Chas. S. Johnson, Pres.
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I should like to thank you for convening the Southwide Interorganizational Conference at Fisk and I believe several worthwhile things came out of it. One, we had an opportunity to find out what were some of the resources available in the Southern area. Two, we had ample demonstration that there was a lack of communications among the organizations represented. Three, there was evidence once again that people who "plan in the North" are often unaware of the real situation in the South. Four, that the finality and completeness of the Supreme Court decision was established in the minds of people attending the Conference.

With you, I agree that education is an important function in this field and dare not be ignored. There is no magic push button which will overnight solve the problems we face no matter how earnestly we desire the change to take place. The usefulness of a "target date" is not the expectation that every school district in the South will meet such a dead-line but rather the setting of such a dead-line will speed the process and hasten the day when integration will be complete.

I have a feeling we talked a little bit too much about desegregation (a legal procedure) rather than integration (a social process). I do believe, however, that the overall effect of the Conference was both healthy and helpful and very much worthwhile.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Walnut 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 26, 1958

Miss Carolina A. Flexner
70 East 96th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Flexner:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed Annual Report of the Southern Regional Council.

We are most grateful for your friendship and help, and hope that the Council's record of performance merits your continuing confidence.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (SRC Annual Report, 1957)

Miss Flexner died Jan 20/58. Please remove her name from your mailing list.

RCF 3/7/58

✓ ask thru FBR

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC.
P. O. BOX 1211 — TELEPHONE 2-3033 — TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

June 24, 1958

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our latest publication Race Relations In The South by Dr. Rembert W. Patrick. If you know of any organizations or interested persons that would like to purchase these booklets please let me know. We have an ample aupply on hand.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert L. Porter

Gilbert L. Porter
Executive Secretary

/cdd

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enc: One

August 29, 1958

Mr. Melvene D. Hardee
Regional Commission on Student Personnel
Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Hardee:

In Mr. Fleming's absence, we are responding to your letter of the 20th. Accordingly, enclosed are several materials which may be of some help to you. I am sorry that this late date does not give us time to collect materials more specifically suited to your needs.

If we can be of assistance in the future, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

REGIONAL COMMISSION ON STUDENT PERSONNEL WORK

Sponsored by Southern College Personnel Association

Chairman
MELVENE DRAHEIM HARDEE
Florida State University
Tallahassee

August 20, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N/E,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am interested in materials available from your office which would assist me in preparing a speech to be given before the Virginia Teachers Association this fall. This group of some 7,000 persons who teach in the schools for colored children in the Commonwealth ask for an address bearing upon "teaching and the learning processes, the role of the teacher in interpreting the significant movements, the promotion of leadership in the South and the Nation, and the acceptance of responsibilities as citizens and community participants."

Dr. Robert Anderson of the Southern Regional Education Board has suggested that I poll you for significant materials which your office may have. (concerning the strides in the South, etc.)

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

MDHardee

Melvene D. Hardee

MDH/mr

March 31, 1959

Dr. Lewis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Lou:

It was good to talk with you the other day. I am sorry that you will not be available to work with the Consultant Service Program this spring in Louisiana and Florida. However, we are well aware that you are an extremely busy man and have other committments beyond your teaching load at FSU.

We have recently come across a newspaper article about a speech made by Frank H. Jackson of the Department of Economics at FSU. We have been in touch with Mr. Jackson who, unfortunately, is ill at the present time. This speech is to be published later, along with others done in the same series.

SRC is interested in preparing a number of articles, or perhaps a pamphlet, in the area of the costs of segregation, or the economic aspects of the desegregation controversy. What I would like to ask of you, Lou, is a confidential evaluation of Mr. Jackson's ability as a writer. Since he has already demonstrated an interest in this area, we have considered the possibility (unknown to him, and it should remain this way at the present time) of comissioning him to prepare a pamphlet of this type. Would you make discrete inquiry into his ability as a writer?

With warm personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Green + original to Lwd

March 16, 1960

Mr. Lewis M. Killian
Department of Sociology
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Killian:

Thank you for your letter of March 9 to Mr. Fleming. Since he is out of the office for the remainder of the week, his comments on the proposal will be somewhat delayed. However, as soon as he returns, I shall bring your letter and enclosures to his attention. I'm sure he will be writing you in regard to them as soon as is conveniently possible.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

April 8, 1960

Mr. Lewis Killian
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Lew:

Enclosed are the defense materials which we discussed at lunch today. Additional copies of any of the printed matter are available if needed.

If any of the attacks become specific and especially damaging, quote them for us and we'll tailor the materials accordingly.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

the pictures
7 chapels

Community B

September 1, 1961

Mr. Kermit C. Morrissey, Director
Florina Lasker Program in Civil
Liberties and Civil Rights
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Kermit:

I would be tempted to apply myself for one of your fellowships except for the same reason which makes it difficult for me to recommend anyone else. It is pretty hard for me to see capable people being able to take the time even though in the long run it would be good for them to do so. I am going to ask, however, that you let me have the privilege of writing to you later if I get a good idea.

I am glad you are at Brandeis. I've wondered what you might be doing since Governor Furcolo's term ended.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

P.S.
Could you have your secretary send me a copy of whatever she regards as the best photograph of your three chapels? I remember seeing a good picture in your catalog.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

nomination?

JM ✓

PAV interested

ML ✓

PR ✓

CHP ✓

LWD

Harry Jones
Kay Jones
Frances Pauley

No suggestions - but doubt that state C&R directors can take the time at this point - PA

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 20, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the next five months, applications for Fellowships sponsored by the Florina Lasker Program in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights will be processed, and at least six individuals will be selected to come to the campus during the second semester of the next academic year. I am anxious that the maximum number of well-qualified individuals apply during this period, and this is to request your assistance in directing my attention to qualified individuals.

To be eligible, applicants must have had two years experience, either directly or indirectly engaged in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties, to include community relations councils, Federal, state and municipal agencies devoted to the protection of civil rights, inter-group agencies, etc., or be engaged in these problems by virtue of location or other circumstances. This might include, for example, state and local police, clergy, educators, city planners and managers, journalists, or a legal counsel to a local legislative group or a state legislature. In addition to experience, the applicant must secure consent from his employer for a leave of absence for approximately fourteen weeks during Brandeis University's Spring term in 1962.

The Fellowship stipend is $2,000, tax exempt, and the amount has been determined on the basis of a survey indicating that it is reasonable to assume that the applicant's parent organization will, in many instances, supplement this amount in whole or in part, or will make vacation time available.

Additional detailed information will be provided to any applicant, and your suggestions are courteously requested for the coming academic year.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

Kermit C. Morrissey

Kermit C. Morrissey, Director
Florina Lasker Program in Civil
Liberties and Civil Rights

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

KCM/dd

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC.
P. O. BOX 1211 — TELEPHONE 2-3033 — TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

July 27, 1958

Dear Mr. Routh:

Acknowledgement is made of your letter of July 16, 1958, regarding the order that you requested that we send to Mr. Arnold Aronson. Please be advised that we have complied with your request. Allow me to thank you for same.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert L. Porter

Gilbert L. Porter
Executive Secretary

/cdd

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 10, 1962

Professor Russell Middleton
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Professor Middleton:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your article on the recruitment of academic staff in Southern colleges which I have finally been able to read. It was a very interesting piece of work, and I am very glad to have it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file US/research

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

December 22, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Tom Pettigrew has suggested that you might be interested in a paper that I recently published dealing with the effect of racial problems upon the recruitment of college professors at colleges and universities in the South. I am enclosing a copy of the paper.

I have just about exhausted my supply of reprints, but if you wished to secure additional copies, the Anti-Defamation League could probably supply them. They ordered a large supply directly from the printer in order to disseminate the article in circles which generally do not see the American Sociological Review.

Sincerely yours,

Russell Middleton

Russell Middleton
Associate Professor of Sociology

Flanner House of Indianapolis

333 West 16th Street Zone 2 MElrose 5-7586

DONALD B. FOBES, *President* CLEO W. BLACKBURN, *Executive Director*

BP

Please write & tell him you'd like

August 24, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I was most pleased to listen to your excellent presentation at the Fisk University Race Relations Institute. Your fine organization is doing much to bring order into a very complex area of human relations.

OK
BP

Kindly place me on the mailing list of Southern Regional Council.

Best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph T. Taylor

Joseph T. Taylor
Director, Program Development

JTT:hh

N

INSIDE:

- *The Relevance of Religion—5*
- *Ohio Legislature: What's Next?—6*
- *The Nation's Need for Leaders—7*
- *A Provocative View of China—10*

WRFD

THE COMMENTATOR

PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY BY THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT OF WRFD RADIO • COLUMBUS-WORTHINGTON, OHIO

January 21, 1966/15 cents

From A to Z

By ABE ZAIDAN

Civic Goals

THE CRISIS of the American city, news analyst Edward P. Morgan commented recently, will be the nation's number one domestic problem of 1966. The dimensions of this crisis can be measured from the chaos of the recent transit strike in New York City, or the explosion of Watts, to having to wait in a long line for an ice cream cone at the neighborhood dairy store.

Although New York City's bright and ambitious Mayor Lindsay would be the first to deny it, some pessimistic observers have already written off his city as beyond any dream of salvation. But other American cities aren't far behind New York City's miseries. A staggering number of people are dangerously inflating metropolitan areas from coast to coast.

In a recent *Saturday Review*, which devoted a special issue to the problems of the city, Ralph Lazarus, president of Federated Department Stores, Inc., noted that by 1985, about 180 million people will be stuffed into America's 216 cities. The figure is even more significant in view of the fact that it represents the total number of people living in the U.S. just five years ago.

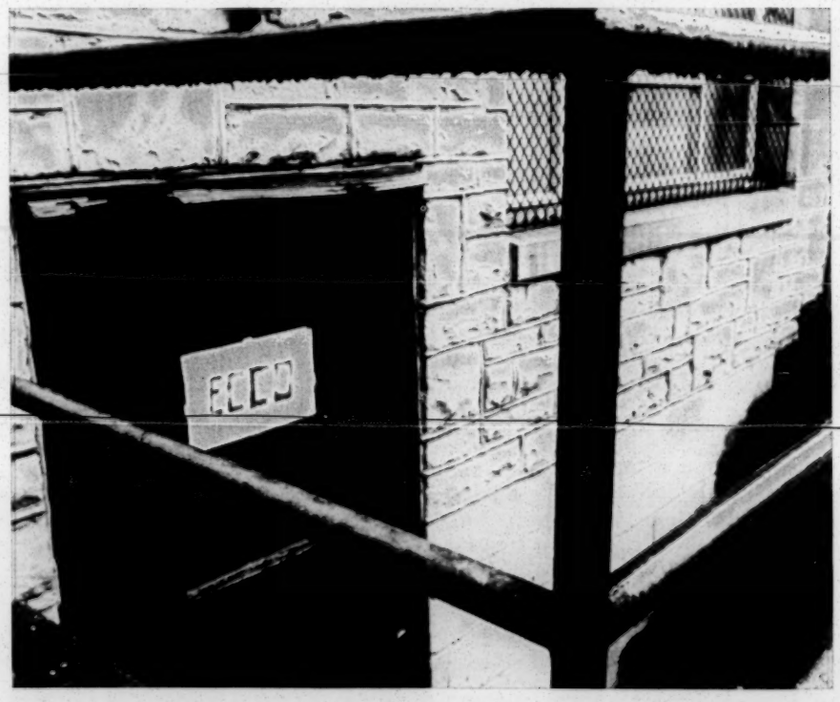
But Lazarus also believes that something can still be done to head off metropolitan catastrophe. "There has been no time when we have been as ready and able to tackle the task of improving our metropolitan areas by plan," he writes. "With the gross national product rising at a rate of nearly $50 billion a year—or $250 per per-

(Continued on page 14)

'Grassroots Self-Government'

When People Decide To Help Themselves

(See page 2)



- C O P Y -

90th CONGRESS
1st Session S. 1433

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 5, 1967

Mr. Ribicoff introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency

---

A BILL

To encourage and assist in the formation of local organizations by residents of urban neighborhoods for the purpose of improving the physical, economic, and social conditions prevailing in such neighborhoods.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Neighborhood Develop-
4 ment Corporation Assistance Act".

5 POLICY AND PURPOSE

6 SEC. 3. The Congress finds that citizen-based neighbor-
7 hood organizations must play a vital role in assisting elected
8 and appointed officials to effectively deal with community
9 development needs. Citizen involvement at the neighbor-

1 hood level must develop to determine community needs,
2 mobilize the human resources of the neighborhood, and co-
3 ordinate them with public and private resources for effective
4 and acceptable community development efforts. The Con-
5 gress finds that such acceptability on the neighborhood level
6 is essential for successful development programs.
7 Congress therefore declares that the Neighborhood De-
8 velopment Corporation, as described herein, provides the
9 framework for neighborhood involvement to achieve the
10 above-stated purposes. Citizenship participation within such
11 legally constituted neighborhood corporations will create for
12 the individual a new self-image as a responsible decision-
13 making citizen and member of the community, it will enable
14 the inhabitants of the neighborhood to determine their needs
15 and come to a corporate decision to take initiatives in ob-
16 taining desired projects and carrying out responsibilities
17 assumed under them, and it will foster coordination of all
18 development projects into a viable system for efficient com-
19 munity development.
20 DEFINITIONS
21 SEC. 3. As used in this Act ---
22 (1) The term "neighborhood development corporation"
23 means a public or private nonprofit corporation (A) orga-
24 nized under State or local law by the residents of an urban
25 neighborhood for the purpose of developing and carrying out

1 programs for improving the physical, economic, and social
2 conditions prevailing in such neighborhood, and (B) under
3 the charter and bylaws of which each resident of such
4 neighborhood is assured of an equal opportunity to participate
5 (i) in the election of officers of, and a governing board for,
6 such corporation, and (ii) in the programs and activities of
7 such corporation.
8 (2) The term "urban neighborhood" means a part or
9 section of a built-up urban area which is characterized by a
10 similarity in the social and cultural patterns, or economic in-
11 terests, of the persons residing in such part of section, and the
12 boundaries of which are so defined as to include not less than
13 one thousand five hundred of more than fifty thousand resi-
14 dents.
15 (3) The term "State" means any of the several States
16 of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Common-
17 wealth of Puerto Rico, and any of the possessions of
18 the United States.
19 (4) The term "Director" means the Director of the
20 Office of Economic Opportunity.
21 FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
22 SEC. 4. (a) The Director is authorized --
23 (1) to undertake such activities as he determines
24 to be desirable to assist the residents of urban neigh-

1 borhoods in organizing neighborhood development co-
2 porations; and
3 (2) to make grants to, or to contract with, any
4 such corporation to pay for a period not exceeding two
5 years the operating expenses (including salaries and
6 other administrative costs) reasonably required by such
7 corporation in developing and carrying out its programs.
8 (b) Assistance under this section shall be granted under
9 such rules and regulations as the Director shall prescribe to
10 insure that such assistance is utilized in furtherance of the
11 purposes of this Act.
12 (c) To provide assistance under this section, there is
13 authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $30,000,000 for
14 any fiscal year commencing after June 30, 1967. Any sums
15 so appropriated shall remain available until expended.
16 REPORTS AND INVESTIGATIONS
17 SEC. 5. (a) Within six months after the date of enact-
18 ment of this Act, the Director shall report to the President
19 and to the Congress his recommendations with respect to
20 any legislation which should be enacted in order to enable
21 neighborhood development corporations to qualify for Fede-
22 deral assistance in carrying out their programs in urban neigh-
23 borhoods for improving housing conditions, increasing em-
24 ployment and business opportunities, expanding worker
25 productivity through job training and education, and other-

1 wise bettering the working and living conditions to residents
2 of such neighborhoods in furtherance of the purposes of this
3 Act.
4 (b) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Develop-
5 ment, in cooperation with the Secretaries of Commerce,
6 Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare and the Director
7 shall conduct a study and investigation of the most practi-
8 cable ways to coordinate the activities of neighborhood de-
9 velopment corporations with federally assisted programs and
10 activities for improving housing conditions, increasing em-
11 ployment and business opportunities, expanding worker
12 productivity through job training and education. Within
13 eight months after the enactment of this Act, the Secretary
14 of Housing and Urban Development shall report to the
15 President and to the Congress the results of such study and
16 investigation together with such recommendations as he de-
17 termines will contribute to carrying out the purposes of this
18 Act.
19 (c) The Director shall transmit to the President and to
20 the Congress annually a comprehensive and detailed report
21 concerning his activities and functions under this Act.

File "gen."

Virginia Theological Seminary
Seminary Road
Alexandria, Virginia
June 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am delighted that you will be willing to see me some time in the afternoon of June 28th, in regard to the Bill, S. 1433, and the enclosed material, which you will find. I would like to consult you and get your advice as to possible support for this measure in southern communities and feel sure that your knowledge and experience will be beneficial. You will see that this measure calls for a form of neighborhood organization which meets the principle of maximum participation of the poor in achieving those goals which the anti-poverty programs strive towards. The Bill will be heard before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in July or August, and, thus, any support which we might raise in southern communities might affect Senator Sparkman's attitude towards the Bill.

I would be very interested in exploring with you what effect this proposal might have on existing community action programs in southern cities. I am very grateful that my friend, Charles Morgan, was able to contact you and I will call you from the airport on Wednesday morning to find out what time you will be able to see me.

Yours sincerely,

John C. Fletcher
Esq.

John C. Fletcher

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF
EAST CENTRAL CITIZENS ORGANIZATION (ECCO)

The undersigned, a majority of whom are citizens of the United States, desiring to form a corporation, not for profit, under Sections 107.01 et seq., Revised Code of Ohio, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be EAST CENTRAL CITIZENS ORGANIZATION (ECCO).

SECOND. The place in Ohio where the principal office of the corporation is to be located is Columbus, Franklin County.

THIRD. The purposes for which said corporation is formed are:

To operate exclusively for charitable, scientific and educational purposes.

To put into action the good will of those who live and work in the Neighborhood.

To assist public and private agencies which seek to promote the welfare of the Neighborhood and its inhabitants.

To expand opportunities for, and benefits from, good education, good health, safety, human rights, economic security and democratic self-government among the Members of the Corporation.

FOURTH. The Corporation shall have power to exercise power or authority granted to it under Sections 1702.01 et seq., Revised Code of Ohio, or otherwise, including but not limited to the power to accept donations of money or property, whether real or personal, or any interest therein, wherever situated.

FIFTH. In all events and under all circumstances, and notwithstanding merger, consolidation, reorganization, termination, dissolution, or winding up of this Corporation, voluntary or involuntary or by operation of law, or any other provisions hereof, the following provisions shall apply:

Section 1. This Corporation shall not have or exercise any power or authority either expressly, by interpretation or by operation of law, nor shall it directly or indirectly engage in any activity, that would prevent this Corporation from qualifying (and continuing to qualify) as a corporation described in Section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, contributions to which are deductible for federal income tax purposes.

Section 2. No substantial part of the activities of this Corporation shall consist of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation; nor shall it in any manner or to any extent participate in or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office; nor shall it engage in any activities that are unlawful under the laws of the United States of America, or Ohio, or any other jurisdiction where such activities are carried on; nor shall it engage in any transaction defined at the time as "prohibited" under Section 503 of the said Code.

Section 3. This Corporation shall never be operated for the primary purpose of carrying on a trade or business for profit. Neither the whole, nor any part or portion, of the assets or net earnings of this Corporation shall be used, nor shall this Corporation ever be organized or operated, for purposes that are not exclusively charitable, scientific, or educational within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

Section 4. No compensation of payment shall ever be paid or made to any officer, director, trustee, creator, or organizer of this Corporation, or substantial contributor to it, except as a reasonable allowance for actual expenditures or services actually made or rendered to or for this Corporation; and neither the whole nor any part or portion of the assets or net earnings, current or accumulated, of this Corporation shall ever be distributed to or divided among any such person; provided, further, that neither the whole nor any part or portion of such assets or net earnings shall ever be used for, accrue to, or inure to the benefit of any member or private individual within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

Section 5. In the event of termination, dissolution or winding up of this Corporation in any manner or for any reason whatsoever, its remaining assets, if any, shall be distributed to (and only to) one or more organizations described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

Section 6. Any references herein to any provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 shall be deemed to mean such provision as now or hereafter existing, amended, supplemented, or superseded, as the case may be.

Section 7. The private property of the members of The Executive Council, and officers of the Corporation shall not be subject to payment of corporate debts to any extent whatsoever.

SIXTH. Section 1. Articles Eight through Ten hereof shall come into effect March 1, 1966; provided that such Articles may become effective prior to March 1, 1966 by amendment to these Articles duly filed with the Secretary of State of Ohio.

Section 2. Prior to the effective date of Articles Eight through Ten hereof the powers of the Corporation shall be vested in the Board of Trustees of the Corporation, hereinafter called the Executive Council, consisting initially of persons with the following names and address:

Wilbur Taylor	2277 Nayland Road	Columbus, Ohio
Clifford Tyree	1066 Lilley Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Samuel Daykin	6560 Worthinton-Galena Road	Columbus, Ohio
Leopold Bernhard	305 Cassady Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Linwood Walker	1430 Bryden Road	Columbus, Ohio
Howard Spiller	211 South Wayne Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Rufus Linville	427 S. 17th Street	Columbus, Ohio
Herbert Docken	2071 Argyle Drive	Columbus, Ohio
Helen Bowers	707 Sheridan	Columbus, Ohio
LaVerne Love	823 E. Mound Street	Columbus, Ohio
Milo M. Billman	386 Berkeley Road	Columbus, Ohio
Hilda Ellison	1080 McAllister Avenue	Columbus, Ohio
Myrtle Haynes	953 E. Rich Street	Columbus, Ohio
Willis Whaley	739 E. Mount Street	Columbus, Ohio

Section 3. Any vacancies in the Executive Council prior to the adoption of Articles Eight through Ten hereof shall be filed by affirmative majority vote of the then members of the Executive Council.

SEVENTH. Section 1. Eligibility for membership in the Corporation shall extend to all residents 16 years of age or over in an area bounded by: West-Parsons Avenue; North-Bryden Road to Ohio Avenue to Main Street to Kimball Place Avenue; East-Kimball Place Avenue, and South - the east expressway, herein called the Neighborhood; to all who have regular employment in the Neighborhood or are employed by the Corporation; and to all others who support or participate in the activities of the Corporation or who are duly elected by the Neighborhood Assembly; all as provided for more specifically in the By-Laws.

Section 2. All those eligible for membership who have signed the Roster, and who have met such other conditions of membership as are provided in the By-Laws, shall be Members of the Corporation.

Section 3. The rights and privileges of membership shall be as set forth herein and in the By-Laws.

EIGHTH. Section 1. The Neighborhood Assembly shall consist of all Members of the Corporation.

Section 2. Consistent with the purposes of the Corporation, the powers of the Neighborhood Assembly shall include the power to investigate the problems and needs of the Neighborhood; to examine and evaluate the programs of the Corporation; to bring before its Members all matters of general concern; to debate various proposals put forth to promote the best interest of the Neighborhood; to adopt resolutions expressing the sense of the Assembly on topics of Neighborhood interest and concer; to elect the members of the Executive Council and the Chairman thereof from such members; to enlarge but not diminish the area of the Neighborhood; to authorize the objectives of policies and programs of the Corporation; to fix reasonable rates of compensation for attendance at meetings of the Assembly; to terminate programs previously initiated by the Executive Council; to adopt and amend the By-Laws; to amend the Articles of Incorporation; and to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, the Executive Director or any other officer of the Corporation, for cause.

Section 3. The powers of the Neighborhood Assembly shall be exercised in accordance with procedures set forth in the By-Laws.

Section 4. In every instance, a majority of those present and voting shall be required to exercise the powers of the Neighborhood Assembly; provided, however, that in votes to amend the Articles of Incorporation, to remove a person from office, or to reinstate rates of compensation for attendance at meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly disapproved by the Executive Council, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall be necessary and notice of the impending vote shall have been given to all Members at least 10 days prior to such voting; and provided further that in the event the By-Laws provide for amendments thereof by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting, such provision shall govern.

Section 5. The Assembly shall meet at least annually and shall hold such special meetings as are called by the Executive Council, or by the Members of the Corporation, as provided in the By-Laws. Notice to all Members shall be given at least ten days prior to all meetings. Ten percent of all Members shall constitute a quorum unless a larger quorum is called for in the By-Laws. If no quorum is present at any meeting discussion and debate may be allowed and advisory resolutions voted on, but no act binding on the Corporation or on its Members may be passed, and all business, including elections, shall be held over until the next meeting, with Council members continuing in office.

Section 6. Whenever notice is required hereunder, it shall be given in the manner set forth in the By-Laws.

NINTH. Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of at least 10, but not more than 30, Members of the Corporation elected by the Neighborhood Assembly as provided in the By-Laws.

Section 2. The President of the Executive Council shall be selected by such procedures as are set forth in the By-Laws. It shall thereafter meet from time to time at the call of the President, or upon written request of one-third of its members, provided all members have been notified.

Section 3. Any vacancies in the Executive Council shall be filled as provided in the By-Laws.

Section 4. Consistent with the purposes of the Corporation, the powers of the Executive Council shall include the power to represent the Corporation in all matters; to make investigations to perform the ongoing administration of the Corporation; to initiate programs and policies, and to execute programs and policies authorized by the Neighborhood Assembly; to fix reasonable rates of compensation for attendance of meetings of the Executive Council and for such other duties as members of the Council shall perform; to fix reasonable rates of compensation for the Executive Director and other officers, employees, and consultants of the Corporations; to disapprove rates of compensation for attendance at meetings of the Neighborhood Assembly subject to reinstatement of such rates by a two-thirds majority of the Neighborhood Assembly as provided in Article Eight, Section 4, hereof; to appoint the officers of the Corporation, including, but not limited to, the Executive Director, the Secretary, the Corporation Counsel, and the Treasurer; and to exercise all powers vested in the Corporation by Article 4 hereof to the extent such powers have not been granted to the Neighborhood Assembly and to the Executive Director by Articles 8 and 10 hereof, respectively.

Section 5. The Executive Council may appoint an Advisory Council of such membership and for such terms and to render such advice as the Executive Council shall determine.

Section 6. The Executive Council may appoint standing and special committees, on each of which at least two Council members shall serve. The Council may appoint others to these committees, not limited to Members of the Corporation.

Section 7. The Executive Council may delegate its powers,

or any of them, to the Executive Director, ro any other officer of the Corporation or to any committee appointed under Section 6 of this Article; provided it shall have veto power over any committee action of policy, shall have the right to review the exercise of all delegated powers and to revoke powers previously delegated.

Section 8. The Executive Council shall report at least annually to the Neighborhood Assembly on the affairs of the Corporation.

Section 9. The Executive Council shall submit the Articles of Incorporation for reconsideration and reapproval by the Neighborhood Assembly at least once every four years; provided that such Articles shall continue in full force and effect unless and until amended by two-thirds vote of the members of the Neighborhood Assembly present and voting, as provided in Article Eight, Section 4, hereof.

Memos - HCF
FBR

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: Essay on Information for Quarterly Report

The State of Public Opinion

Few people who read the newspapers doubt that the "climate of opinion" with respect to desegregation has worsened in the South -- and for that matter in the whole country. It is commonly assumed that this negativism (or defeatism in the case of integrationists) is the result of a spontaneous grass-roots rebellion against the Supreme Court's edict. This is a big -- and unhelpful -- oversimplification. True, a majority of white Southerners, if they had their ruthers, would prefer segregation; true the raw material of prejudice and anxiety is plentiful in the white South; true, the South has, as always, a fanatical fringe ready to seize on an excuse for violence.

But none of this means that what happened was inevitable, or that there need be a lot more of it from now on. The neglected factor is leadership. As Louisville School Superintendent Carmichael pointed out on "Face the Nation," if Virginia had had the right kind of leadership, Richmond could have done what Louisville has done.

There needs to be much more thoughtful consideration of how "climates of opinion" are formed. Generally speaking, rank-and-file people take their cues from those in positions of authority, influence, and power: public officials, top political figures, preachers, educators, newspaper editors, business and industrial leaders, and so on. Nor is the Southern "climate" purely a result of Southern opinion leadership. National prestige figures

and nation-wide mass media are also potent. (For evidence, consider the expensive and extensive efforts of Southern segregationists to project their viewpoint to the "North.")

There also needs to be more recognition of the complexity of opinion and attitude on race. Most people hold no simple, single-minded, coherent opinion on the subject; rather they have a number of vague, shifting, often contradictory notions of what their position should be. For example, I think it is safe to say that most white Southerners believe (1) that segregation is "best for both races"; (2) that the law should be respected; (3) that the public schools should be preserved; (4) that the Negro should have an "equal chance"; (5) that the South shouldn't appear benighted and bigoted to "outsiders"; (6) that Negroes don't want integration; (7) that Negroes will "take advantage" of whites under integration. This list of "beliefs" for any given individual could be greatly extended. What passes as public opinion at any given time reflects the depth, intensity, and balance of the various notions at the moment. And this, in turn, depends on how the situation is defined by those whose words are regarded as authoritative.

SRC's Information Program

Over the years, SRC has tried to exert a favorable influence on the balance between positive and negative elements in Southern public opinion. We haven't been so arrogant as to assume that we could alone have much effect on so vast a problem. And, as the challenge grows, we are even more convinced that simply dealing with the press and other public media ourselves is only a small part of our task. As an agency working and thinking full-time about

Southern race relations, we can usefully "cue" journalists, other agencies, and key individuals to effective opinion approaches. We have been doing some of this job, but we could and should do considerably more. The methods we are now using are generally sound, as far as they go; they can be quickly characterized as follows:

(1) Press relations. One of our strongest assets is such reputation as we have achieved for being a reliable center of information and interpretation for newspapermen and other writers. By supplying honest facts and analysis, rather than "loaded" propaganda, we can reach individuals whose writings reach millions.

(2) Television. Here is a medium on which we need to concentrate more of our thought and effort. A certain amount can be done through direct approaches to local TV stations. But because of the unusual sensitivity of television to the perils of "controversy," the local approach is severely limited in the areas of greatest need. In this respect, the centralization of the TV industry is an asset. Network programs that reach into every corner of the South are conceived and executed in New York and Los Angeles. We would be short-sighted indeed if we did not find more ways to develop our stake in nationally originated TV treatments of race relations.

(3) Publications. The SRC has never gone in for random or "shotgun" pamphleteering, and the present situation encourages this approach less than ever. Rather, we need to do an even more effective "rifleshot" job with our publications -- that is, putting the right material into the hands of the right people. We have fairly consistently sought to develop special articles, pamphlets, and leaflets that would carry weight with opinion makers in various interest groups -- religious, economic, journalistic, educational, professional, and the like. Our greatest need in this area is to improve and

extend our channels of distribution.

(4) Special Fact-Finding. This should be distinguished from "research" (in both its academic and its popular usage) which has fallen into disrepute among action-minded people as being an abstract art. Our object is to assemble - and disseminate - specific bodies of fact that (a) make possible a diagnosis of practical problems and (b) point the way to effective remedies. Thus we seek to document recent Southern industrialization as a basis for persuasive economic arguments for desegregation - arguments that will command respect from economic leadership. Similarly we document the status of Negro voters in the South in order to focus attention on this vital key to progress and to guide the shaping of national policies to protect the ballot. In the case of the desegregation study, our aim was to contribute to a revival of confidence in the inevitability and workability of integration. The possibilities and effectiveness of this kind of strategic fact-finding are very great, provided we do an adequate job of disseminating the findings.

(5) Clearinghouse. The SRC is looked to by a host of organizations and key individuals for counsel. By giving this function more staff time and skill we can greatly increase the outreach of SRC's information and insights. In this way we can enlarge our contribution to the effort to bring all of the nation's positive resources to bear on the urgent domestic problems of segregation and discrimination.

HCF:mbo

COPY

January 15, 1957

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Plans for the dinner honoring Dr. Mitchell are progressing. Invitations to some 60 people (including SRC Executive Committee and local Board members) are going out today. All members of the staff will be invited as well. I have talked with Ralph McGill, who expects to be there and will make some remarks. We are also taking care of the matter of a tangible expression of esteem.

I am assuming that you will be prepared to serve as Emcee and to make some remarks on your own. Please send us your suggestions as to other spokesmen or other aspects of the occasion.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

file under HCF

+ ~~SRC~~ +

Conference - Jan 18th Friday
H.C.F. - C.H.P. - F.B.R.

1. Review of Staff organizational chart - ok by consensus -
2. Review of new job descriptions - ok by consensus -
3. Review of Staff salaries - ok by consensus -

~~SRC~~
S.R.C.

~~S~~ RC - Conf. Jan 21 - Mon. HCF - CHP - SHE - FBR

1. Review of staff organizational chart - divided into 3 functional areas.
2. Review of job descriptions - ok by consensus -
3. Review of Exec. Com. agenda.

HCF

Hotel Roosevelt

NEW YORK

Sun.

Dear Freddie -

Yet another dropped stitch - or dropped shoe! In all the confusion, I went off & left a pair of shoes (to be dyed) at the place on Auburn. The claim check's enclosed. If you get a chance, will you pick them up & let me reimburse you next week? I promise not to inflict any further shoe problems on you.

Had a good two hours with Ed Lukas Fri. night. We

covered the situation in detail, with the help of a few very dry ones, and he promised to set up some talks with various Rosenwalds + others if they're in town. He must have managed something since I have a message to call him. (He's out just now.)

Also talked to Geo. L. P. Weaver at the ALES conf. yesterday. He was friendly + expressed himself as willing to help, though I'm not sure anything immediate will come of it.

The conf. went off all right, exhausting as it was. Emory's been hustling around

relating to people at a great rate. I've left it to him to adjourn the thing this morning while I gather my strength for the big-game hunt.

I'll probably be talking with you soon after you get this. Best to all the faithful workers on the home front. Let all be of good cheer + tell Paul to keep salivating.

Yrs.

H.

Ret to PA

February 21, 1967

Mr. L. I. Alexander, President
Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville
303 N. Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Thank you for the information in your letter of February 20.

My travel schedule remains uncertain but very likely I will be arriving in Jacksonville the late afternoon of March 10th and leaving sometime after the dinner. I will be traveling alone.

Again, I look forward to being with you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE
303 N. MARKET STREET
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202
(Affiliated with the Florida Council on Human Relations)

Telephone:
353-0065

February 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The meeting place for our second annual banquet is the Mayflower Hotel Ballroom, and the time, 7:30 o'clock. We have just started our ticket sale, so have nothing at all definite to report so far as anticipated attendance is concerned. We hope for at least one hundred.

We look forward with real pleasure to having you as our guest speaker, with the subject "Race Relations in the South - 1967." We would be delighted if Mrs. Anthony can accompany you.

Sincerely yours,

L. I. Alexander

L. I. Alexander
President

P.S. The date is March 10th, of course.

File
Jax. Fla. Council
cr. ref
PA Speaking Engagements

March 22, 1967

Mr. L. I. Alexander
President
Human Relations Council of Greater
Jacksonville
303 N. Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Thank you for your gracious letter. Being with you in Jacksonville was my pleasure and I thoroughly enjoyed it.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE

AFFILIATED WITH THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

303 N. MARKET STREET, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202 TELEPHONE 353-0065

March 16, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Words cannot adequately express our appreciation for your presence and inspiration given to our Human Relations Council and friends who attended, at the banquet on March 10th. Thank you. We feel that the affair was a real success. The attendance surpassed our anticipation, and we realized a tidy sum in excess of our expenses. The affair gave us a much needed lift, both financially and spiritually.

The newspaper gave us a nice write-up on the following day, and we received from them a generous check toward our expenses.

I am returning the newspaper mat, herewith.

Cordially yours,

L. I. Alexander

L. I. Alexander
President

February 24, 1967

Mrs. Frank T. Roberts
Office Secretary
Human Relations Council of Greater
Jacksonville
303 N. Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

As you requested in your letter of yesterday, I am enclosing a biographical data sheet and a glossy print for Mr. Anthony. When you have made use of the print, please see that it is returned to us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE
303 N. MARKET STREET
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202
(Affiliated with the Florida Council on Human Relations)

Telephone:
353-0065

February 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Plans for our banquet on March 10 are progressing nicely. We are pushing the ticket sales, and are looking forward to a fine attendance. The Urban League held its annual banquet this past Monday night, and had an attendance of about 600. The regional director of HEW was their speaker, and he did a wonderful job, I understand.

Please send us as soon as possible some biographical data concerning yourself that we may use in our publicity, including a newspaper mat.

Cordially yours,

Myra A Roberts

Mrs. Frank T. Roberts
Office Secretary

Jacksonville Council
(Jim Alexander's
Feb. 20 ltr +
attach)

green cc
+ orig letter
add to PA

February 21, 1967

354-7111 (U.S. Ct 20 & admin)
x603

Mr. L. I. Alexander, President
Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville
303 N. Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

353-0065

355-7621 Mayflower Hotel
7:30

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Thank you for the information in your letter of February 20.

~~Leo. Wash.~~
~~Hotel~~

My travel schedule remains uncertain but very likely I will be arriving in Jacksonville the late afternoon of March 10th and leaving sometime after the dinner. I will be traveling alone.

Again, I look forward to being with you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Bring up March 1, 1967
File Jacksonville Council

January 31, 1967

Mrs. Frank T. Roberts
Office Secretary
Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville
303 N. Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

Please do let me know the meeting place for the March 10 dinner. The subject of my speech will be "Race Relations in the South - 1967".

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE
303 N. MARKET STREET
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202
(Affiliated with the Florida Council on Human Relations)

Telephone:
353-0065

January 26, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of January 23d.

Mr. Alexander is out of the city, but I am sure he will be delighted to know that you will be our speaker on March 10th. As soon as he returns to the city we will decide on the place of holding our banquet, and let you know.

Please let us have your subject as soon as possible that we may use it in our publicity.

Sincerely yours,

Myra C Roberts

Mrs. Frank T. Roberts
Office Secretary

Bring up March 1

January 23, 1967

Mr. L. I. Alexander, President
Human Relations Council of Greater
Jacksonville
303 N. Market Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mr. Alexander

Thank you for the invitation to speak at your annual meeting on March 10th. I am pleased to accept and look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

SS - what think you?

PA

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE
303 N. MARKET STREET
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202
(Affiliated with the Florida Council on Human Relations)

Telephone:
353-0065

January 19, 1967

→ MJ - files

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville is planning its annual meeting for Friday evening, March 10, 1967, which will be in the form of a banquet. We are trying to serve a dual purpose by providing our community witha good program and raising some money for the promotion of our chapter.

Our entire Board feels that no person is more knowledgeable about our program and the need for its support than you. Our Board has authorized me to ask if you would be kind enough to serve as our speaker for this occasion on the above date. It will be an evening affair.

Your favorable response to this request will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

L. I. Alexander

L. I. Alexander
President

March 31, 1967

Mr. Jose' Davila
Avenida 31 Mo. 4427 e/ 44 y 46
Apt. 1, Almendares, Marianas
La Habana, Cuba

Dear Mr. Davila:

Your letter to Dr. Mitchell was received this morning. I am sorry to inform you that Dr. Mitchell is now deceased. We do not know if we can be of any assistance to you, but we are presently conducting an investigation.

We certainly hope that you will be able to make your trip soon.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

File
Fla. Council

March 31, 1967

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 N. W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33147

Dear Auggie:

The attached letter is self-explanatory. Would you please check with HEW's Cuban Refugee Emergency Center and see if you can find the status of these people and if there is any possible way we can assist them?

Thanks.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosure

From: J. Dávila
Ave. 31 nº 4429 e/ 44 y 46,
Apt 1, Almendares, Marianao,
La Habana.
Cuba

Habana, March 3 / 1967.

Mr. George D. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia.
USA.

Dear friend Mr. Mitchell:

On 1965, when the United State's government and Cuba's government, signed, through Habana's Swiss Embassy, the treaty of the "Freedom Airlift", we were reclamated across it.

Since that date, the last days of the year 1965, my wife and myself have no work. We are despers waiting this journey.

Details of our own case:

Sponsor on the United States:

Mr. Laudijmiro José Nilurcio Hernández Rodríguez

Actual Address: 155 Butler Street corner to Sparrow,

Paterson, New Jersey, USA.

P.O. Box Nº 1759 in that town.

Telephone number: Codigo 201-279-6727.

Address in the moment of the reclamation:

181 Montgomery Place, Paterson, New Jersey. USA.

Persons on Cuba reclamated by him:

a) Berta Amalia Margarita Arpenteros García

(aunt of Mr. Hernández)

b) Gardenia Berta Gil Llanes

(niece of Mr. Hernández)

c) José Francisco Dávila Pascual
(nephew of Mr. Hernández)

The number of our nucleo to this journey by Cuba's Ministry of the Interior is: 131, 321. We were "interviewed" here by this Ministry on December 10 of 1966.

Yesterday, reading an old book I meet your institution. Suddenly I had an idea: If I write to Southern Council, I might have his valious help to our journey. It is an unusual matter, but we are desperes. Perhaps an action to you on the Refugee Center in Miami, help us in our purpose.

I am sorry to give you so much

trouble about our affair, but we are desper,
dear Mr. Mitchell.

Sincerely yours.
José Dávila

Address: Avenida 31 Nº 4427 e/ 44 y 46,
Apt 1, Almendares, Marianao,
La Habana, Cuba.

P.S: We never forget, all our lives, Mr. Mitchell
the help of "Southern Regional Council"
and your.

Jim Wood

Jim:
what in the world can
we do! you might
discuss with Ed re Fla Cuba

Paul

Call Federal Information Center - 526-6891 - or perhaps
Passport Information (Old Post Office Bldg) - 526-6887 -
to find out what the rules are and what the hang-ups
might be. Lack of plane fare? Too far down the
waiting list? It might be necessary to call their
sponsor in Patterson to ask what, if any, assistance
can be given. Then, if indicated, we can
ask Augie in Miami to work through the
Refugee Center.

Ed

HEW office → Cuban Refugee Emergency Center
Miami

Free Flo. Council

September 18, 1967

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 N. W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33147

Dear August:

I hope you will recall the fleeting mention I made of visiting with Clifford Campbell, a consultant with the Ford Foundation, and that the dates proposed in the enclosed letter are still convenient for you. I will let you know of his reaction to the schedule.

If evening sessions are held, as proposed, I would suggest that you keep them small and plan to have them fairly early. Campbell is an "early-to-bed" type and, unfortunately, an early riser.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Fla. Council

September 26, 1967

Mrs. P. R. McIntosh
1890 S. W. 35 Place
Gainesville, Florida 32601

Dear Mrs. McIntosh:

Thank you so much for your interesting note. I do look forward to seeing you at the Florida Council Meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

21 Sept. 67

Dear Mrs. Anthony:

This is to welcome you to Florida, October 20, 21. Fla. Council on Human Relations.

We have our reservations in for the entire Conference. Mrs. Austin Kimball says we won't be disappointed. Well, I wasn't in Daytona Beach, last October.

As my grandmother, Caroline Coburn David was second cousin of Susan B. Anthony, I am quite interested in any Anthony. So, if it is possible, I would like to ask you a few questions privately, in St. Pete. David Anthony, here on U. of F. campus, asked me one day (over a cup o' tea – Mother was born in Glasgow, Scotland) what I would say if he told me that Susan B. had Negro blood. I told him, "Fine." Dad used to say, "Don't open the closet doors, a skeleton may fall out, etc." Now I'm wondering if THAT was what he meant!!

I think it most amusing. Roebuck, of Sears Roebuck was a Negro, you know. We

YA DARN TOOTIN' I WANNA GET IN TOUCH.....!

Tablet from U. of F. "HUB" like it?

A LITTLE NOTE..... AS A "CYMBAL" OF OUR FRIENDSHIP....!

Chicagoans knew that YEARS ago. Even my Hoosier (Southern Indiana) husband said they knew it. Ho, hum.

My first cousin, daughter of Uncle Chester, and Aunt Jessie Baird lives in Dunedin, Fla. We may stop by and see her on our way to St. Pete.

Anyway, I am looking forward to Oct 20, 21, 1967.

Enjoy NEW SOUTH.

Most cordially
Grace Baird McIntosh
(Mrs. P. R.)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Ga 30303

1890 SW 35 Pl
Gainesville
Florida, 32601

"Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled?"

Burns

Shall I bring the lovely notes from Gov. Surleen Wallace, while I was hospitalized?

file

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard Coral Gables, Florida 33146
Phone 661-5598

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Associate Director
WILLIAM H. MILES

October 30, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I want to express by letter what I have already said--Thank you again for your presence and address at our Annual Meeting. It's always embarrassing to see one's linen hanging on the line in front of someone you would like to impress. However, I don't presume that it was of too great a shock to you.

Also, I was very pleased with our sessions with Cliff Campbell and I hope he was properly oriented. I do apologize for our Miami Chapter's president's absence. In the tradition of the absent-minded professor, he went to the wrong place and waited for us.

Will see you at S.R.C.'s meeting.

Sincerely,

August H. VandenBosche
Executive Director

AHV:ag

See Flo. Council

October 30, 1967

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear Auggie:

Thank you sincerely for your hospitality last week. I think Cliff Campbell came away genuinely impressed, as he should have.

See you later this week.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

3 - file: Florida Council

April 15, 1968

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear Augie:

I know how discouraging life in this business can be, but I hope you won't become so discouraged that you will give up.

No man in this business can do a better job under more difficult circumstances than you can and are doing.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. Henrine W. Banks

Florida Council on Human Relations
Director's Report
1st Quarter January--March, 1968

The report for the Florida Council on Human Relations is not an inspiring one for the first quarter of 1968. Statistically, it is a dismal failure. The activities of the State office and of most of the local chapters have not seen any significant accomplishments. A deep rooted pessimism has been the mood of the Executive Director. While problems of funds and a sense of personal ineffectiveness have contributed greatly to this mood--an even deeper cause can be identified. It is almost too horrible to comtemplate that what has happened to the fabric of American society is an almost complete schism between White and Black America.

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders identifies this widening gap and has shocked those who will stop and listen. It is my belief that this report is a gross understatement of the facts.

A continuing series of the ususal meetings have been held. Some signs of hope from our organizations in St. Petersburg, Lakeland, Clearwater, Jacksonville and Miami have been seen. The work of Gye Long in the Rural Advancment Project reflects deep dedication of this man and the growing involvement of Bill Miles in the east coast communities is apparent. However, the problems are so great and the resources so few.

My first reaction is to assume complete personal responsibility and to resign with the hopes that another person might provide the leadership which would be successful. On genuine reflection I have rejected this solution, not as a matter of pride but rather because I yield to no person my personal commitment to the council and its basic philosophy.

A second reaction is to suggest that the council idea is inoperable and not feasible. However, to remove one of the few continuing instruments for change--because the task is too great is to add to the cleavage of our society and to contribute to its destruction.

The report of the National Advisory Commission, the distress of the Memphis experience, the overwhelming shock of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the disorder and potential disorder in every American community, while staggering in their magnitude demand a renewal and deepening of our commitment to the cause.

We must double our efforts--even at personal sacrifice. The matter of our financial problems will again be placed before our membership and policy board with a sense of urgency. New sources of funds will be sought out.

We may well admit our frustrations and even anger in these days of trouble. We must also lament the fact that so may persons who count themselves as "men of good will" do not recognize the magnitude of white racism. We can only cry out in anguish that the institutions--the churches, the unions, the media, the political organizations, the business community--will not unite in one massive coalition to set right that which has been wrong in our entire national history. But we will stay with the ship and perhaps one day again "have the dream."

August H. VandenBosche

Florida Council on Human Relations
Financial Report March 1968

Receipts	March 1968	3 months thru March, 1968
Contributions	566.00	1075.00
SRC	3000.00	6375.00
Reimburse office supply	----	6.18
" travel	122.86	275.02
	3688.86	7731.20

Disbursements		
Rent	110.00	330.00
Postage	84.09*	172.97
Office Supply	23.58	54.64
Office Supply RAP	---	6.00
Office Equipment	24.58	24.58
Printing & Publication	206.00	212.18
Travel (director)	340.31	724.11
" (RAP)	126.80	344.40
" (Assoc.)	138.85	310.05
Salary (Director)	833.34	2500.02
" (Sec'y)	380.00	1145.00
" (RAP)	625.00	1875.00
" (Assoc.)	416.66	1249.98
Employers Soc. Sec.	69.96	213.62
" " " (RAP)	27.50	82.50
Miscel.	1.89	22.34
Program	---	7.50
Payroll tax	438.30	1227.57
Health Ins.	71.76	215.28
" " (RAP)	22.14	66.42
Phone	70.93	211.80
" (RAP)	5.80	21.82
Books & Pamphlets	---	49.55
Refunds to Councils	----	52.00
	4017.49	11,119.33
Cr. Misc.	- 5.34	- 16.02
Cr. Taxes	- 424.32	- 1286.94
	3587.83	9816.37

Balance in bank Feb. 29, 1968	-662.22
Receipts	+3688.86
Disbursements	-3587.83
Bal. as of March 31,1968	763.25

.I. 7

file
Fla. Council

May 3, 1968

Mrs. Katherine Reece
Secretary
Florida Council on Human Relations
639 Hammock Road
Melbourne, Florida 32901

Dear Mrs. Reece:

I think the enclosed will give you the information you requested in your letter of April 28th.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure: Encampment for Citizenship Brochure

2.

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard Coral Gables, Florida 33146
Phone 661-5598

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Associate Director
WILLIAM H. MILES

So. Brevard Chapter

639 Hammock Road
Melbourne, Florida, 32901
April 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Some time ago, at a state Council meeting, you told me of a summer camp sponsored by the Regional Council and held somewhere in the southern mountains. Will you please have some information regarding this training camp for community leadership sent to me? Our Council is considering sending one of our young people to this camp, if possible. I shall appreciate this information very much.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Katherine Lee
Secretary

Florida Council on Human Relations
Financial Report , July 1968

Receipts	July, 1968	7 months thru July, 1968
Contributions	792.00 ($282 for St. Petersburg Crisis)	6689.05
SRC	3375.00	16125.00
Grants	-------	750.00
Reimburse office supply	-------	54.18
" travel	-------	275.02
Meetings	-------	224.30
Miscel.	-------	179.67
	$ 4167.00	$ 24,297.22

Disbursements		
Rent	--------	660.00
Postage	72.14	392.22
Office Supply	28.08	232.09
" " (RAP_	------	6.00
Office Equipment	------	---------
Printing and Publishing	6.22	375.82
Travel & Expenses (Director)	427.67	1834.51
" " (RAP)	115.60	726.75
" " (Assoc.)	112.79	763.16
Salary (Director)	833.34	5833.38
" (RAP)	625.00	4375.00
" (Assoc)	416.66	2916.62
" (Sec'y)	425.00	2635.00
Employer's Soc. Sec.	73.70	500.94
" " (RAP)	27.50	192.50
Miscel.	-----	30.10
Program	7.00	1169.10
Payroll taxes	424.32	2938.83
Health Insurance	71.76	502.32
" " (RAP)	22.14	154.98
Insurance	-------	89.00
Books	6.45	114.15
Phone	63.58	462.90
" (RAP)	6.67	49.03
Meetings	------	349.91
Refunds to Councils	-------	52.00
Professional Services	-------	90.00
	3765.62	27,446.31
Cr. Misc.	-5.34	- 37.38
Cr. Taxes	-452.60	- 3026.48
	$ 3307.68	$24,382.45

Balance in bank as of June 30, 1968	1903.39
Receipts	+4167.00
Disbursements	- 3307.68
	2762.71
less Service chg.	- 2.17
	$ 2760.54

Florida Council on Human Relations
Financial Report , July 1968

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Disbursements	- 3307.68
	2762.71
less Service chg.	- 2.17
	$ 2760.54

Surp. 2

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT DIRECTOR'S REPORT
APRIL, 1968
Mr. Gye L. Long

Indigenous Groups

A. During the month of April, I worked closely with the Negro candidates in Gadsden , Jackson, and Jefferson Counties. In Jefferson and Jackson Counties the candidates are in the primary for members of the School Board. In Gadsden County a Negro minister from Havana, Florida is a candidate for County Commissioner.

free Fla. Council

My work with these candidates has been in the capacity of going over with each of them the election laws of the State of Florida. We have spent long hours going over the contribution of funds, and the reporting and spending of these funds.

We are optomistic about winning; however, in a sense, we have won already by bringing to the people issues that heretofore have not been mentioned.

B. Credit Unions and Cooperatives

Two organizations, the N.E.J.A. Credit Union and the Longbranch Community Cooperative voted in their Board of Directors Meetings to become members of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. Other Cooperatives have been contacted, but have not taken any positive action as yet.

Growth in the N.E.J.A. Credit Union continues and a goal of 150 members by July 1, 1968 appears to be well within reach. However, we have lost about seven members over the past two months--two through death and the others moved out of the area or the State.

C. Civil Rights Groups

On April 18-20, 1968, I was in Clearwater, Florida attending the Region V NAACP meetings. Around 150 delegates, representing local branches in Florida, Alabama, Georgia, North & South Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi attended the meeting. Speakers included Mr. Clarence Mitchell,II, Director of Washington NAACP Bureau, Mr. Charles Evers, Jackson,Mississippi and Mr. Glouster Current, National Director of Branches.

Other persons appearing on the program included Dr. Maurice Dawkins of Washington O.E.O; Mr. William Pollard, Civil Rights Dept. of A.F.L.-C.I.O.; Mr. William Seaborn, Assistant to U.S.D.A. In my opinion the above group which appeared as specialists on the Saturday morning program , was the most interesting and informative.

The case of Mrs. Harvey, whose tires were shot on March 1, 1968, has been continued. She is out under $125 cash bond and still has not been told what charges are held against her. The local branch of the NAACP has acquired the services of Attorney A.H. Theodore Bowers to handle the case.

D. Church Groups

Tuesday night, April 2, 1968, a group of church laymen and officials from the Second West Florida Baptist Association (Negro), and The Chipola Baptist Association (White) met at St. Luke Baptist Church, Marianna, Florida. A committee of 10 was elected--5 persons

from each of the two groups. The purpose of the committee was not quite clear, however, I agreed to serve along with four ministers representing the West Florida Baptist Association. The Reverend A.A. Parker will inform us of the next meeting to be held. I hope some good can come from the meeting of these two Baptist groups.

HOUSING

A. Self Help Housing

The group of names and applications for loans to begin a self-help Housing Program in Jackson County, has been turned over to Assistant F.H.A. supervisor, Mrs. A. P. Bradwell, Home Economist. According to the Assistant Supervisor, 10 applications have been received. During the processing of applicants, two have withdrawn, one lives on heir property, and two have been disqualified because of too large an income. Of the ten interested persons, only five are eligible for loans. With my assistance, this group is seeking other possible eligible applicants.

Mrs. Bradwell, the Home Economist in Jackson County, seems to be the only one on the staff that has shown very much interest in the Self-Help Housing Program.

B. The Mount Olive Baptist Church of Marianna, Florida, recently made arrangements to purchase some property near their church. The property contains several old run down houses. One of the officials, Deacon H.A. Smilley, said they were interested in low-rent housing and asked if I could assist them in getting information on low-rent and rent supplement housing.

SPECIAL ASSISTANCE

A. Welfare

Recently I have been contacted by families receivng welfare Aid to Dependent Children. The families contacting me stated that the Aid had been reduced or cut off completely because of employment.

Take the case of Mrs. Octavious Williams, Rt. 3, Marianna, who received a letter saying her Aid to Dependent Children would be stopped because she was employed full time. I talked with Mrs. Williams concerning this matter and she told me that she has five children in school and she is working as a maid in a motel. After working since February, her highest take-home pay was $37.00 per week and her lowest was $15.00 which included 75¢ per day for carfare. This makes an average of $26.00 per week for a family of 6. Mrs. Williams asked the Welfare Department to reconsider her case. She was told they would notify her in about two weeks.

A report released in Washington D.C. by the Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, named 265 counties as Emergency Hunger Counties. The next day the A.P. reported 331 Hunger Counties and 15 of these are in Florida. Most of them are in the Panhandle area. Politicians were surprised. One stated, "This kind of thing shook me." However, it did not shake me and others who have been trying to get food programs in these counties for sometime. In 1966 I appeared before the Jackson County Commissioners for their assistance in initiating a Food Distribution Program. I was told that the County could not afford $4000 a year in kind or cash for storage space to get over One Million Dollars worth of U.S.D.A. commodities.

Florida Council on Human Relations

Financial Report, August 1968

Receipts	August 1968	8 months thru August 1968
Contributions	158.00	6847.05
SRC	-----	16,125.00
Grants	-----	750.00
Office supply reimbursement	-----	54.18
Travel "	-----	275.02
Meetings etc.	-----	224.30
Miscel.	-----	179.67
	$158.00	24,455.22

Disbursements		
Rent	-----	660.00
Postage	34.08	426.30
Office Supply	7.07	239.16
" " (RAP)	----	6.00
Office equipment	69.00	69.00
Printining & Pub.	----	375.82
Travel & Expenses (director)	75.20	1909.71
" " (RAP)	118.09	844.84
" " (Assoc)	77.60	840.76
Salary (director)	833.34	6666.72
" (RAP)	625.00	5000.00
" (Assoc)	416.66	3333.28
" (Sec'y)	340.00	2975.00
Employers Soc. Sec.	69.96	570.90
" (RAP)	27.50	220.00
Miscel	2.30	32.40
Program	118.50	1287.60
Taxes	452.60	3391.43
Health Ins.	71.76	574.08
" " (RAP)	22.14	177.12
Insurance	----	89.00
Books	----	114.15
Phone	----	462.90
" (RAP)	----	49.03
Meetings	----	349.91
Refunds to councils	-----	52.00
Professional Services	----	90.00
	3360.80	30,807.11
Cr. taxes	- 445.32	- 3,471.80
Cr. misc.	- 5.34	- 42.72
	2910.14	27,292.59

Balance in Bank July 31, 1968	2760.54
Receipts	+ 158.00
Disbursements	- 2910.14
Bal. as of Aug.31,1968	8.40

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

818 17th Avenue South/Nashville, Tennessee 37203/Telephone: Code (615) 256-5891

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ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
Alan A. Andelson

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VICE-PRESIDENT
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J. E. Harris, Manchester
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Clifton H. Johnson, Nashville
Major Jones, Chattanooga
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Mrs. William Knox, Nashville
Hunter Lane, Jr., Memphis
James T. Laney, Nashville
James M. Lawson, Memphis
Thomas Mason, Mason
Mrs. John McFerrin, Somerville
Gilbert Merritt, Jr., Nashville
John Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Bernice Miller, Bolivar
Levi Moore, Ripley
Norman Moore, Nashville
Mrs. Hugh Morgan, Nashville
Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Chattanooga
Michael O'Brien, Chattanooga
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
John Price, Kingsport
Richard Ramsey, Chattanooga
Mrs. Marvin Ratner, Memphis
J. R. Rutter, Knoxville
Mrs. Earl Sasser, Nashville
Leo C. Siener, Nashville
Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge
Joe Sir, Fayetteville
Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Phillip Sottong, Chattanooga
Renfro Sproul, Nashville
Whitworth Stokes, Nashville
Roscoe Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
G. J. Tarleton, Nashville
Landon Thomas, Ripley
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville
Tom Van Dervort, Murfreesboro
Fred P. Vendetti, Knoxville
C. J. Walker, Nashville
Dogan Williams, Nashville
Charles Winters, Sewanee
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

West Tennessee Office:
Gerald A. Fanion, Associate Director
280 Hernando Street, Room 201
Memphis, Tennessee 38126
Telephone: Code (901) 527-3339

Southeast Tennessee Office:
Mrs. Seamour Shavin, Staff Assistant
511 East 4th Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403

Financial reports will follow next week.

Kay S. Buck
Office Manager

Tennessee Council on Human Relations August 31, 1968

REPORT OF DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY CHAPTERS

CHAPTER	Total in July	Dues in August	Dues to Date	Contr. in August	TOTAL TO DATE
Bristol	$17.00	—	$17.	—	$17.00
Chattanooga	427.40	$19.	312.	$65.00	$511.40
Coffee-Fr. Co.	27.00	7.	34.	—	34.00
Fayette Co.	21.00	—	21.	—	21.00
Knoxville	546.54	79.	400.	18.00	643.54
Memphis	604.05	52.	427.	17.00	673.05
Nashville	1,668.50	92.	711.	101.00	1,861.50
Jackson	46.00	—	46.	—	46.00
Wilson Co.	24.00	7.	31.	—	31.00
Misc.	59.00	19.	78.	—	78.00
Lauderdale Co.	5.00	—	5.	—	5.00
Johnson City	44.00	12.	56.	—	56.00
Rutherford Co.	257.00	10.	178.	2.00	269.00
Oak Ridge	316.00	14.	123.	—	330.00
Hardeman Co.	—	—	—	—	—
Tipton Co.	—	—	—	—	—
Crossville	37.00	—	37.	—	37.00
Out of State	17.	5.	22.	—	22.00
TOTALS	$4,116.49	$316.	$2,498.	$203.	$4,635.49

Tennessee Council on Human Relations August 31, 1968

MEMBERSHIP REPORT BY CHAPTERS

CHAPTER	Total in July	Increase	Decrease	Total in August
Bristol	31	--	--	31
Brownsville	18	—	—	18
Chattanooga	193	2	—	195
Coffee-Fr. Co.	29	—	—	29
Fayette Co.	24	—	—	24
Hardeman Co.	11	—	—	11
Jackson	28	—	—	28
Johnson City	16	3	—	19
Knoxville	281	2	—	283
Lauderdale Co.	69	—	—	69
Memphis	369	2	—	371
Nashville	520	2	-20	502
Rutherford Co.	30	2	—	32
Wilson Co.	73	—	—	73
Miscellaneous	158	—	—	158
TOTAL:	1,850	13	-20	1,843

Tennessee Council on Human Relations July 31, 1968

Membership Report By Chapters

Chapter	Total in June	Increase	Decrease	Total in July
Bristol	31	—	—	31
Brownsville	18	—	—	18
Chattanooga	191	2	—	193
Coffee-Fr. Co.	29	—	—	29
Fayette Co.	24	—	—	24
Hardeman Co.	11	—	—	11
Jackson	28	—	—	28
Johnson City	16	—	—	16
Knoxville	279	3	—	281
Lauderdale Co.	69	—	—	69
Memphis	373	—	11	362
Nashville	518	2	—	520
Rutherford Co.	24	6	—	30
Wilson Co.	73	—	—	73
Misc.	158	—	—	158
TOTAL:	1,841	13	-11	1,843

Tennessee Council on Human Relations July 31, 1968

Report of Dues and Contributions by Chapters

CHAPTER	Total in June	Dues in July	Dues to Date	Contr. in July	TOTAL TO DATE
Bristol	$17.	—	$17.00	—	$17.00
Brownsville	—	—	—	—	—
Chattanooga	374.40	53.	293.00	—	427.40
Coffee-Fr. Co.	27.00	—	27.00	—	27.00
Fayette Co.	21.00	—	21.00	—	21.00
Knoxville	474.54	48.	321.00	24.00	546.54
Memphis	550.05	54.	375.	—	604.05
Nashville	1,431.00	117.	619.	120.50	1,668.50
Jackson	39.00	7.	46.	—	46.00
Wilson Co.	17.00	7.	24.	—	24.00
Miss.	59.00	—	59.	—	59.00
Lauderdale Co.	5.00	—	5.	—	5.00
Johnson City	44.00	—	44.	—	44.00
Rutherford Co.	209.00	33.	168.	15.00	257.00
Oak Ridge	299.00	17.	109.	—	316.00
Hardeman Co.	—	—	—	—	—
Tipton Co.	—	—	—	—	—
Crossville	37.00	—	37.	—	37.00
Out of State	17.00	—	17.	—	17.00
TOTAL:	$3,627.99	$336.	$2,182.00	$159.50	$4,116.49

Florida Council on Human Relations
Rural Advancement Project Director's Report August 1968
Gye L. Long, RAP Director

Indigenous Groups

Civic Groups: Since an area meeting with State and Local F A.P. officials who explained to farmers their willingness to assist them in forming Cooperatives, I have been trying to follow through and emphasize this cooperative venture to groups showing interest. My first visit was to talk to Mr.L.D. Gainer who previously had expressed a desire to form a coop for the purchasing of peanut dryers. This same group was discouraged about two years ago by F.H.A. after being told that private businesses had recently installed enough dryers to accomodate the farmers in the area.

The South Side Havana Civic Interest Group invited me to a community meeting on Aug. 14 to explain self-help housing. We first tried to get the assistant or a representative from F.H.A., however, they said they would be glad to come another date, but were engaged for the 14th. The meeting was held with about 35 or 40 people present. Information on self-help housing through F.H.A. was explained and those present were encouraged to check with their local F.H.A. office

Civil Rights Groups

Marvin Davies, field secretary of N.A.A.C.P. for the State of Florida told me that he had talked by phone with the FBI concerning the attack on my wife, Pearl, and they told him that all information, and the case, after investigation, had been turned over to the Justice Department. This was just prior to the conference in Orlando on August 16. We agreed to wait a few days to see what their reaction would be. The local people are taking some action on their own. Since the O.K. Music Store has "juke boxes" out in this area, several Negro businesses have asked the management to pick the machines(juke boxes) up.

Citizenship

ASCS Elections

Two meetings have been held in Jefferson County to try to get the farmers and their families intereeted in these elections. On Wednesday, August 21 a group of 16 farmers met in Monticello and some questions as to eligibility were brought up. A committee of five from this group was selected to go talk to the Jefferson County office manager of ASCS, Paul McClendon. This group was told that the wives of farm owners whose name was on the deeds to the farm lands could vote. Howver a wife of a tenant or renter could not vote. This interpretation seemingly agrees with ASCS County and community committee elections in exhibit 3 of the HANDBOOK. We are particularly interested in Jefferson County election because the high percentage of Negro farmers there(48.9%)

Individual Consultation

During the last of August three persons with SHELL HOMES built about 6-8 years ago have consulted me about the amount owed these companys. In one of the cases, Mr. Ike Hearns said his balance is greater now thatn the original balance. He admitted that he had missed some payments. I have not had a chance to check his story or the others since it was late in August when they were referred to me.

I have been assisting Mrs. Mattie Lou Billing, of R.F.D.,Marianni in trying to get social security for her grandson whose father is deceased.

Special Assistance

Clothing received during the summer and spring from donors through the National Sharecroppers Fund are being distributed groups organized for that purpose. Three groups in as many counties, Gadsden, Jackson, and Jefferson are distributing clothing. Since we did not know sizes, the group decided

that it would be better to sort the clothing and have a place where low income people could pick them up.

In Jackson County, a group headed by Miss V. Smith of Rt. 1, Greenwood, is set up in an old school lunch room. In Gadsden County, the group with Mr. Walter Girley are using a Fraternal Hall for distribution. In Jefferson County, Mrs. Hardy is working out of a Community Center and Rev. George Siplin is working out of different churches in the area. I have distributed other clothing personally to some families in different communities that are not near any of the points named above.

Food distribution is in operation through out the area. One problem seems to stand out and that is that there is only one distribution center in the county and to pay someone to take them 40-60 miles round trip to receive food seems to me to be a fallacy in this program. The other outstanding problem is the eligibility of persons living in the same household. Example--an old couple may be eligible when considered as an individual couple; however if they are living with a son,who may be barely making a living for his family, the old couple is not eligible.

Agencies Contacted

The Jackson County Fair Exhibit Committee was contacted and asked to make more space available to rural Negro communities for educational exhibits at the fair.

A.S.C.S. County Office Manager was contacted and asked to hold some of his informational meetings in predominantly Negro communities. These have been held in August and they were well attended.

Attended T.A.P. meeting on August 16 and discussed with representative of food distribution center in Jackson County and the committee the problems mentioned above.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
AUGUST, 1968
MONTHLY FINANCIAL SHEET
FOR SRC REPORT

Monies Received		
Southern Regional Council, Inc.	$	
Grant In Aid	3,625.00	
Field Foundation		
Others		
Memberships	7.50	
Contributions		
Supportive Relationship Project	50.00	
Newspaper Project	160.90	
Yazoo City Project	182.57	
Reimbursements	98.40	
T. Williams - Aid to Poor	100.00	
Total Receipts		$ 4,224.37
Expenses		
Salaries:		
Director	$ 670.74	
Assistant Director	491.20	
Secretarial	316.74	
Summer Clerical	319.76	
Travel and entertainment	513.39	
Rent	197.25	
Telephone	250.36	
Office Supplies	21.89	
Tax - IRS	488.30	
Postage	90.00	
Others: Supportive Relationship Project	63.00	
Educational material	32.81	
Total Expenses		$ 3,455.44

Bank balance as of July 31, 1968 .....$ 6,410.29
(Reconciled)
Deposits 4,224.37
$10,634.66
Less expenses 3,455.44

Bank balance as of August 31, 1968 .....$ 7,179.22

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
302 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

MONTHLY MEMBERSHIP - AUGUST, 1968
PLUS
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP FOR 1968

CHAPTER	MONTHLY ENROLLMENT	YEARLY ENROLLMENT
Gulf Coast Council	3	68
Oxford Council	- 0 -	18
Jackson Council	- 0 -	29
At-Large	- 0 -	22
	TOTAL	137

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
AUGUST, 1968
MONTHLY FINANCIAL SHEET
FOR SRC REPORT

Monies Received		
Southern Regional Council, Inc.	$	
Grant In Aid	3,625.00	
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Others		
Memberships	7.50	
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$10,634.66
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302 First Federal Building
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PLUS
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP FOR 1968

CHAPTER	MONTHLY ENROLLMENT	YEARLY ENROLLMENT
Gulf Coast Council	3	68
Oxford Council	- 0 -	18
Jackson Council	- 0 -	29
At-Large	- 0 -	22
	TOTAL	137

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

818 17th Avenue South/Nashville, Tennessee 37203/Telephone: Code (615) 256-5691

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Benton Bryant
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
Alan A. Anderson

PRESIDENT
Lewis S. Sinclair
VICE-PRESIDENT
William L. Barnes
VICE-PRESIDENT
Daniel A. Powell
VICE-PRESIDENT
Seamour Shavin
SECRETARY
Mrs. Lee Spaulding
TREASURER
Mr. W. D. Hawkins, Jr.

DIRECTORS
Roy W. Bailey, Hermitage
Ralph Bean, Knoxville
Mrs. Walter Bishop, Knoxville
Mrs. Nola Bond, Brownsville
Robert Booker, Knoxville
Will Campbell, Nashville
David Caywood, Memphis
Roger Cloutier, Oak Ridge
John Compton, Nashville
W. T. Crutcher, Knoxville
Gideon W. Fryer, Knoxville
James S. Gilliland, Memphis
James D. Glasse, Nashville
LeRoy Graf, Knoxville
Mrs. Henry Harrell, Murfreesboro
J. E. Harris, Manchester
Benjamin Hooks, Memphis
Clifton H. Johnson, Nashville
Major Jones, Chattanooga
Mrs. Eugene S. Kilgore, Johnson City
Mrs. William Knox, Nashville
Hunter Lane, Jr., Memphis
James T. Laney, Nashville
James M. Lawson, Memphis
Thomas Mason, Mason
Mrs. John McFerrin, Somerville
Gilbert Merritt, Jr., Nashville
John Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Bernice Miller, Bolivar
Levi Moore, Ripley
Norman Moore, Nashville
Mrs. Hugh Morgan, Nashville
Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Chattanooga
Michael O'Brien, Chattanooga
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
John Price, Kingsport
Richard Ramsey, Chattanooga
Mrs. Marvin Ratner, Memphis
J. R. Rutter, Knoxville
Mrs. Earl Sasser, Nashville
Leo C. Siener, Nashville
Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge
Joe Sir, Fayetteville
Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Philip Sottong, Chattanooga
Renfro Sproul, Nashville
Whitworth Stokes, Nashville
Roscoe Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
G. J. Tarleton, Nashville
Landon Thomas, Ripley
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville
Tom Van Dervort, Murfreesboro
Fred P. Vendetti, Knoxville
C. J. Walker, Nashville
Dogan Williams, Nashville
Charles Winters, Sewanee
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

West Tennessee Office:
Gerald A. Fanion, Associate Director
280 Hernando Street, Room 201
Memphis, Tennessee 38126
Telephone: Code (901) 527-3339

Southeast Tennessee Office:
Mrs. Seamour Shavin, Staff Assistant
511 East 4th Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403

September 18, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please find enclosed the financial and membership reports for the Tennessee Council on Human Relations for August, and the remaining financial report for July.

This brings our statements up to date to my knowledge.

As of September 20, 1968, Miss Novel Dean Meeks will be leaving the employment of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Memphis office, to return to school. Please remove her name from our insurance file, and bill us accordingly for the premium.

Sincerely,

Kay S. Burk

Mrs. Kay S. Burk
Office Manager

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

FINANCIAL SUMMARY August 31, 1968

Disbursements

	REG. & SRC
Utilities, Nash.	$50.97
Equip., Nash	59.09
Supplies, Nash.	428.51
Tel. Nash.	169.41
Lit. Memphis	20.87
Rent-Nash.	50.00
Lit. Nash.	14.70
Supplies-Memphis	54.07
Tax Dep.	608.84
Postage	150.00
TOTAL:	$1,571.46

FIELD	
Equip. Memphis	$333.54
Payroll	2,177.58
Staff Travel	382.37
Phone-Memphis	95.35
Ex. Dir. H. All.	125.00
Rent-Memphis	70.00
TOTAL:	$3,183.84

BALANCE IN ALL ACCOUNTS, AUGUST 31, 1968

Savings:	$21,000.00
Regular	100.50
1st Am.	1,596.38
	$22,696.88

Tennessee Council on Human Relations August 31, 1968

REPORT OF DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY CHAPTERS

CHAPTER	Total in July	Dues in August	Dues to Date	Contr. in August	TOTAL TO DATE
Bristol	$17.00	—	$17.	—	$17.00
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Knoxville	546.54	79.	400.	18.00	643.54
Memphis	604.05	52.	427.	17.00	673.05
Nashville	1,668.50	92.	711.	101.00	1,861.50
Jackson	46.00	—	46.	—	46.00
Wilson Co.	24.00	7.	31.	—	31.00
Misc.	59.00	19.	78.	—	78.00
Lauderdale Co.	5.00	—	5.	—	5.00
Johnson City	44.00	12.	56.	—	56.00
Rutherford Co.	257.00	10.	178.	2.00	269.00
Oak Ridge	316.00	14.	123.	—	330.00
Hardeman Co.	—	—	—	—	—
Tipton Co.	—	—	—	—	—
Crossville	37.00	—	37.	—	37.00
Out of State	17.	5.	22.	—	22.00
TOTALS	$4,116.49	$316.	$2,498.	$203.	$4,635.49

Tennessee Council on Human Relations August 31, 1968

MEMBERSHIP REPORT BY CHAPTERS

CHAPTER	Total in July	Increase	Decrease	Total in August
Bristol	31	--	--	31
Brownsville	18	--	--	18
Chattanooga	193	2	--	195
Coffee-Fr. Co.	29	--	--	29
Fayette Co.	24	--	--	24
Hardeman Co.	11	--	--	11
Jackson	28	--	--	28
Johnson City	16	3	--	19
Knoxville	281	2	--	283
Lauderdale Co.	69	--	--	69
Memphis	369	2	--	371
Nashville	520	2	-20	502
Rutherford Co.	30	2	--	32
Wilson Co.	73	--	--	73
Miscellaneous	158	--	--	158
TOTAL:	1,850	13	-20	1,843

Tennessee Council on Human Relations July, 31, 1968

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

DISBURSEMENTS

	Regular Acct., & SRC		Field Foundation
Utilities	$39.50	Payroll	$2,167.18
Supplies	170.71	Supp. & Equip, Mem.	400.00
Postage	151.87	Staff Travel	643.39
Tax Deposit	23.42	Phone-Nash.	129.28
Serv. Contr.	40.00	Equip.-Nash	123.66
P. Meter	1.56	Auditor	200.00
St. Off. Help	47.83	Tel-Memphis	167.37
Travel	25.00	Ex. Dir. H. Allow.	125.00
Rent-Nash.	50.00	Tax Depository	627.18
Rent-Memphis	70.00	Chap. Returns	303.12
P. Meter Rent	23.01		
Supplies	15.00		
	$714.86	TOTAL:	$4,841.05

BALANCE IN ACCOUNTS, JULY 31, 1968

Savings	$21,000.00
Regular	106.96
1st Am.	1,610.58
TOTAL:	$22,717.54

Augie:

Please return this copy signed and dated on receipt of these funds.

September 4, 1968

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear Augie:

Enclosed is our check for $3,000 representing the final payment to the Florida Council for the Rural Advancement Project. Needless to say, I very much wish this could be continued, but even these funds now represent a deficit in our support of the Project in excess of $11,000.

Do let me know what decisions are made.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

Funds received by August VandenBosche

Date September 9, 1968

September 17, 1968

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
1221 N. W. 43rd Street
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Augie:

Our Executive Committee met on Saturday, September 14th and heard the recommendations of the special state Directors' Committee and, accordingly, voted to leave the matter of viability up to the Florida Council, feeling you and the policy leadership have sound judgment and are in the best position to determine your future.

I understand you are having a meeting on Saturday. Do let me know at the earliest opportunity what decisions are made. In turn, as soon as I know what funds will be available for support to state Councils in 1969, I will inform the Florida Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. H. Banks

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Funds received by: _____

Date: _____

October 11, 1968

Mr. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
1221 N. W. 43rd Street
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Augie:

Enclosed is your final quarterly payment for the grant-in-aid for 1968.

The absence of a Field Director has slowed up the payment process somewhat. I hope it has not inconvenienced you.

Please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $3,375.00)

August A VandenBosche
Rec'd. 10/14/68

October 22, 1968

Mr. Charles Wright McGehee
President
Human Relations Council of Greater
Jacksonville
801 Pearl Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32202

Dear Mr. McGehee:

Enclosed is a very rough draft of a suggested set of By-Laws for local and state human relations councils. These By-Laws were prepared by Mr. Ed Stanfield, former Director of Field Activities. Mr. Stanfield is now with another agency in Austin Texas, but if we can be of further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE

AFFILIATED WITH THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

~~303 N. MARKET~~ STREET, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA 32202 TELEPHONE 353-0065

801 Paarl St.

October 15, 1968

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Do you have, and can you send us, a sample or suggested set of by-laws for a human relations council?

Gratefully yours,

Chas W. McGehee

Charles Wright McGehee
President

file

Paul--

I thought you ought to have this--- I think you met Donna Kelley--she was at our Annual Meeting in Avon Park.

Ann Garey

10126

830 Swan Avenue
Miami Springs, Fla. 33166
October 25, 1968

Rev. August H. VandenBosche
Florida Council on Human Relations
1221 N. W. 43rd St.
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Sir:

I have just returned to Miami from two years service with the Peace Corps in Ethiopia. I have read with interest the bulletin announcing your resignation and the meeting to determine future policy for F.C.H.R.

Since I have been away, I'm not familiar with the current work of the Council nor the circumstances leading to the present development. However, I'm very interested in the Council, both from a personal and a professional standpoint. If the Council decides to continue and will be looking for a new director, I am interested in the position.

Enclosed is a brief resume of my education and work experience. If you feel it would be beneficial to discuss this, I would appreciate an appointment to see you. My telephone number is 885-1828.

Very truly yours,

Dona Kelley

(Mrs.) Dona Kelley

RESUME OCTOBER 1968

Mrs. Dena Kelley
830 Swan Avenue
Miami Springs, Fla. 33166
Telephone: 885-1828

Born: Pittsburgh, Penna. July 27, 1927 (Age:41)

MARITAL STATUS: Divorced (Maiden name: Colbert)

PHYSICAL: Health, Good Ht., 5'4" Wt., 105 lbs.

EDUCATION: A.B. (magna cum laude) from University of Miami, June 1965
Major: Human Relations

EXPERIENCE:

June 1966-July 1968: Peace Corps Volunteer
Successful service as a teacher of English as a Second Language in Adi Caieh, Eritrea, Ethiopia. This was preceded by three months intensive training at the University of Utah in methods, cultural orientation and language. Served as adviser to school clubs in debating, singing and publishing of school newspaper in two languages, English and Amharic.

JUNE 1944-JUNE 1966: Office Manager
For twenty-two years at Craftsmen's Village, Inc., furniture manufacturer, Miami, Florida. Supervised complete office operation, including bookkeeping, payroll, government reports, correspondance, customer relations, insurance, PBX, order processing, purchasing and inventory records. Resigned voluntarily to join the Peace Corps.

PERSONAL: Resident of Dade County since 1942. Travelled extensively in Europe, East Africa and Southeast Asia. One son, twenty-two years old, an Army lieutenant currently in Viet Nam.

REFERENCES: Mr. Lawrence Goldberg, Pres., Craftsmen's Village, Inc.
3520 NW 46th St. Miami, Fla., 33142 Ph. 634-6569

Prof. V. I. Pitstick, University of Miami (now on sabbatical) current address: 12 Outwoods Road, Loughborough, Leicestershire, England

Ato Arefaine Berhane, Director, B/G Lorenzo Tazaz Jr. Sec. School, Adi Caieh, Eritrea, Ethiopia

Mrs. Elaine Thickman, 2017 S. W. 23rdSt., Miami,Fla.
Ph. 443-2779 (formerly worked under my direction)

Mrs. M. Donald Michelson, 140 Whitethorn, Miami Springs, Fla. Ph. 885-4494 (character reference)

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
PHONE CLINTON 5-1404

125 KEECH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
PHONE CLINTON 3-0179

FROM THE DESK OF
HENRINE WARD BANKS

file

November 4, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am sending to you a copy of the letter which I have sent to the Board of the Florida Council on Human Relations; a copy of the letter that has gone to the president of each council, and a copy that has been taken out of our newsletter "The Open Door" to re-emphasize the importance of our annual meeting and the state of our condition in Florida. We do sincerely hope that this extra notice, with the original from the office, will get out a goodly number of persons for our meeting.

Auggie and I are hoping that you will be able to spend Friday evening and Saturday with us at the conference. I am sure Herbert Davidson and I made it very clear to you that we desperately need the kind of explanation of the situation and guidance that you can give. We deeply appreciate the time you have given this council.

Several persons have answered these letters stating that they feel sure we will have a good meeting. Ann is constantly receiving reservations in the Miami office. I will talk with her again on Wednesday to see how we stand.

All the very best, but we do hope to see you on this weekend.

Sincerely yours,

Henrine W Banks
(Mrs.) Henrine W. Banks
President, Florida Council
on Human Relations

HWB/aog

SPECIAL REPORT ON THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The F.C.H.R. has from time to time examined itself to be sure of its direction. It had done so when it had financial difficulties, when it lost its director, or when it had a "crisis of identity". The time of self-examination is upon us again, this time involving all three issues.

Mr. VandenBosche has taken a position with the National Council of Churches in work closely related to that of the F.C.H.R. He is already on his new job, but will lend us a hand for the Annual Meeting.

The F.C.H.R. faces a sharp reduction in the foundation support for general purposes which has been channeled to us by the Southern Regional Council, effective for 1969. Finally, the S.R.C. has asked the Florida Council to decide whether it desires to continue as an independent human relations council. The S.R.C. recognizes the desirability of state councils on human relations, but feels that every council should be "viable" (possessing enough membership to support a responsible board, the director, an office and a basic program) or should be made the responsibility of the S.R.C. for a short period of intensive development toward viability. The S.R.C. committee concerned left the classification of the F.C.H.R. to tis Board of Directors, subject to S.R.C. review.

There seem to be three choices open to the Florida Council on Human Relations:

1. We may shoot for "viable" status. In that case we must undertake to increase our membership contributions to the budgeted level ($15,000 as against $10,000 actually raised, to seek out a new director, and to maintain an active board.

2. We may declare ourselves "non*viable". Then we leave to the S.R.C. the responsibility of choosing our director. We have to recognize that he will exert vigourous pressure to bring us up to "viable" level of policy responsibility and financial responsibility.

3. We may decide that councils on human relations are a local matter and go out of business as a state-wide organization. In that case ther is a real possibility that the S.R.C. may start the work over again as in Choice 2.

Decision among these choices should be made only after careful thought about the obj ctives of the Florida Council and the best ways of reach those objectives.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT — ANNUAL MEETING

Avon Park November 8-9, 1968

Place: Camp Wingmann, Avon Park. Turn East from U.S. 27 just north of Avon Park and follow the signs.

Time: Nov. 8-9--beginning with registration at 5:00 P.M. and dinner at 6:00 P.M. on Friday and closing after lunch about 3:00 P.M. on Saturday.

Cost: The State Council will pay the cost of Officers, Board Members and two representative from each local council. Others are welcome at $8.00 per person. This will cover room and meals.

Purpose: The purpose of the meeting will be to transact the essential annual business. We will further discuss in depth the direction the Florida Council will take during the coming years, as outlined in the Special Report above.

R E G I S T E R N O W ! !

We must have registrations in no later than November 1, 1968.

Please mail to :Florida Council on Human Relations
1221 N.W. 43rd Street, Miami, Florida 33142

Yes! I want to have a part in determining the future of the Florida Council-- I will attend the Annual Meeting at Camp Wingman, Avon Park, November 8-9.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

I am an Officer, board member, or official representative of my council and will be attending at State Office expense_____

I am not attending at State Office expense and am enclosing my check for $_____ @ $8.00 per person.

November 19, 1968

Mrs. Ann Garey
Office Manager
Florida Council on Human Relations
1221 N. W. 43rd Street
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Ann:

Enclosed is our check for $1,000 representing a special contribution to the Florida Council to assist in meeting the expenses for the current year. Do keep me posted and do get our your newsletter as soon as you can.

It was a pleasure having you with us last week. Do send us your expenses.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

cc: Mrs. Henrine Banks

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

~~5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard Coral Gables, Florida 33146~~

~~Phone 661-5598~~

1221 N.W. 43rd St.
Miami, Fla. 33142

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Associate Director
WILLIAM H. MILES

November 18, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I just must write a few lines to tell you how very much I appreciate the opportunity to have attended the SRC Annual Meeting. It was truly one of the richest experiences since I have been in this work. The people I met were fascinating, the meetings stimulating and I even had fun! What more could one ask of such a meeting?

I particularly appreciate your personal concern, and the time and attention you give to FCHR.

Sincerely,

Ann

Ann Garey, office mgr.

file

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

~~5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard Coral Gables, Florida 33146~~

~~Phone 661-5598~~

1221 N.W. 43rd Street
Miami, Florida 33142

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Associate Director
WILLIAM H. MILES

November 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Esecutive Director
Southern R gional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the check for $1000--and to thank you!

The Newsletter is underway and my expenses have been sent in to SRC. Before starting on the Newsletter, I did want to get the report of our own (FCHR) Annual Meeting written up and out to our Board of Directors. I am enclosing a copy of that report.

Again, thanks for comingto our financial rescue.

Sincerely,

Ann

Ann Garey

ANNUAL MEETING, FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
CAMP WING-MANN, AVON PARK, FLORIDA
NOVEMBER 8-9, 1968

The Annual Meeting's first general session took place immediately after dinner on Friday evening, November 8.

President, Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks, presided: After opening the meeting with a strong plea for planning and immediate action in the ongoing work of FCHR, Mrs Banks presented Dr. H. Franklin Williams.

Dr. Williams presented a picture of the State Council, its performance, functions, and problems--past and present. He explained the role of the Ford Foundation in giving funds to State Councils, These funds were intended to be "pump-priming" to get the State Council on its feet so that it could be self sufficient financially and in enlarging its base of influence and membership. Funds from the Ford Foundation will not be given on this basis any longer. Southern Regional Council cannot ask for foundation funding for general operation--only for specific projects, or in some cases, to get new councils started. He pointed out that we have not been able to raise enough money to support ourselves and once again outlined the choices that FCHR faces. Dr. Williams also explained that SRC has declared the viability or non-viability of most of the State Councils, but in the case of Florida and one other state, had left this choice up to the Council itself. To be a viable Council would mean that if all outside support were removed, we could maintain and operate a staff through raising our own funds and have a strong responsible Board of Directors. To be non-viable would mean that we cannot support a director and staff and raise enough money to operate effectively. In this case, SRC would employ an Executive Director and pay his salary--his selection would be submitted for approval to FCHR Executive Committee. It would be this Director's responsibility to vigorously pursue a program that would bring the council up to viable status. The other choice would be to decide that a state organization is no longer needed.

Dr. Williams emphasized some of the points to consider in our deliberations--Have we or can we grow and widen our circle of influence and convince the unconvinced and reach the people? Can we convince the whites of the need for an organization like FCHR? Can we convince the Blacks that we are really doing things?

In closing, Mrs. Banks charged the members to think carefully about Dr. Williams' remarks, and expressed the hope that we will come up with the right answers. After this more formal part of the meeting, Mrs. Alexander Steinberg, president of the Lakeland Council, presented our outgoing Director, August H. VandenBosche, with farewell gifts from the local councils of a suitcase, a clock radio, a shaver and a gift certificate. "Augie" expressed his appreciation and Mrs. Banks adjourned the meeting.

Executive Committee Meeting, November 8, 1968

Present; Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. Herbert Davidson, Mr. David Eddy, Mr. James Sanderlin, Mr. Paul Anthony, Mr. August VandenBosche, Mrs. Ann Garey, secretary.

Mrs. Banks opened the meeting and presented an agenda of three resolutions to vote upon. The first one was the recommendation as to the viability of the FCHR. A good deal of discussion followed with some of the more pertinent comments outlined as follows:

Anthony: Some people considered the choice of non-viability as thinking of the Council as lost--this is not at all the case. The Director would continue as before--but would be paid by SRC and would concentrate on building a strong and viable council and activating a strong and responsible board. If the council chooses to let SRC provide a director, it would be some time after the first of the year before a director would be selected--possibly as late as March, 1969. Southern Regional Council would offer tohelp the office manager in maintaining the State Office until that time and would possibly be able to help with the monthly expenses if needed. The need for more publicity and reaching people through the various media is most important. FCHR might welcome this opportunity to be non-viable and accept SRC staff leadership and money with the hope and challenge of finding ourselves renewed and viable--but money and responsibility are still very much needed.

Davidson: pointed out that some of the local councils had very active programs and were very much needed and that if even only 7 or 8 local councils were truly active, it was still well worth keeping the State operation going. Also emphasized the need for reaching the public through the various media.

Sanderlin: The Council is certainly needed but questioned whether it was enough attuned and structured toward the problems of today. People generally have not come to grips with the new phase of civil rights. Can the Council offer something along these lines. The State organization and Director August VandenBosche gave invaluable help during the St. Petersburg garbage strike.

Banks: Asked for conclusion or recomendation to make to the general membership meeting.
It was moved and the motion carried that the Executive Committee would recommend that the FCHR accept non-viable status.
Mr. VandenBosche presented a proposal that FCHR continue to administer and sponsor the Rural Advancement Project even though we would not be funding it. The funding would come from other sources. This proposal was accepted for recommendation to the membership.

The budget was the third item and was presented for recommendation as follows:

Salaries		
Office Mgr. Salary	$4420.00	
Med. & Life Ins.	150.00	
Employer's Soc. Sec.	200.00	
		$4770.00
Operation & Program		
Phone	700.00	
rent	600.00	
Postage	400.00	
Printing	600.00	
Office Supply	720.00	
Equipment	500.00	
Meeting	200.00	
Program	750.00	
Miscel.	750.00	
Ins.	150.00	
		$5370.00
		10,140.00

This would bring the budget within the limts of what we have been able to raise in the past through contributions.
The final action of the Exective Committee was to officially accept the resignation of its Executive Director, August H. VandenBosche.

Morning General Session, November 9, 1968
Mrs. Banks presented Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Anthony opened with some background material on State Council operation and mentioned recommendations he would make to SRC if we chose non-viability. This would be to provide a Director whose salary SRC would pay for one year with the main emphasis being on buidling a strong, viable state organization. He outlined the role of the State & local Councils as--assisting minorities generally and black minorities specifically; helping blacks gain economic and political power. The need to speak more effectively to the young people; the need to speak to the black leadership; to speak to the law enforcement problems--better hours and pay and better training;the need for a much more sophisticated job of speaking to the middle and upper class whites who really run the country--to speak to them about employment, education, welfare and ghetto problems. We must help blacks acheive leadership and speak to all leaderships truthfully and effectively. SRC and FCHR both feel a sense of frustration because their efforts have not paid off any better. Mr.Anthony felt strongly that the money, time and effort were well worth it--but much more is still needed at this time.

After questions and discussion from the floor, Dr. Williams presented the recommendation of the Executive Committee to accept non-viability and the help of SRC in order to reinvigorate. Dr. Herman Reissig moved that the recommendation be accepted. Mr. Robert Dennis asked that the motion be amended to include the additional assurance that the Council would work extra hard to raise money. After some discussion the motion was tabled for 20 minutes to allow the members to break up into smaller discussion groups.The motion to accept non-viability was then removed from the table and was voted upon and the motion was carried.

The next item was consideration of the budget. Mrs. Alexander Steinberg suggested a $500 raise for the office manager, suggesting that this amount could be cut from some of the other items. Then Mr. James Sanderlin suggested that in keeping with rising living costs the office manager's salary be raised to $5200 a year. Rabbi Marshall Taxay moved that the budget be amended to show this. The motion was seconded and passed. Mr. Sanderlin presented the recommendation of the Executive Committee to have FCHR continue to administer the Rural Advancement Project. Mrs. H. Franklin Williams moved that this be done--the motion was seconded and carried.

The nominating committee chairman, Mr. Edwyn Lewis presented its report.

Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks	President Emeritus
Dr. H. Franklin Williams	President
Mr. James Sanderlin	V. President
Mrs. Alexander Steinberg	Secretary
Mr. Ted Nichols	Treasurer

Dr. Williams and Mrs. Steinberg both declined their nominations. It was moved that the Secretary be instructed to cast a vote declaring the Treasurer and ~~Secretary~~ Vice President elected. The motion was passed. Rabbi Taxay felt that this motion was not in order and asked that his negative vote be recorded.

The following names were presented for election to the Board of Directors--

Class of 1972:
Mrs. I.H. Burney, Jacksonville
Mrs.R.W. Glasner, Palm Beach
Mrs. Eugene Halmi, Clearwater
Mrs. V.C. Johnson, Jacksonville
Mr. George Lewis, II, Tallahassee
Mr. Gerald Lewis, Miami
Mr. J.D. Marshall, Tampa
Mrs. L.B. Moseley, Daytona Beach
Mrs. Athalie Range, Miami
Mr. James Sanderlin, St. Petersburg
Mr. John Shelley, Jacksonville
Mr. David Staples, DeLand
Mrs. H. Franklin Williams, Miami
Mr. Charles Mitchell, Miami
Mrs. Alexander Steinberg, Lakeland
Mrs. Cleo Thomas, Lakeland
Dr. Harland Merriam, DeLand.

It was moved by the Rev. Jack Davis that these names be accepted for election to the Board. The motion was seconded and passed.
The nominating committee was re-convened to name new officers for the two positions that had been declined.

August VandenBosche presented the Director's Report as written in the Annual Report, and in conlclusion again expressed heartfelt appreciation for the gifts presented to him and for the cooperation and friendships of the past three years.

The nominating committee presented a new slate as follows:
Herbert Davidson, President
James Sanderlin, V. President
H. Franklin Williams, Secretary
Ted Nichols, Treasurer
The original motion electing the Vice president and treasurer was withdrawn and it was then moved and seconded that the Secretary be instructed to cast a unanimous vote declaring that the new slate was elected. The motion carried.

Mrs. Banks made a short talk expressing her appreciation and commenting on the values she had gained through her two years as president.

Rabbi Taxay moved that an expression of gratitude and heartfelt wishes for a speedy recovery be sent to Board Member, Mrs. Eugene Halmi at Cinncinati General Hospital in Ohio. He also expressed the appreciation of FCHR for the service that Mrs. Banks and Mr. VandenBosche had rendered the Council.

The general meeting was adjourned.

The Board met to appoint an executive committee as follows:
Mrs. R.W. Glasner, Palm Beach
Mrs. Eugene Halmi , Clearwater
Dr. Hal Lewis, Gainesville
Dr. Gilbert Porter, Miami
Mr. Jack Shelley, Jacksonville
Mr. David Staples, DeLand

December 2, 1968

Mrs. Henrine W. Banks
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Henrine:

Thank you for your gracious letter. While we understand, I regret you were unable to be with us at our Annual Meeting.

Louisiana wound up with the Mitchell Award, but I did manage to find $1,000 to send the Florida Council last week after Ann informed me of the Council's near bankrupt situation.

I hope as the first order of business from this point on is to begin looking at candidates for the director's job of the Council. I am already in the process of trying to raise money for that purpose, and am relatively optimistic.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
PHONE CLINTON 5-1404

125 KEECH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
PHONE CLINTON 3-0179

FROM THE DESK OF
HENRINE WARD BANKS

November 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Anthony:

May I take this opportunity to thank you for the time, interest, and inspiration you gave to the Florida Council on Human Relations at the Annual. Your presence during the sessions and your advice or explanation of our situation meant so much to all of us--even the dissentors. I feel we have new light, new inspiration, new hope, and will move forward toward expansion as to membership and program; and a new sight of our states needs.

I am sorry, but it was impossible for me to attend the S.R.C. meeting. I really thought, until the last hour, that I would come, but things bogged down here as only they can on a college campus. I knew Mr. Davidson would be there, thus knew that Florida would be more than adequately represented.

Did we win the Mitchell Prize for membership increase? I have not talked with Mr. Davidson since his return. Thank you for your concern for us.

My two years as president of the FCHR has been a most enriching, delightful experience for me. I am afraid that I have gained more than I have given. I shall continue to work where needed, especially to help revive the Council here in Daytona Beach.

Plan to talk with Ann in the Miami office Friday and keep close to her until we get a director.

All the very best to you and the staff there.

Sincerely yours,

Henrine W. Banks
(Mrs.) Henrine W. Banks
President, Florida Council on
Human Relations

HWB/aog

file

Dec. 6, 1968

Dear Paul---

the Newsletter is finally in the mail. Sorry it took so long, but the folding, inserting, stapling, addressing and bundling of 3000 newsletters on something less than the most modern equipment does take time. Am enclosing a copy--hope it's o.k. and that it has the desired effect.

Ann Garey

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1221 N.W. 43rd Street
Miami, Florida 33142
Phone 633-7261

December, 1968

Dear Fellow Members of FCHR:

This is my first letter to you as your President--an honor conferred on me at our Annual Meeting in Avon Park.

This is a good time to be a new president--a good time and a challenging time. It is good because we are making a new beginning. As you read in the Newsletter, we are accepting SRC's offer to provide and pay for an Executive Director for one year. So it is a good time as it gives us the opportunity to revitalize ourselves.

It is challenging because it must be a time to go forward with more imaginative and meaningful and effective work in human relations--and to raise the money with which to do so.

With some help from SRC, we can just pay our bills through December. To carry on--to maintain our State office operation in Miami, to continue to publish a Newsletter--we must have funds, and we must have them now. We need to know that we can continue to pay our bills in January and throughout the year.

Our budget this year has been pared to about $10,000--a sum that we have raised through contributions in the past. I know we can do that and more, but the issue is one of time.

Won't you give serious consideration to your commitment to FCHR right now and send us your contribution at this most crucial period? This appeal applies to the commitments of the local councils as well as to individuals.

Sincerely,

Herbert Davidson
President

OPEN DOORS

OF

FLORIDA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

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The State Office has just mailed out about 100 reports of the FCHR Annual Meeting at Avon Park on November 8-9. These three-page reports went to the Presidents of the local councils and State Board members. In reporting this meeting to you through this Newsletter, it occurs to us that not only must we make the report shorter, but that we really can and still say the same things. We'd like to start by suggesting that a good covering comment on the recommendations made at Avon Park for the coming year would be something like . . . .

LET'S GET TURNED ON------TUNED IN------AND GET INTO THE ACTION!!

But first things first(in the order of their appearance) . . . . .the actual business of the meeting consisted of passing the following items. All of these actions were preceeded by much searching discussion, and if anyone would like the copy of the full report, it is yours for the asking.

1. It was decided to accept Southern Regional Council's offer to declare ourselves "non-viable" and have SRC provide and pay an Executive Director for the next year.

2. The Florida Council willcontinue to administer and sponsor the Rural Advancement Project, but the funding will come from other sources.

3. A revised budget, omitting salaries and expenses of a Director, Assoc. Director, and RAP Director was accepted. The other change to the budget was to increase the office manager's salary to $5200 a year. The budget stands at a little over $10,000, a sum which we have raised through contributions in the past.

4. The resignation of our Director, August VandenBosche, was officially, though regretfully, accepted.

5. The following officers were elected to serve for 1969-70.

Herbert Davidson, President
James Sanderlin, Vice President
H. Franklin Williams, Secretary
Ted Nichols, Treasurer

Now to get on with our forward look into 1969----discussion ran from "is a State Council on Human Relations needed?" to fund raising, program, and how to make FCHR more effective. One little side note here---we went to the Southern Regional Council's Annual Meeting in Atlanta and found upon talking with representatives and Director's of other State Councils, that they have similar problems--also that SRC itself is faced with the same basic dillemas on a wider scale. O.K., so here is where we come to getting TURNED ON and TUNED IN with the times . . . . .

Yes, a State Council on Human Relations is needed, but we must update our programs and our goals.We can no longer consider it a great accomplishment to "have a dinner with blacks and whites sitting down and eating together". We can no longer think that we are doing out bit by sending our worn out clothes into the Ghetto, and we cannot sit back and look with satisfied pride at the Civil Rights laws and think that they have solved the problem. One prominent Negro leader expressed the view that the Civil Rights Laws have not changed the life of the average ghetto dweller at all.

We must upgrade and update our programs and goalstoward helping blacks gain economic and political power. We need to speak to the black leadership--we need to face the complex problems of the law enforcement agencies and their relationships to the community. We must speak to the middle and upper class whites who run the country and make our voices heard about employment, education, welfare programs and the slums and ghettos. We must work hard to help blacks achieve leadership and perhaps, above all, we must speak to and LISTEN TO the youth. One real area of consensus, both at Avon Park and Atlanta was the

Florida Council on Human Relations
1221 N.W. 43rd St.
Miami, Fla. 33142

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necessity of involving more young people in our program and in our planning. We must not let our Boards "wither on the vine". This is not meant to detract in any way from the value of the service that many of our senior members have rendered and which they continue to give most effectively. It is saying--and saying loud and clear that we need to move over and make room for some young blood--young persons with new and fresh ideas that can truly communicate with the new issues of the day.

Finally we must explore ways to reach the uncommited and unconvinced--- the average white person who is not a racist or a bigot but just has not become concerned enough to lift the veil of ignorance and see how some of his brothers are living.

****

Following are some of the ways our local groups have been getting INTO THE ACTION. LAKELAND and MIAMI carried on well organized and effective Voter Registration-Education Drives. These resulted not only in more names on the books, but in teaching first-timers the importance of voting. Many had no experience with voting machines--demonstrators were used to teach them. Their voting rights were explained--to many for the first time--both in person and through printed pamphlets. One most important side effect was the experience in community organization. People in the community working with and for each other with the common goal of achieving a voice in their own destiny.

The ST. PETERSBURG Council made its voice heard by writing to the Pinellas delegation in the legislature concerning the displacement of persons by the advent of highway I-4. Copies of their letter,urging their legislators to pass an act enabling the displacees to take advantage of the Federal Highway Act of 1968, are available for any groups that have a like problem in their area.

CLEARWATER members are active in a Neighborhood Action Center(NAC) which was set up as an information center on welfare and health problems, but now finds itself in the job referral business at the request of many persons who could not find employment through the state agencies. Calls from NAC to area employers unearthed many who are actually seeking minority group workers for on-the-job training. Some firms have eliminated standard written tests and high school graduation requirements. Their new goal is to make NAC a black operated service. They are also planning a black operated Thrift Shop.

WEST VOLUSIA(DE LAND) continues operating its three successful day-care centers for working mothers with low incomes. Many of us were surprised to hear at the Annual Meeting that this group actually raises $10,000 a year for this project. Which must prove that if there is a good cause that serves a great need, funding can be found.

The TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS is involved in an interesting experiment called "Communication and Confrontation. The council calls upon the white community to participate by having a family invite about 10 persons into their home to hear 2 or 3 members of the black community "tell it like it is." They have prepared an excellent little pamphlet describing and making suggestions for these Family Confrontations---just let us know if you could use some of these booklets and we'll be happy to send them to you.

An idea that caught our imagination(forgot just where this is being done) is a project called "Buy Black". A group compiled and distributed a directory of black owned and/or operated businesses in their city.This is not a plan to undermine white business--no one is urged to drop any of their present business contacts or suppliers, but many times, particularly those of us concerned with human relations, would like to take this means of increasing the communication between the black and white business communities. This office is located in a Negro area and on many occassions have found ourselves in need of some service or product that was not being supplied to us at the time--often we were in a hurry and would love to have called on some local business, Negro owned, but haven't know where they were. How convenient such a directory would be. This would be a fairly simple project for any local council to undertake, and the State office would be delighted to help with mimeographing, etc. Give this some thought and let us know your reactions to such a venture.

****

The Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia was in Miami to speak to the Urban Coalition group about a project in his city called Opportunities Industrialization Centers(OIC). This project involved in finding jobs and providing on the job training opportunities was started in Mr. Sullivan's church by his congregation--it has mushroomed to 8 centers around Philadelphia as well as about 70 other centers in other cities. Mr. Sullivan says that the 6000 persons trained through the centers have added $25,000.000 to the economony of the state and have reduced the Pennsylvania relief rolls by $5,000.000. We are going to get more information on this project and would be most eager to pass it on to any local council or group that would be interested in initiating similar projects.

****

P L E A S E R E A D O U R P R E S I D E N T ' S E N C L O S E D L E T T E R---P O N D E R T H E S E P R O G R A M S F O R P R O G R E S S ---A N D M E E T T H E C H A L L E N G E T O A C T I O N!

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5225 Ponce de Leon Boulevard Coral Gables, Florida 33146
Phone 661-5598

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Associate Director
WILLIAM H. MILES

December 18, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth St. N.W
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Augie and I read Ralph McGill's column yesterday with interest and great pride and sort of basked in the reflected glory that was bestowed on SRC.

Nice to know that all the struggle does sometimes bear fruit.

Congratulations to all of you!

Sincerely,

Ann

(Mrs.)Ann Garey
Office mgr.

Best wishes for the campaign for peace + good will.

From

The Friendship

Cabin

At Christmas

Katharine and Frank Foster

Friendship

Maine 1956

Congratulations on the fine leadership of your paper

F.C.F.

To

Mr Harold C Fleming

Southern Regional Council

Room 432

63 Auburn Ave. N.E.

Atlanta 3 Ga.

FRIENDSHIP MAINE DEC 20 11 AM 1956

~~[illegible]~~

file program NEd

December 5, 1946

Mr. D. E. Williams
Director of Negro Education
State Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Williams:

I would like your advice on what we should do next about developing our project of cooperation with the Florida Citizens Committee on Education. If you think it would be worthwhile, I could run down to Tallahassee some time soon and go over the plans with you.

Dr. Trigg has worked out a tentative schedule which might be used in making surveys of Negro schools. I am enclosing a copy of the schedule. Please give us your advice as to its usability by Council members who would visit individual schools. Mark it up with changes and suggestions in any way you wish.

Please excuse me for welcoming you as a new member of SRC when I wrote you recently. I should have known thatt you were already a member.

Hoping to hear from you soon and with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp
Enclosure

December 18, 1946

Mr. D. E. Williams
Department of Education
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Williams:

Thanks for your letter of December 10. I have delayed replying because I have been trying to figure exactly when I could come down to Tallahassee to see you and Dr. Edgar L. Morphet.

I believe that sometime during the first week of January will be best as far as I am concerned. If it is all right with you I will say tentatively that I plan to be there on January 3 and 4. Unless I hear from you I will assume that those dates are all right with you. If anything comes up that causes a change in my plans I will let you know.

Christmas greetings and all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

STATE OF FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

COLIN ENGLISH
SUPERINTENDENT

TALLAHASSEE

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

December 10, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of December 5.

I hope we are through with the preliminary part of the Florida School Study. We began in the summer of 1945 by holding study and work meetings with teachers of both races at the two state institutions in Tallahassee. These meetings were for the purpose of developing work procedures, or plans for studying education.

Sub-committees were appointed for various aspects of education, such as resource-use education, organization and administration, the school curriculum, student welfare, teacher personnel, school facilities, school finance, elementary education, secondary education, higher education, coordination of other agencies interested in education - and so on.

For each sub-committee a group of white people and a group of Negro people were appointed. The chairman of the Negro group was the liaison between his sub-committee and the white sub-committee. Each Negro chairman met and sat with the white committee in its deliberations. Consultants were appointed to serve on all aspects of education. Dr. Ambrose Caliver of the U. S. Office of Education and Dr. H. C. Trenholm, president of Alabama State Teachers College, served as consultants in the study of Negro schools. The committees and the consultants have made their reports to the Citizens Committee. It is hoped that the Citizens Committee will accept the recommendations of the sub-committees and endorse these recommendations to the Governor and the Legislature.

I think that you would like to make a trip to Tallahassee, talk with Dr. Edgar L. Morphet, Executive Secretary of the Citizens Committee, and incidentally go fishing. It might be best to make this trip the last week in December just before the New Year, or early in January. What is your preference?

Looking forward to seeing you, and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

D. E. Williams

D. E. Williams
Supervisor of Instruction

DEW/gs

January 9, 1947

Mr. D. E. Williams
State Department of Education
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Williams:

I want to thank you for your hospitality and for making it possible to meet so many people while I was in Tallahassee last weekend. I certainly feel that the trip was worthwhile. The Saturday project was also enjoyable and successful.

Please express to Mrs. Williams my appreciation for her hospitality. I am afraid that she went to a lot of trouble on my account. I enjoyed very much the privilege of being with you and Mrs. Williams in your home.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Florida - Gov's Comm.

January 28, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of your recent letter to Mr. Ray.

We are planning a meeting in Tampa, on February 8, with a group of Negro citizens of the state. Following this meeting I think we would be in position to decide upon a date for a meeting with our group in Tallahassee. I think you have a splendid idea and I think much could be done if we are able to meet here in the near future and decide upon certain pertinent needs facing Negro schools.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:acbb

Foreign Policy Clearing House
300 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE, S. E. WASHINGTON 3, D. C. Telephone: LIncoln 6-8900

Harold -

It was very nice to meet you at lunch with Adam Y.

Also thank you for the interesting material you sent.

I appreciated your good article in the NY Times mag.

Best good wishes,

JAY H. CERF

DIRECTOR
FOREIGN POLICY CLEARING HOUSE

300 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE, S. E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
LINCOLN 6-8900

December 15, 1953

Father Albert S Foley
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

The Newsletter went out only during the summer when we had the advantage of an Agnes Scott teacher who did special work with us on the Schools matter.

I am so glad that you and I agree on the very high quality of Brownell's brief. Most Southern papers have presented it as an inflammatory blast at the South. It is extraordinarily conciliatory I think, and the reluctant South would be well through with the whole matter if the Court would accept all Brownell's recommendations.

The authority on educating communities about de-segregating the South is Irene Osborne. You will find her name in the HIGHLANDER material and in some of our material too. She is a non-Quaker who was engaged by the American Friends Service Committee office (104 C Street, N E, Washington, D C) to get Washington ready for unsegregated schools. She has done a magnificent job. Found the facts. Built up a mailing list of interested people. Has it worked around now so that she and her associates are quite influential in school policies in D C. Calm, Quaker-like and gentle. That rather than the Highlander experience is the one to build on in my judgement.

I sent a copy of NEW SOUTH that bore on a study in St Louis done by the Teamsters Union that was quite a good job. Worth your writing to the Union for a copy of the full report. They took it on, school by school and area by area, within the city and calculated how many children ought to be going to what school and what to do about the category of teachers. That sort of thing.

The more I think about the whole matter the more I am convinced that one of the important next steps is for us to get Negroes on school boards straight through the South. There will be ten thousand little matters to be adjusted. Clumsy and socially disruptive to decide them in the courts; healthily democratic and successful to decide them in the school boards with everybody represented. A newspaper friend has just agreed to do a round-up story of all the Southern cities that have tried this. We are hopeful to get it reprinted soon and begin a Southwide push to get these examples followed. Small hint: Somebody would do a great service by printing a model teacher tenure law and dropping it into

the controversy-hopper. Dan Dodson of New York University has done a good deal on school matters.

What would be more interesting than descriptions by appropriate persons of the experiences of the parochial schools in St Louis and Washington?

A keen lawyer could give several most interesting lectures on the Constitution vs the "dodges" such as Georgia and other States threaten to try.

Katherine Stoney tells me that your dues were fully and promptly paid in April, 1953, and that you will duly be billed again in April, 1954. Because of your moving, our recent issues of NEW SOUTH have probably not reached you, so I send the last three.

Mr J L LeFlore, of the Mobile Branch of the NAACP, has formally invited me to come to Mobile January first and speak at the Emancipation Day Exercises and I have agreed. The College will of course not be in session but perhaps this will give me another opportunity to talk with you.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 6

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

Spring Hill Station

Mobile, Alabama

December 5, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn St. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George,

Could you put me on the mailing list for your "Newsletter on Schools" and other materials that may be coming out on the Supreme Court issue?

I just received a copy of the Department of Justice's supplemental brief (a friend in the Department of Justice Library sent it to me), and it looks like a clincher. It has the answers to the Court's questions of last June, and does a good job of presenting a reasonable course of action for the long-range solution of the wider problem as well as for the immediate redress of the inustices patent in the cases before the Court.

I am toying with the idea of promoting a Workshop or Seminar on Community Relations and School Equalization, but need some ideas and suggestions. So far, I have only the Highlander Workshop program to go by. Have there been any other experimental adult education projec-ts like that on the school issue?

Has my membership in SRC lapsed? Please bill me if it has.

Cordially yours,

Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J. Ph.D.
Dept. of Social Science

RECEIVED
DEC 7
Southern Regional Council

Pd. dues
4/53
address changed

January 7, 1954

Dictated January 6

Mr. Tom Foster
State Agent
Preferred Risk Mutual Insurance Company
Route 2
Norman Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Foster:

Hi! I wish we had good eggs like you in hundreds of towns instead of in just a few.

New South gives so little organisational news that I am sure you are behind in that. The Fund for the Republic gave us $240,000 April 2nd of this past year, to be used in getting race relations agencies with paid staff going in a dozen Southern states. They are underway now in all but two of the twelve we have worked with -- Virginia and Florida. We made a decision openly, but never happily, to split the money twelve ways instead of thirteen and leave Oklahoma out. I thought Oklahoma had the resources to do the job for itself if it felt the need of it, and it seemed to me that the other states simply had to be helped.

We continue to have O. D. Duncan on the Board of the Southern Regional Council, as some recognition of what we all regard as Oklahoma's full status as a co-Southern state. But our membership in the state is still eight, or nine, or ten, and for the time being at any rate, we don't see how we can help financially. But if Oklahoma needs a race relations agency, or if we can advise in any way, we will be as generous as we can with correspondence and travel.

Meanwhile, if you can do anything to spread further the reprinted and improved edition of Answers for Action, we would be grateful. It is our best recipe for getting things done. I send you an extra one separately. Obvious that we made the map useable!

Sincerely and Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover this date.

cc: Mr. O. D. Duncan

Southern Regional Council

6/4/54, 194

TO: GTH R ☐

FROM: HCF

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	( )	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	( )	5. Suggested Reply	( )
3. Recommendation	(✓)	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to this office ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

My view is "Nuts."
Same here —
G.T.H

Courier
America's BEST WEEKLY
ABC
MURRAY 3-7000

GEORGIA EDITION
WILLIAM A. FOWLKES, Editor

250 Auburn Ave., N. E. Room 401
Atlanta 3, Ga. ALpine 0341

June 2, 1954

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On September 4, the Courier will publish an historic tribute to American Negro Labor and Industry and the part played in building up the greatest democracy on earth.

We want you to share in this carefully edited, profusely illustrated supplement. Special articles and advertising will tell a story of Negro Labor that may well be the Bible for this outstanding contribution to the world's greatest civilization. Both industrial and labor writers will cite history and current events, pointing up Negro Labor in every field.

This edition will be part of the regular Courier circulation, the largest among Negro newspaper publications. There will be increased special circulation to take care of expected orders. The special supplement will cover the nation.

You may tell your story in the advertising space that we have set aside for this special edition. The advertising rate for the Labor-Industry Edition is $11.20 per column inch, or 80 cents per line. A large number of businesses, industries and unions have already indicated their interest in the edition. You can not afford to be left out since Negro Labor has contributed much to your past history and to that of our country.

The deadline for advertising is July 15. We would appreciate some indication of your interest in this project. A letter or call would be appreciated.

This is an excellent opportunity to create and maintain good will and favorable public relations. It is also an excellent institutional advertising media.

Yours very truly,

William A. Fowlkes

William A. Fowlkes, Editor
COURIER, GEORGIA EDITION

WAF:nkc

ELISE M. FORD
Personnel Consultant . . . Placement Agency

545 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
MUrray Hill 7-2195

July 24, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
218 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You will notice on the enclosed brochure that the service we render is in the field of personnel placement. The fields in which I work are social welfare, health, religion, education.

As I was discussing some available candidates with Mr. Maurice Moss, of the National Urban League, he suggested that I might write to you to bring to your attention the kind of service we are qualified to render and to acquaint you with the high calibre candidates who are registered with us.

In the event that you are currently seeking people who have had community organization, fund raising, public relations or similar backgrounds, we would be very pleased to have the opportunity of working along with you. If we are supplied with fairly good job descriptions or qualifications for particular positions, we will be glad to send resumes.

May we look forward to hearing from you at your early convenience? Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Irma T. Hupfel

Irma T. Hupfel
Placement Manager

ITH:aar
Enclosures

RECEIVED
JUL 27 1954
Southern Regional Council

900W LP

USE FOR ONE SUBJECT ONLY

M. Geo. Mitchell

PREFERRED RISK MUTUAL INS. CO.
3400 North Nevada - Colorado Springs, Colorado

DATE: 12/31 - 54
SUBJECT:

BY:

$10.00 CR 1/3/55
rha
Sent receipt.

Happy New Year!

Keep the good work going. Let me know if I can help you.

Tom Foster

RECEIVED
1/3/55
Southern Regional Council

November 4, 1955

Dear Irene:

Yes, do help Father Foley at Spring Hill. He is a good guy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

To Dr. G. S. M.

I am off to Kentucky. Sorry to miss talking with you again, but I will see you in Indianapolis.

Do you want to look over the attached? It is from Father Foley to ~~Dick Bennett~~ AFSC, and I suppose you already know about it. If it seems I should take part in the Spring Hill ~~[illegible]~~ workshop, I might make it on Nov 21, as I will be in Memphis just before that, and could adjust the schedule. I leave this to you, and you can make a reply to Father Foley if you like.

I'm stopping in Montgomery the night before the Board meeting and will be talking with Bob Hughes.

Regards

Nina Dean

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

cc: Sadye Simon

Date October 19, 1955

To: Irene Osborne

From: Barbara Moffett

Subject:

There follows a copy of a letter we received this morning from Father Albert S. Foley of the Department of Social Sciences of Spring Hill College in Alabama. The last paragraph indicates that he may be getting in touch with George Mitchell, but I thought it would be good to send this letter on to you anyway. He sounds like a very interesting person, and the study schedule for his Human Relations Workshop for this fall and winter sounds wonderful. We will send him a copy of your report and indicate that we have sent his letter on to you.

(attached)

His letter follows:

SPRING HILL COLLEGE
Mobile-Spring Hill Station-Alabama

October 15, 1955

Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Penna

Dear Miss Osborne and/or
Dear AFSC:

Please send me a copy of the report of the AFSC community relations project in Washington 1951-55, "Toward the Elimination of Segregation in the Nation's Capital."

Having done my doctoral dissertation on segregation in the Capital as I found it in 1949-1950, I shall be interested in seeing the great changes that the AFSC program has wrought, and how they were brought about. Congratulations on a fine work splendidly done.

I am glad to know that the AFSC experience in the District of Columbia will be shared with us down here in the South through cooperation with the Southern Regional Council.

If Irene Osborne or any of her co-workers would be available in this area during the next two or three months, we would like to have their assistance with a human relations workshop that we are conducting here in conjunction with our evening division. I am enclosing a copy of the tentative schedule. I shall be in touch with George Mitchell of the SRC, and I trust that we will be able to have someone down here from AFSC. We would like to have them on November 21 or 28, but would adjust the schedule to fit theirs.

Cordially yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.
Deaprtment of Social Sciences

BWM:lr

So. 158. Spring Hill College, Evening Division. Human Relations Workshop. Father Foley.

Day & Date	Session Number	WORKSHOP AGENDA Tentative Discussion Schedule & Work Plan	Consultant(s) and/or Projects	Program Committee
Sept. 19	1	Introduction. Human Relations Workshops: History, Methods, Procedures, Requirements	Staff	
Sept. 26	2	The Main Human Relations Problems of the Global, National, Regional, Local Scene.		
Oct. 3 3	3	Human Rights & Norms for Good Human Relations The Ethical and Religious Picture		
Oct. 10	4	Human Rights and Human Relations: The Constitutional Picture, The Bill of Rights & the Supreme Court.		
Oct. 17	5	Historical Background of Contemporary Problems in HR. History of Bigotry in USA. Segregation Systems Impact on Human Rights through Institutional Standardization of Prejudice		
Oct 24	6	The Dynamics of Prejudice: Causes, Symptoms, Syndromes, Vehicles, e.g. Stereotypes, Caricatures...		
Oct. 31	7	American Minorities and Human Relations. Anti-Semitism: A Case Study in the Meaning and Causes of Prejudice		
Nov. 7	8	Federal Defense of Human Rights of U. S. Citizens. State Laws & Proposals to Protect HR		
Nov. 14	9	Methods and Techniques for Betterment of Human Relations in Industry, Business		
Nov. 21	10	The Churches and the Improvement of Human Relations: The Social Action Approach		
Nov. 28	11	Programming for Democracy in Schools vs. Educational Transmission of Prejudice thru Biased Textbooks, Teaching, Resources &c.		
Dec. 5	12	The Group Dynamics Approach to Better HR. Community Resources for Abatement of Prejudice. Materials for Programming		
Dec. 12	13	Informal Media of Communication: The Tradition of Prejudice in Songs, Jokes, Sayings, Slang, &c.		
Dec 19	14	Betterment of Human Relations Through Recreation, Discussion Clubs, Creative Arts, Radio, TV		
Jan. 9	15.	The Block Organization & Neighborhood Council Approach to Better Human Relations: Programs for Democracy in Clubs, Civic Forums, PTAs &c.		
Jan. 16.	16	The Thousand Agencies in the H.R. Field: Private, Municipal, State, Federal Bodies: Functions, Methods, Aims, Services.		
Jan.	17	Summary and Review Session		

Dr. Frank C. Foster,
University of Maine,
Orono,
MAINE.

March 13th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Foster,

Thanks for your kind letter and for the reprint of your article in the Maine Alumnus. Your summary is very good and particularly timely just now.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
ORONO, MAINE
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION STEVENS, SOUTH

March 5, 1956

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was about this time last year that Mrs. Foster and I were passing through Georgia and had the chance to call on you in your office.

The reports you send out through the New South give a balance to the news we need in the face of the bluster of the resistance.

These Notes I wrote last year reflect what I noted from the inside, but I judge the basic forces are the same. These were printed in the Bangor Daily News last summer and picked up by the Maine Alumnus.

With best wishes,

Frank C. Foster

Frank C. Foster

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Reprinted from the February, 1956 issue, THE MAINE ALUMNUS
(University of Maine)

The Southland Revisited

A Studied Evaluation of Public Education in the South by a University Professor Who Taught There 30 Years Ago

By Dr. Frank C. Foster
Professor of Education

SEGREGATION is not the major issue or interest in education in the South. And it can be shown that in many ways the South is doing more for public education today than Maine.

To those who read the news every day of the more spectacular events in the South, this may seem contradictory. But after traveling there a month and a half, visiting schools, colleges, state offices and many communities I am convinced those statements are accurate.

Segregation is a difficult enough problem. It is a frustrating and confusing factor in the South's development.

But the big issue and significant force in southern life today is education itself.

By this I mean that the money that has gone into plant, the improvements I saw demonstrated in teaching itself—in fact, the whole increase in the quality and quantity of education is the real "story behind the story" in that part of our country.

The vitality of this movement to improve education generally is today one of the South's major investments in building anew that part of our nation.

And I think this holds a real lesson for us.

WE have allowed ourselves to think that the New England area is the part of the United States where education has had its beginning and its major growth.

We should revise this thinking—bring it up to date in the light of developments in other parts of the country, such as the South.

For example, a comparison of the available statistics on attendance, investments in schools and teachers' salaries and the resources available for education tells this story today:

The South has been drawing more per tax dollar into building for the future through education and their youth than we have here in Maine.

But the figures are not as striking as the programs and the buildings themselves.

In city after city, town after town through the deep South the most attractive and striking building you see is the new school.

In Lynchburg, Va., for example (a town of about the size of Lewiston), sits a beautiful new school plant costing four and a half million dollars.

And these are increasingly the "people's schools." I was shown through the half finished structure of the new Woodrow Wilson High School in Portsmouth, Va. Set in a beautiful park with a large auditorium, this investment in the future will serve the whole city as a civic center with programs for adults as well as youth, open evenings and summers as well as winters.

Offerings in shop, music, art, business, hobbies provide opportunities for growth in improved occupational skill to better home and community life.

WHEN I look at the progress which has been made in education and in general cultural relations in the South, in the 30 years since I first taught school there, I am confident for the future.

This feeling I have despite the news you read frequently of sporadic outburst of feelings both for and against desegregation. For the South has powerful forces of great moral and spiritual strength that have led and continue to lead the move towards equality for all people.

After my travels in the deep South this year, this is the way I believe those who are in the midst of the effort to bring understanding and justice see the conflict:

Since the Civil War and Emancipation Proclamation, three things have happened to further the idea of equality. They are: the New Deal (whether you like its policies or not) which gave the South the best chance it has had since Reconstruction to recover from the impoverishment of the Civil War; the improvement in public education generally; and the historic decision of desegregation of the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954.

WITH this background in history, leading southern thinkers now make these observations about the present conflict in racial relations:

Frank C. Foster, professor of education, was on leave of absence last spring to study public education in the south, where he taught school more than 30 years ago. His observations on the educational improvements in the three decades and on the desegregation problem are stated in the accompanying article.

Dr. Foster began his teaching career in China, where his parents were missionaries, shortly after graduating from Colby College in 1916. He has devoted his career to teaching and to work allied with education and religion.

He earned the B.D. degree at Union Theological Seminary and the M.A. at Teachers College, Columbia University, both in 1924, and the Ph.D. at Teachers College in 1933.

1. The Supreme Court decision—restating the principle of equality of man—is but one step in a long series of accomplishments towards equality of all citizens in all parts of the nation. And the decision must also be seen in the relation of the United States to the whole world—we would have lost our moral standing before the world had the court made any other decision; yet such profound changes in society are not peacefully and lastingly made as quickly as such decisions are released and publicized.

2. Looking at it in a slightly different way: the decision states our position as a nation. The method of bringing about desegregation is still to be worked out.

3. There have been many other examples of failure to realize in fact what we define by law. For instance the Emancipation Proclamation gave the Negro legal freedom, but not economic and spiritual freedom. Desegregation in education is but one approach to this wider problem.

4. It follows, too, that the basic attitudes that are at the root of the segregation problem cannot be settled by legal decision alone.

The decision helps; at the same time it opens up old sores and rouses bitter opposition from some who have been oblivious of the progress towards open relationships. Teachers have been meeting together without any discrimination for many years in state and county meetings throughout the South. Negro supervisors are employed in state offices. But since the decision some protests have been heard even against this much equality.

5. Government institutions have apparently made more progress in fair play than religious institutions. Churches in the South have made fine-sounding resolutions in support of the desegregation decision; yet they remain the most segregated of organizations.

6. The great struggle is within the south. To make of this anything of a North-South controversy is to confuse the nature of the contest. The South, as I have said, has good and great forces of its own for moral and spiritual progress. Such groups as the Southern Regional Council have a long record of daring and steady education in behalf of justice and understanding.

More hate is expressed against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than any other group active in the campaign. This is probably because it has been the agency to bring the suits in court leading to decisions. The NAACP is damned for being a group of "Northern Niggers." As a matter of fact James Weldon Johnson, the first executive secretary (who died, incidentally at the railroad crossing in Wiscasset, Maine) was born in Florida and taught school there before coming north. Walter White, the revered secretary who died this year, was a native of Atlanta. The NAACP has good reason for maintaining its home office in New York, but that does not make it a northern force. They are definitely one of the forces in the South carrying on a battle of ideas and ideals.

7. The South as a whole, according to good authority, seems to be divided about 20 per cent strongly in favor of desegregation; about 20 per cent strongly opposed; and the remaining 60 per cent undecided. The fate of the Supreme Court decision is in the hands of this middle group, and the contending forces are working to win support from its members.

8. The range of opposition varies with the number of Negroes in the population. Where slavery was the greatest force, there are the largest concentrations of Negroes and the greatest resistance by white people to desegregation. In other areas the transition could be made without much adjustment.

OUT of all the confusion in the Negro-white issue in the South today, there seems to be a general feeling that desegregation is inevitable.

The strategy is to seek the time to work out peacefully and without violent disruption this problem brought to a sudden climax by the Supreme Court of the United States, in its historic decision "ordering" desegregation in the public schools.

Time is the important factor here. Or as one Negro observer put it, "I'm just going to sit back and wait and see what happens."

To give you an idea of the complex nature of the problem, here are some of the impressions I got first hand of the desegregation issue while traveling in the south this year:

One reason for much of the friction, for example, is the effort the southern schools have been making to provide equal-but-separate facilities for white and Negroes.

Many of the Negro schools I visited were better than the white schools in the same communities. Their teachers were better, too.

Actually this may help simplify desegregation eventually, one Negro principal told me. His school is geographically located in a neighborhood where white students could attend and feel proud of their education. It would be no loss to them—except in traditional racial pride!

Again, the Samuel Armstrong Negro High School in Richmond, Virginia, was new and up-to-date. The John Marshall High School for white students—same city—was old and run down.

We do not have a school in Maine that matches in educational offerings and range of courses the Negro school in Portsmouth, Virginia.

This sort of comparison can be made in every southern state—although of course this does not mean that all Negro students have access to new and modern schools or well trained and qualified teachers.

But the progress has been great over the time I can recall when I first taught in the South when it was accepted practice to pay lower salaries to Negro teachers, no matter what their qualifications.

In Mobile, Alabama, a talk by a school administrator pointed up another phase of the problem.

He observed that desegregation would be hard for Negro teachers since teaching, for them, is the highest form of employment. Thus a high percentage of Negro college graduates go into teaching.

In Mobile, for instance, the salary level of Negro teachers is slightly higher than that for white teachers. This is simply because the colored teachers have a higher level of training, and because many well educated white teachers can find other ways to sell their services—while Negroes cannot so easily.

ONE Negro teacher pointed out to me that colored teachers will be drawn into other professions when the caste lines are broken and employment is opened up in occupations now closed to them.

Then I found great differences in different states in the South in the way the problem is regarded.

Mississippi, I learned from the High School Supervisor, is definitely set against desegregation—but not against equal facilities for both sides.

This State will go into a system of private schools, he said, rather than accept the principle of desegregation.

Louisiana, on the other hand, I felt is pushing forward more rapidly in education and would begin to make adjustments sooner.

One of the most persistent impressions left from all my conversations and observations in the South is the lack of communication between white and colored people.

The continual references to "we" and "they" assume a dividing line, and treats "them" as a solid block.

Actually there are many white people in the South who are moving towards desegregation; there are also differences between Negro individuals. Some of them would keep segregation in order to hold their jobs and security. Others insist on "justice," and the opportunities that came through cultural intermingling.

Most all wish to act with caution to avoid violence and any set-back from progress already gained.

The caste system is not new, either to north or south. It is written deep into the cultural roots of our nation, even though we may be farther away from it than some others.

For instance in the South reference is frequently made to the fact that the North is also deeply prejudiced, and cold in its treatment at times of the individual person of color or of another race.

The simple fact is, of course, that the struggle for respect to people as individuals, regardless of race, religion, class or nation has not been won in any part of the country. It is part of the "coming victory of democracy," yet to be won.

July 25, 1956

Mr. Grady Fowler
LaGrange
Georgia

Dear Mr. Fowler:

I am returning your manuscript with regrets and with apologies for having kept it so long.

The staff here read it with much interest and appreciation for the point of view which you defend so ably. However, we have concluded that the approach is both too lengthy and too technical for New South. Had you thought of getting it published in one of the more serious journals? I don't know that field of publications very well, but I should think some publication like the Journal of Public Law at Emory would be interested.

In any case, our thanks for letting us see the manuscript and our kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

GRADY FOWLER
LAGRANGE, GA.

July 6, 1956

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I certainly hope that you will help me to make this report to the people in your magazine, "The New South."

RECEIVED JUL 6 1956

Very truly yours,

Grady Fowler

Grady Fowler

File

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

24 May 57.

Dear Mr. Constable —

The reprints have now come & I thank you for them. The reprinting was well done. I am pleased, of course, that you found the article useful — & I very greatly hope that in the new publication it will do good.

Yours sincerely

Charles Fairman

check last yr.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

ORONO, MAINE

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION STEVENS, SOUTH

Friendship, Maine
June 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
Room 432
63 Aururn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Last year you kindly sent us information about the work of the Southern Regional Council that we were able to give out to our class members in the workshop in Intercultural Understanding.

We are now preparing materials for the workshop that starts on July 6th, and would like to have a similar assortment of material descriptive of the services of the Council.

I have enjoyed the reports through the year and appreciate the valuable leadership you are providing in a very difficult situation.

This* is my last year at the University. I hope on retirement to have another opportunity to return South. When we visited you in 1955 I commented to my wife that "This is good rehearsal for retirement." Having lived and taught in the south for 16 years, retiring with 14 years at the University of Maine, you can see we have good reason to feel at home when we visit scenes of earlier teaching responsibilities.

With congratulations to you on the continued vitality of your work, and personal regards,

Sincerely,

Frank C. Foster

* 1959-60!

Did you receive a copy of our 1958 report? We had two students from Norfolk Virginia who showed splendid leadership on their return to that situation.

Separate mailing: 35 copies Cong. Rec. Reprint - on the Aims and Origins of SRC

June 10, 1958

Dr. F. C. Foster
University of Maine
Orono, Maine

Dear Dr. Foster:

Thanks so much for the notice of your forthcoming workshop and your accompanying note. We are glad to have a chance to put before your group some information on the work of the Southern Regional Council. As it happens, our standard descriptive leaflet is presently under revision, but I am sending you separately thirty-five (35) copies of an article on the Council inserted in the Congressional Record by Senator Douglas. Included in the same reprint is one of our releases on voting discrimination in the South. I hope this material will be suitable for your workshop.

With warm regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

STAFF

FRANK C. FOSTER, Ph.D.
Director
Professor
College of Education
University of Maine

SOL KOLAK
Educational Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Boston, Mass.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
Summer Session
Staff

MRS. EDWARD MITCHELL
Welfare Director
Indian Island, Maine

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE BULLETIN

Vol. LX APRIL 1, 1958 No. 12

Published by University of Maine. Issued monthly in September, October, November, January, March, and May, twice in December and three times in February and April. Entered at the Orono Post Office as second class matter.

"We will work to rid ourselves of prejudice and discrimination so that together we may achieve a truly democratic society." WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE 1950

A WORKSHOP

Summer Session 1958
July 7 to July 25
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE BULLETIN

EDUCATION FOR INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

This three-week workshop is organized to help teachers and community workers to understand and to help resolve the problems of prejudice in human relations and the resulting tensions and conflicts.

purpose —

1. To consider in a scientific manner the causes and types of prejudice, friction, discrimination, segregation, hostility and fear.
2. To seek dispassionately to understand these divisions and conflicts in terms of ethnic loyalties, and by an analysis of the social-class levels and the power structure in our society.
3. To study and draw up workable plans to improve interpersonal and intergroup tension situations.
4. To set up plans and programs for the development of good human relations in school and community.

the program —

Emphasis will be given to actual participation in various group situations. Special interests of participants will serve as starting points of systematic inquiry. Background understandings from social sciences will be developed to show how these converge and contribute to the education process.

A primary goal is the development of understanding and improving interpersonal, intergroup and intercultural relations. Training will, therefore, include such techniques as sociodrama, group dynamics, rumor clinic analysis, and social class identification-analysis. Students will work in groups organized about problems faced in their own professional positions, planning activities, and reviewing resource materials such as may be used in local programs.

the schedule —

9:15 to 12:00 Lectures, discussions, organization of problems of participants and reports of consultants and special groups. The morning "coffee break" provides an opportunity for variation in the program. The use of films, recordings, and demonstrations of group methods of identifying and treating prejudices adds to the value of these sessions.

2:00 to 4:00 Afternoon activities are organized about small group interests and individual projects in reading, study, field trips, review of materials of use in developing programs, individual and small group interviews with staff or consultants.

recreation —

The entire cultural and recreational program of the University summer session is designed for all students to share and enjoy. Musicals, special lectures, weekend excursions, picnics and similar activities are indeed a part of the broad offerings of the summer session.

who should attend —

1. Teacher trainees, teachers and school administrators who must approach group relations in both *classroom* and *school-community* relationships.
2. Community leader personnel who constantly function through *committee* and other *intergroup* relationships.

credit —

Three semester hours of credit at the *undergraduate* or *graduate* level.

cost —

Total cost for room, board and tuition is about $125 for the course.

scholarships —

The National Conference of Christians and Jews grants a limited number of scholarships. Write to the NCCJ at the address closest to your home. Do not apply to the University for these scholarships and PLEASE FORWARD NO FUNDS UNTIL BILLED.

DETACH AND MAIL

application —

You may obtain registration forms for this Workshop in *one* of two ways as follows:

1. Return the attached slip and proper registration forms will be mailed to you

— or —

2. Write for bulletin in which will be found forms for requesting the required registration blanks.

A bulletin will be forwarded to you in any event but please use only *one* of the above methods for requesting registration forms.

TO: Director, Summer Session
University of Maine
Orono, Maine

Please send me a registration form for the Workshop in Intercultural Understanding. I desire one of the following:

☐ Graduate Credit ☐ Undergraduate Credit

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

I understand a Bulletin will be mailed to enable me to complete the forms when received.

rcd to MF for filing

June 22, 1959

Dr. Frank C. Foster
School of Education
University of Maine
Orono, Maine

Dear Dr. Foster:

It is good to hear from you again and to have an opportunity again to get some material on SRC into the hands of your workshop members. We are sending you separately an assortment of materials.

You did indeed send me your 1958 report, and I read with particular interest the contributions of your Norfolk students.

If you should repeat your Southern trip, don't fail to pay us another visit.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Dr. Foster:

It is good to hear from you again and to have an opportunity again to get some material on SRC into the hands of your workshop members. We are sending you separately an assortment of materials.

You did indeed send me your 1958 report, and I read with particular interest the contributions of your Norfolk students.

If you should repeat your Southern trip, don't fail to pay us another visit.

Cordially,

HCF

SC

(Ask John to send an assortment, including such things as the Lofton reprint on SRC and perhaps more Cong. Rec. reprints. Last year, we sent him 35 copies.)

Sent 6/23/59

Friendship, Maine

Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

614 Candler Building • Atlanta 3, Georgia • JAckson 5-4710 5-3461

John W. Nason
President

David E. Warner
Regional Director

February 15, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed for your information is a report just received from Miss Mary L. Ryan, Executive Director of the Association of International Relation Clubs, summarizing an incident in which the Southern Regional Council, in the person of Mr. Paul Anthony, assisted us in the solution of a serious problem.

As you will note on page 3, we called upon your organization, as the best source of wisdom on the subject that we knew of, as soon as the nature of the problem was brought to our attention here in Atlanta.

As usual, the Southern Regional Council gave prompt and effective cooperation.

I hope you will show Miss Ryan's report to Paul Anthony and convey to him once more our heartfelt thanks for his cooperation.

It is a great source of security to us to know that the Southern Regional Council exists and that it is always there and ready to help whenever needed.

Cordially,

Dave

Dave Warner

P.S.

I have not forgotten our mutual plans for the project with U.S.I.A. I have simply been swamped in recent months, and I gather that you have, too. I still would like to see us go ahead with it whenever there may be enough time to do a bit of intelligent planning and contacting.

cc: Dr. John W. Nason

DEW:csh

To - JWN, CDF, RCR, DD, RGM, DW, JS, AIRC Executive Board

From - M.L. Ryan

Report on 1959 Southeastern Regional Conference

This is a brief case study of a problem which arose in November 1959 as students from the Southeastern International Relations Clubs Region made plans for their 1959 annual regional conference. The problem involved the IRC at the University of South Carolina and an IRC at a Negro college, Dillard University at New Orleans, which was told it would not be welcome at the conference. Dillard University brought this matter to the attention of Mr. John W. Nason, President of The Foreign Policy Association, sponsoring agency for the Association of International Relations Clubs. A chronicle of the way in which the problem was handled, and the many contributions made by a number of people to this thorny issue, follows:

February 5, 1960

ORIGIN OF PROBLEM

Primarily for the purpose of encouraging better world affairs programs, the Association of International Relations Clubs is presently divided into thirteen regions. Each one of these regions is expected to hold a conference sometime in the course of the academic year. In 1958, at the Southeastern Regional meeting held at Virginia Military Institute, the University of South Carolina at Columbia was selected as the site of the 1959 conference. The conference chairman was to have been a student at The Citadel, Tony Motley. Somewhere along the way, under circumstances which we have not been able to discover, Tony disappeared from the scene and all attempts to contact him were futile. William Able, a student at the University of South Carolina, stepped in and capably assumed the role of acting regional conference chairman.

The events leading up to the issue which the Foreign Policy Association and the Association of International Relations Clubs eventually had to face came along in this order. According to his own report, Mr. Able went to the office of the Registrar at the University of South Carolina and went over the list of International Relations Clubs in the Southeastern IRC Region, weeding out all Negro college clubs. This is the normal procedure for these meetings which, since 1954 in any case, have never been integrated, or held on a campus where integrated meetings would be allowed. (A complete list of the clubs in the Southeastern Region, with the Negro colleges checked, is attached. Attachment 1) By mistake Dillard University in New Orleans was left on Mr. Able's list and an invitation to attend the conference was sent to the IRC President at Dillard, Miss Lois M. Foucher. (Attachment 2)

Miss Foucher showed the invitation to Dr. John B. Furey, Faculty Adviser to the Dillard IRC. Dr. Furey in turn sent a letter to Mr. Able acknowledging the kind invitation but before accepting, wanted to point out the following -

> "I wonder if you are aware that most of the students at Dillard University are Negro. Before we sent a delegation to the meeting, I feel that it is my obligation to make sure that full facilities for dining and lodging are available for our delegation." (Attachment 3)

In reply to this inquiry, Mr. Able on October 21 sent the following letter, withdrawing the invitation to Dillard and giving the reasons for this action. (The letter reads in part)

> "I am deeply sorry that I must withdraw the invitation but as you probably know, it is against both State law and school policy to hold a meeting at which both Colored and white people are present. We thoroughly checked the records at the Registrars trying to prevent such a situation, but apparently the records were not accurate. Again allow me to say that I am deeply sorry that such an error occurred and be so kind as to extend my apology to Miss Foucher and the other members of your club." (Attachment 4)

"Shocked and chagrined" by this reply Dr. Furey wrote back to Mr. Able and at this point involved AIRC in the following manner -

> "I am also somewhat puzzled. It was my impression that all chapters of the Association of International Relations Clubs are organized in support of the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations. I was further under the impression that all meetings of the AIRC are open to all college clubs in good standing. I would appreciate it if you would inform me where the International Relations Club of the University of South Carolina obtained the authority to 'check the records at the Registrars' or to use any other means to decide which of the clubs should be invited to the Regional Meeting and which clubs should be excluded from such meetings. Was this authority granted to your club at the last National Conference or were you empowered to make such a selection by the National Headquarters?" (Attachment 5)

On that same day (November 13) Dr. Furey wrote to Mr. Nason asking that FPA and AIRC "take some action in this instance of racial prejudice." (Attachment 6) And at this point FPA did step in and assumed direct leadership in seeking a solution to the problem of segregated IRC meetings in the Southeastern IRC Region.

FPA ACTION The New York office of the FPA, in cooperation with the Southeastern FPA Region V office, took the following course -

Richard C. Rowson, Executive Assistant to Mr. Nason, and Don Dennis of the FPA, and also FPA Representative on the AIRC Executive Board, contacted David Warner, Regional Director of the Foreign Policy Association in Atlanta. Mr. Warner in turn went to the office of the Southern Regional Council, also in Atlanta, to consider with one of its experienced staff members, Mr. Paul Anthony, a wise approach to the problem. Mr. Anthony and Mr. Warner then jointly gave Don Dennis via telephone the following comments and recommendations: It would be best not to turn this situation into a "cause celebre" which would certainly result in unwelcome, exaggerated publicity; which might well split the IRC group and embarrass both faculty and students involved, to the point even of causing some to be fired or expelled, and still accomplish literally nothing in the field of race relations. Therefore, FPA should not suggest cancelling the conference or moving it to another site at this late date. Instead, it would be wise to try to correct the existing policy rather than destroy the organization and hurt the people involved. FPA should use its good offices to influence the Southeastern IRC conference to appoint a respected committee to recommend policies for the future regional conferences; to have the committee's proposals submitted to all Southeastern IRCs by mail far in advance of the next annual conference. Foremost of the policies to be considered would be one which would assure that all clubs in the region wishing to send delegates to the regional conference should be able to do so without regard to color. Secondly, Anthony and Warner recommended that Mr. Nason, or his representative, personally telephone Dr. Furey to tell of FPA's decision in this case.

As soon as this policy had been settled upon, Richard C. Rowson, on behalf of Mr. Nason, called Dr. Furey. He followed this with a letter confirming the phone conversation in which he said that the action taken by the Southeastern Region was "contrary to established policy of the AIRC." Further, he suggested how the problem might best be handled.

> "Either the AIRC could 'lower the boom' and disown this particular conference and the sponsoring IRC, or we could use the opportunity, which the problem you raise offers, to persuade the Southeastern Region to look into its policy on attendance at regional meetings and to consider changing that policy so that it would equate with the national policy of AIRC. We feel the second course would be a much wiser and constructive one which would lead to more immediate and long-term benefits and would more nearly approach a resolution of the problem your letter raises. We are very pleased, that, as you indicated over the telephone, you also agree this to be the wiser course."

In this same letter to Dr. Furey, Mr. Rowson described the recommendations resulting from the FPA-Southern Regional Council conversations -

> "Our main purpose in doing this would be to gain recognition in the Southeastern Region of the AIRC national policy that all accredited clubs in any region should be invited to all IRC conferences and have the privilege of sending delegates as they may wish. We shall propose that the recommendations of such a committee not be discussed at the forthcoming conference, but that the committee be charged to explore this matter and to submit by mail to all IRC's in the Southeastern Region their recommendations for review and adoption or rejection." (Attachment 7)

A few days later FPA headquarters asked its Atlanta regional office (Region V) to take primary responsibility for following through on the problem.

In the following days, the Region V office, at the suggestion of FPA's Director of Regional Operations, Mr. Roger G. Mastrude, worked out plans for a quiet pre-conference campaign aimed at eventual participation by Negro Colleges in the IRC Southeastern conferences.

Mr. Warner assigned the leg work to Mr. Jerome Stallings, his Regional Assistant. Mr. Stallings tried without success to find out the names of the colleges planning to attend the conference. This involved a talk with Dr. John B. McConaughey, International Relations Club Faculty Adviser at the University of South Carolina. At this point, while friendly, Dr. McConaughey gave the impression that he felt FPA was involved in something about which neither it nor anyone else could do a thing.

The Region V office made plans for Mr. Stallings, while travelling on FPA business, to confer with advisers who might help him better understand the problem and suggest an intelligent approach to its solution. In the week before the conference he actually conferred with IRC faculty advisers from

1. Wesleyan College (Macon, Georgia)
2. University of Chattanooga (Tennessee)
3. Dillard University (New Orleans, Louisiana)
4. Tulane University (New Orleans, Louisiana)

Mr. Stallings also conferred with a member of the Political Science Department of Emory University, and "sounded" certain citizens in Mobile on the advisability of attempting an integrated meeting at Spring Hill College.

Both Region V and FPA were very much in agreement that any contacts made for FPA and AIRC should come from someone who could speak from experience on the problem of segregation. It was further agreed that Mr. Stallings was the man for the job. He therefore had taken on this pre-conference task and planned to wind up the week of December 6-12 attending as much of the IRC regional conference at Columbia as time

would permit, trying, without actual authority, to influence action toward the AIRC-FPA aims.

When in New Orleans, Mr. Stallings outlined to Dr. Furey the proposed plan of action. Dr. Furey indicated full approval of this course, as opposed to any high pressure or open antagonism toward the Southeastern clubs of AIRC. Dr. Furey pointed out that he had raised the issue primarily to remind the Southeastern clubs of AIRC that their policy on integrated meetings was not in keeping with national AIRC policy. No immediate, drastic changes were anticipated by Dr. Furey.

AIRC POLICY

After Dr. Furey had brought this issue out in the open, Mr. Able wrote to AIRC for a clarification of its stand on the clubs eligible to attend regional conferences. A week before the conference a letter was sent to him. In keeping with the agreement reached by all that no pressure was to be put on individuals in the region, the letter merely stated the established policy on meetings being open to all member clubs. (attachment 8)

It has been the consistent policy of the AIRC since 1954 when the FPA began to sponsor the clubs, not to recognize or to assist in any way the Southeastern Region IRC conference planners. The reason has been that AIRC knew that these were segregated meetings, and AIRC felt it was not in a position to protest unless it chose to interfere with this regional problem.

A few days before the conference, AIRC sent another letter to Mr. Able asking that he send in a standard report at the end of the conference. AIRC also informed Mr. Able that Mr. Stallings would be at Columbia and would hope that Mr. Able would put him in touch with the people who could effectively work for an integrated meeting in the future. (Attachment 9)

REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Stallings arrived at Columbia while registration was in progress. He first met Mr. Able and Dr. McConaughey. Although Mr. Able was polite and cooperative, Mr. Stallings received the impression that the reason for his being there was not clearly understood, and that Mr. Able was somewhat suspicious as to whether pressure would be applied from AIRC or FPA. Dr. McConaughey expressed approval of the course being followed by FPA, particularly the idea of having someone on hand from the Southern Regional Office. He was concerned, if not actually nervous, about the whole matter, probably because of the possibility of a disagreement among delegates to the conference which could have caused adverse publicity. Although willing to do what he could to bring about the action desired by AIRC-FPA, Dr. McConaughey was not very sanguine about the prospects of the delegates doing anything.

Because of his own time limitations, and the tight schedule of the conference, there was not time for Mr. Stallings to discuss the matter thoroughly with very many of the delegates. It was necessary, therefore, to work primarily with two or three obvious leaders. Mr. Van Hoy, President of the IR club at South Carolina, and Mr. Moorcones, of V.M.I., were helpful. When Mr. Able became convinced that no pressure was being applied from FPA, he also worked closely with Mr. Stallings on a sensible cautious approach to the problem of future meetings.

Mr. Stallings was prepared to suggest several colleges where an integrated meeting might be held. Don Dennis, in cooperation with Donald Wyatt, Staff Associate of The African-American Institute, had found out that the following white colleges, with IRC clubs in AIRC, would probably allow an integrated meeting. They were:

Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama

Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

Guilford College, North Carolina

David Lipscomb College, Nashville, Tennessee

Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia

The actual selection of the next conference site came at the closing business session on Saturday, December 12, a session which Mr.Stallings was fortunately able to attend. Having a list of possible sites for an integrated conference was helpful to Mr. Stallings although in the final analysis this proved somewhat academic in view of the firmly established practice of selecting a site from among delegations attending the conference who offered to host the next one. The delegates were not willing to select a college not represented at the conference. Of the suggested colleges, only Emory was represented. Three colleges offered to host the next conference - the University of the South at Sewanee, Tulane at New Orleans and Emory at Atlanta. The students voted for Emory. Mr. Stallings received cooperation from several delegates in avoiding the selection of a site where an integrated meeting would have been impossible.

At the same business session the delegates, after a suggestion by Mr. Stallings, passed a motion which authorized a committee, composed of the newly elected president, John Moorcones of VMI, and his four district Vice Chairmen, to study the problem of integrated meetings and submit a policy proposal by mail to all AIRC clubs in the Southeastern Region. This action accomplished what AIRC-FPA had set as a goal.

The steps first suggested as the sensible approach to this problem had now been successfully carried through. No individuals and no organization had suffered from undue pressure nor loss of prestige. The FPA, through its many valuable contacts and well respected regional office, have made a considerable contribution to the gradual solution of a problem which all recognized as part of a critical world affairs issue calling for an intelligent solution.

The steps that were taken at this conference could certainly lead to important policy changes regarding attendance at future conferences of the Southeastern Region of AIRC. However, it should be remembered that the committee established to study the problem may fail to make any useful suggestion at all, or that whatever suggestion is made may be rejected by a majority of the IR clubs in the South. Mr. Stallings states that although he received friendly cooperation from the individuals mentioned above, he did not, unfortunately, notice any great enthusiasm for this project among the individuals with whom he talked. Without undue optimism, we can, however, hope that the new officers will sincerely wish to carry through on the responsibility they undertook and work for a reasonable solution of this regional problem.

Attachment 1

ALABAMA

Howard College, Birmingham
Judson College, Marion
Spring Hill College, Mobile
Alabama College, Montevallo
Huntingdon College, Montgomery 6
Troy State College, Troy
University of Alabama, University

FLORIDA

Stetson University, De Land
University of Florida, Gainesville
Florida State University, Tallahassee
Tampa University, Tampa
Rollins College, Winter Park

GEORGIA

Georgia Southwestern College, Americus
Emory University, Atlanta
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta
Georgia Teachers College, Collegeboro
Andrew College, Cuthbert
South Georgia College, Douglas
La Grange College, La Grange
Mercer University, Macon
Wesleyan College, Macon
Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville
Berry College, Mount Berry
Emory Junior College, Oxford
Shorter College, Rome
Valdosta State College, Valdosta
Reinhardt College, Waleska

LOUISIANA

Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge 3
College of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau
McNeese State College, Lake Charles
* Dillard University, New Orleans 22
Loyola University, New Orleans 18
Tulane University and Sophie Newcomb College, New Orleans 15
* Xavier University, New Orleans 25

MISSISSIPPI

Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain
Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus
~~Millsaps College, Jackson~~
Wood Junior College, Mathiston
Sunflower Junior College, Moorhead
Hinds Junior College, Raymond
East Mississippi Junior College, Scooba

NORTH CAROLINA

Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone
Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee
Davidson College, Davidson
*Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro
*Bennett College, Greensboro
Greensboro College, Greensboro
Immanuel Lutheran College, Greensboro
Guilford College, Guilford College
Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory
High Point College, High Point
Mars Hill College, Mars Hill
Meredith College, Raleigh
Peace College, Raleigh
*Shaw University, Raleigh
Flora Macdonald Robertson, Red Springs
Catawba College, Salisbury
Atlantic Christian College, Wilson
Wingate College, Wingate
Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Citadel, Charleston
Presbyterian College, Clinton
Columbia College, Columbia
University of South Carolina, Columbia
Limestone College, Gaffney
Furman University, Greenville
Coker College, Hartsville
Newberry College, Newberry
Winthrop College, Rock Hill
Converse College, Spartanburg
Wofford College, Spartanburg

TENNESSEE

University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville
Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate
Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City
Maryville College, Maryville
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro
David Lipscomb College, Nashville 5
*Fisk University, Nashville 8
*Tennessee State University, Nashville 8
Martin College, Pulaski

VIRGINIA

Marymount Junior College, Arlington
Randolph-Macon College, Ashland
Stratford College, Danville
Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg
Virginia Military Institute, Lexington
Washington and Lee University, Lexington
Lynchburg College, Lynchburg
Marion College, Marion
Mary Baldwin College, Staunton
Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar

Attachment 2

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUB
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

12 October 1959

Lois M. Foucha
International Relations Club
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Lois:

It is my pleasure to extend to you this formal invitation to attend the Southeastern IRC Convention to be held at the University of South Carolina December 10-12. We are planning what we consider to be an extraordinary program and sincerely hope that every college and university in the Region will be represented.

We invite your attention to the enclosed proposed program along with a list of speakers already confirmed. As you can readily see, the general topic, "Diplomacy in the Cold War," has been chosen in order that the speakers will have considerable latitude in their discussions.

On the other hand, "How Ugly is the Ugly American" is an intriguing topic for individual treatment, and should be one of the high lights of the conference.

We are requesting each school to send not more than five delegates; however, we shall endeavor to accommodate larger groups upon specific request, provided we have sufficient notification from such groups.

All reservations should be made no later than November 26, and registration material will be forwarded at a later date.

Please keep this conference in mind and plan now to send your delegation. We feel confident that Dillard University will be among our strongest colleagues in assuring that this will be the best convention ever.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

William F. Able
Acting Regional Chairman

c
o
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y

Attachment 3

October 19, 1959

Mr. William F. Able, Regional Chairman
International Relations Club
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Able:

Miss Lois M. Foucher, president of the International Relations Club at Dillard University has shown me your very cordial letter inviting a delegation from Dillard University to attend the South Eastern Regional Association Conference of International Relations Clubs, December 10-12. It is the policy of Dillard University to have our students attend as many such conferences as possible and we would be pleased to accept your invitation to the Regional Meeting.

I wonder if you are aware that most of the students at Dillard University are Negro. Before we send a delegation to the meeting, I feel that it is my obligation to make sure that full facilities for dining and lodging are available for our delegation.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Furey,
Faculty Adviser, International
Relations Club

cc

Attachment 4

c
o
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y

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUB
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

October 21, 1959

Mr. John B. Furey
Faculty Adviser, International
Relations Club
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Furey:

Thank you very much for your prompt and most cordial reply to my letter concerning the Southeastern Regional Conference of International Relations Clubs. I also wish to express my sincere appreciation for the information that Dillard is a University for Colored students.

I am deeply sorry that I must withdraw the invitation; but, as you probably know, it is against both State law and school policy to hold a meeting at which both Colored and white people are present. We thoroughly checked the records at the Registrars trying to prevent such a situation, but apparently the records were not accurate. Again, allow me to say that I am deeply sorry that such an error occurred and be so kind as to extend my apology to Miss Foucher and the other members of your club.

Yours for a bigger and better Association of International Relations Clubs and a new in Foreign Affairs, I remain

Sincerely yours,

William F. Able
Regional Chairman
International Relations Club

c
o
p
y

Attachment 5

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Division of the Social Sciences

November 13, 1959

Mr. William F. Able, Regional Chairman
International Relations Club
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Able:

I have received your letter of October 21, 1959, in which you withdrew the invitation to the delegation from Dillard University to attend the Southeastern Regional Conference of International Relations Clubs. As you can well imagine, I was shocked and chagrined at your reply. I had confidently expected an assurance from you that the matter to which I referred would be properly handled.

I am also somewhat puzzled. It was my impression that all chapters of the Association of International Relations Clubs are organized in support of the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations. I was further under the impression that all meetings of the AIRC are open to all college clubs in good standing. I would appreciate if if you would inform me where the International Relations Club of the University of South Carolina obtained the authority to "check the records at the Registrars" or to use any other means to decide which of the clubs should be invited to the Regional Meeting and which clubs should be excluded from such meetings. Was this authority granted to your club at the last National Conference or were you empowered to make such a selection by the National Headquarters?

As you can see from the enclosed material, I am also taking this matter up with AIRC headquarters and with the national officers of the Association.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Furey,
Faculty Advisor
International Relations Club

vm

enc.

c
o
p
y

Attachment 6

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

November 13, 1959

Dr. John W. Nason, President
Foreign Policy Association
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Doctor Nason:

I am enclosing for your intelligence, copies of correspondence I have carried on with the Regional Chairman of the Southeastern Regional Conference of International Relations Clubs. I am taking the liberty of calling this matter to your personal attention because I feel that it is an issue on which the AIRC and FPA should take a firm stand on the policy-making level.

Many of us who feel strongly - and emotionally - about the practice of segregation have traditionally taken a "soft" approach to the issue so as not to offend the sensibilities of our Southern brethren. It is my experience, however, that this gentle approach is repeatedly interpreted by Southerners as acquiescence in their policies. They do not seem to hesitate to offend our sensibilities and the sensibilities of the entire Negro population of the United States.

I am, therefore, requesting the FPA and the AIRC to take some action in this instance of racial prejudice; an instance all the more distasteful as it is taken by groups dedicated to the cause of mutual understanding, goodwill and tolerance.

It is also worthy of note that the regional meeting is being held during a week which has been set aside by the entire world for special dedication to Human Rights.

Sincerely,

John B. Furey
Associate Professor of Political Science

vm

cc: Miss Mary L. Ryan, Executive Director
Association of International Relations Clubs

Mr. James O'Neill, President, AIRC

Attachment 7

c
o
p
y

November 20, 1959

Professor John B. Furey
Faculty Adviser, International
Relations Club
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Professor Furey:

I would like to confirm what I discussed with you over the telephone yesterday in acknowledgment of your letter of November 13th to John Nason. As I said to you then, Mr. Nason is out of town and asked that I call you on his behalf and confirm our conversation in writing because of the urgent nature of the matter raised in your letter.

First of all, may I say again, that we were deeply disturbed on receiving your letter and the copies you enclosed of correspondence with the Regional Chairman of the Southeastern Regional Conference of International Relations Clubs. The action taken by the Regional Chairman is absolutely contrary to established policy of the AIRC and conversations we have had with those AIRC board members we have been able to reach since receiving your letter (half of the members of the board) clearly indicates they are in complete sympathy with the action we recommend in this instance.

May I preface my further remarks by repeating again the following facts relevant to the course of action I outlined on the telephone:

1) the AIRC is an independent organization whose policy and operations are under the direction of its own board of directors. FPA has one representative on the board and contributes most of the AIRC's budget from FPA resources. The executive director of AIRC is responsible to the AIRC board;

2) the regional groupings of IRC's are autonomous in nature in that they elect their own officers, establish their own programs, and run their own regional conferences with only advice and assistance from AIRC on their own request. AIRC has no legal control over the regions nor the regional conferences. The Southeastern Region is more autonomous than others and consequently AIRC has not had any part in the planning of the December 10-12 conference in Columbia nor has it been asked to assist or participate in any way.

3) In short, AIRC in effect is a "trade-association" established by the independent IRC's for their own convenience and it exists largely at their pleasure even though its financing is not dependent on support from local IRC's.

I suggested on the phone that there are at least two kinds of action which might be taken on the problem you raise. Either the AIRC could "lower the boom" and disown this particular conference and the sponsoring IRC, or we could use the opportunity, which the problem you raise offers, to persuade the Southeastern Region to look into its policy on attendance at regional meetings and to consider

changing that policy so that it would equate with the national policy of AIRC. We feel the second course would be a much wiser and constructive one which would lead to more immediate and long-term benefits and would more nearly approach a resolution of the problem your letter raises. We are very pleased that, as you indicated over the telephone, you also agree this to be the wiser course.

We, therefore, propose to be in immediate touch with the faculty advisor of the IRC of the University of South Carolina, and with the Regional Chairman of the Southeastern Conference to suggest that they bring about the appointment or election of a policy committee representative of respected student and faculty leadership to consider and recommend alternative policies for the extension of invitations to and attendance at future Southeastern Regional Conferences.

Our main purpose in doing this would be to gain recognition in the Southeastern Region of the AIRC national policy that all accredited clubs in any region should be invited to all IRC Conferences and have the privilege of sending delegates as they may wish. We shall propose that the recommendations of such a committee not be discussed at the forthcoming conference, but that the committee be charged to explore this matter and to submit by mail to all IRC's in the Southeastern Region their recommendations for review and adoption or rejection.

It is our opinion that the attitudes of the students and faculty members involved in IRC activity in the Southeastern Region will result in an affirmation of national policy if this procedure is followed - or, put another way, we feel this procedure offers the best chance of achieving such a result.

We shall be very glad to keep you posted on progress we make on this matter and certainly appreciate your own attitude toward the situation and your promptness in raising it with us.

Sincerely yours,

Richard C. Rowson
Executive Assistant
to the President

RCR:ced

c
o
p
y

Attachment 8

December 2, 1959

Mr. William F. Able
Acting Regional Chairman
Southeast IRC Region
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear William:

In response to the letter which you recently wrote to Jim O'Neill and to me, I would like to explain the position of the AIRC on the matter of regional conferences. According to the AIRC Constitution (Article IV, Section 1) "AIRC Conferences may be attended by members of all clubs." This means that each and every club affiliated with AIRC may attend any conference - local, state, regional or national - held for International Relations Clubs belonging to the Association. The member clubs in the Association now total 580 and include many Negro students.

As you undoubtedly know the AIRC always holds an annual meeting - the only one for which we assume full responsibility - at a college or in a city where the question of segregation does not arise. Furthermore, for a number of years now, since the Foreign Policy Association became the sponsor of the AIRC, it has been the policy of this office when consulted on the matter, to remind the Southeastern Region of the fact that conferences should be open to all member clubs. As the site of the conference has invariably been at a college where this was not allowed, the AIRC has given no official help to the conference planners. We continue to hope that a conference will be held at a place where all member clubs would be welcome, and urge you to take this into consideration as you choose the site for the 1960 Southeastern conference.

I will send copies of this letter to Dr. McConaughy and to Professor Furey - so that they may understand our position on the question which has been raised. I am sure you will have their full support in working toward a solution of this problem.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Ryan

MLR:s

Attachment 9

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y

December 7, 1959

Mr. William F. Able
Acting Regional Chairman
Southeast IRC Region
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear William:

I know you must be in the midst of many details at this point and I do hope they work out successfully for your conference at the end of this week. I have had the very good word that Mr. Jerome Stallings will be in South Carolina this week. Mr. Stallings is Assistant Regional Director for the Southern region of the Foreign Policy Association, and is familiar with the work and program of the Association of International Relations Clubs. He expects to be in Columbia on Wednesday of this week and will get in touch with you to discuss future IRC regional meetings. He hopes that you will introduce him to some of the students and faculty who could work effectively toward the selection of a site where an integrated meeting could be held next year.

We will certainly be most grateful to you for welcoming Mr. Stallings to your meetings and for offering him whatever help you can in contacting the persons who may be responsible for this decision.

Just as soon as the conference is over, would you send me word on the outcome of the elections of new officers? I am ordering stationery listing the new regional chairmen and will hold off one more week until I hear from you. I am sure you will understand how important it is that I have immediate word on the results. I also hope you will send details on the attendance and the program, using the enclosed regional conference report sheet. Thanks very much from all of us here for your cooperation on all of these matters.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Ryan

MLR:s
enclosure

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

April 1, 1960

MEMO to: JC

Please put the following person on your "all-purpose" mailing list:

Mr. Jay H. Cerf
Director
Foreign Policy Clearing House
300 Independence Avenue, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Sending today:

Congressional Record Reprint
SRC Reports the Changing South
February New South

MF-- Please send, with my card, Congressional Record reprint, SRC Reports Changing South, and ask JC to add him to all-purpose mailing list.

JAY H. GERF

DIRECTOR
FOREIGN POLICY CLEARING HOUSE

300 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE, S. E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
LINCOLN 6-8900

November 30, 1960

Mr. Roger G. Mastrude
Vice President, Field Services
Foreign Policy Association
345 E. 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Mastrude:

This is delayed but warm thanks for your recent letter and the enclosed copy of Mr. Sims' reply to you. I am grateful to you for following up our conversation on this troublesome problem. Any further needling you find it possible to do will be equally appreciated.

I have put out a few lines -- as yet, with no result -- and will do more once the new administration is installed.

Dave and I have done some further head-knocking on the question of board membership; he has a standing invitation to use me for a sounding-board any time he needs one.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED

345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. OXford 7-2432

HCF

November 4, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am forwarding a letter from Al Sims of the Institute of International Education which is pretty well self-explanatory.

I also talked with a chap in the State Department who expects to be moved into a new assignment where he thinks he might be concerned with your problem -- I have me doots, but if this eventuates, I'll needle him appropriately.

I was very sorry to miss you when I was in Atlanta the other day. Since both of us were apparently ill, it was a bad time for conversation.

Many thanks, in any case, for advising with Dave Warner.

Yours cordially,

Roger C. Mastrude
Vice President, Field Services

RGM lar

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Thermo to Fleming

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1 EAST 67th STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3400 • CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"
REGIONAL OFFICES: CHICAGO, DENVER, HOUSTON, SAN FRANCISCO, WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 14, 1960

Mr. Roger G. Mastrude
Vice President, Field Services
Foreign Policy Association, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Roger:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 10 regarding the problem of Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council in handling foreign visitors to the South. We have considered at various times the possiblity of establishing an IIE regional office in Atlanta or some other city in the Southeast region from which services to foreign visitors could be conveniently rendered. This is the only area not now well covered by the IIE regional organization. We attempt to supervise students we place in this area from our Washington regional office but this is obviously not the most desirable arrangement. It is possible that within the foreseeable future (the next two or three years) we shall find the means to establish a regional office in this area.

I would be doubtful that the State Department would station staff in Atlanta. Its policy has been to establish such outposts only at ports of entry such as New York and San Francisco. However, this question might be discussed with people in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs; perhaps Bob Thayer who runs the Bureau or his Deputy, Sax Bradford.

Sincerely yours,

Albert G. Sims
Vice President

May 1, 1961

Dean James W. Fogarty
Fordham University
134 East 39th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Jim:

I'm awfully glad you read the New York Times. Many thanks for your letter of April 24.

You are right, I shall be in New York now and then and I will take you up on the luncheon.

You say that you would like to go back to the Savannah River area sometime to see how it's progressing now. For your own peace of mind, don't. The only live question over there is whether Strom Thurmond-type people or DuPont-type people will cast the smaller shadow. Big difference! But as a memento of Savannah River I am enclosing a copy of the job I got George McMillan to do for us last fall.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosure - 1.

School of Social Service

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

134 East 39th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
MU-3-5464

Office of the Dean

April 24, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I was very interested to read in the New York Times recently of your appointment as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. I do want to wish you success in your new heavy responsibilities. I frequently think of the interesting times we had in the Savannah River area during the construction period. I would be very interested to go back sometime and see what may have come out of the activity of the UCDS in that area, and how the area is progressing now that the plant is in its permanent operation.

I am sure you must come to New York frequently and you will note from our address that we are just a couple of blocks from Grand Central Station. If you should be in New York give me a ring and we could get together for lunch.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

JWF/mk

James W. Fogarty.

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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October 13, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciate your kind words about my election to the presidency of the United Negro College Fund. It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to render service to this organization and to the thousands of young people in member institutions who are benefited by the Fund's efforts.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY PARK • PENNSYLVANIA

College of the Liberal Arts
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Sparks Building

file

Rec'd 3/20/62

March 8, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Under seperate cover I am sending you the Research Bulletin on Intergroup Relations, this year's expanded version of The Joint Newsletter on Intergroup Relations, prepared for SSSP and SPSSI.

I also want to register the hope that you will attend the ASA meeting in Washington, arriving early enough to attend one or more sessions of the SSSP panels on Intergroup Relations. I will send you a detailed program in about 30 days, but can tell you now that we particularly would like you to attend a special session devoted to a field report of a major research program now underway and a terminal business meeting. We need your help in trying to define a role for the Committee on Intergroup Relations.

Yours cordially,

Paul B. Foreman
Chairman, SSSP Committee
on Intergroup Relations

PBF:ju

September 16, 1962

Mrs. Charles Evans
Editorial Assistant
Forward Movement Publications
412 Sycamore Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Evans:

Thank you for the copy of We are a Third Race. It is very good.

I am enclosing a copy of the June New South. You will see that Will permitted us to use one chapter of the book (some of which overlaps with your pamphlet).

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A

FORWARD MOVEMENT PUBLICATIONS 412 Sycamore Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

The Rev. Clement W. Welsh, Editor

RECEIVED AUG 2 1962

July 31, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are pleased to send you a copy of "We Are a Third Race". This pamphlet is briefly described under "New Publications" on the enclosed Order Blank, but we are sure you will want to read it in its entirety.

This material is excerpted from a book by Will C. Campbell which Westminster Press will publish, and we sincerely believe it is the best brief Christian analysis of the racial question available. We asked Mr. Campbell whether there were persons to whom he would particularly like the pamphlet sent. He indicated he would like for you to see it.

We are an official publishing house of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and our pamphlets are distributed through churches and bookstores, as well as by direct mail. We send this pamphlet in the belief you will find it an excellent treatment of a primary social concern which we share with you.

Sincerely,

Roberta Lee Evans

RLE:rm
Encs.

Roberta Lee Evans
(Mrs. Charles)
Editorial Assistant

November 2, 1962

Mr. James Fogarty
Dean
School of Social Work
Fordham University
New York, New York

Dear Dean Fogarty:

I read in the papers a while back of your new job. Congratulations and if we can ever be of help to you please let me know.

I do get to New York a couple times a year but always it is a rather jam-packed round of appointments, chiefly of the fund-raising type. Sometime, however, I shall give you a call and try to get together.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

MA

I cannot go on Jan 3. [illegible]

You see please if anyone else wants ticket

SDB - ?

Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

614 Candler Building • Atlanta 3, Georgia • JAckson 5-3461

Jerome Stallings
Associate Director

David E. Warner
Regional Director

December 19, 1962

Dear Friend:

On the evening of January 3rd we in Atlanta will be fortunate to have in the city a group of distinguished foreign correspondents of the National Broadcasting Company who will introduce the "Great Decisions...1963" topics at a forum to be held at 8 p.m. in Glenn Memorial Auditorium at Emory University. The Atlanta appearance of the NBC newsmen is under the sponsorship of WSB Radio and Television, Emory University, and the Foreign Policy Association. Members of the forum group include: Joseph C. Harsch, London; Bernard Frizzell, Paris; Piers Anderton, Berlin; Frank Burgholzer, Moscow; James Robinson, Hong Kong; Kenneth Bernstein, Buenos Aires; Irving Levine, Rome; Welles Hangen, New Delhi; Richard Valeriani, Cuba. Merrill Muller of New York will serve as moderator.

Admission to the "NBC News Forum: Great Decisions...1963" will be free of charge, but tickets will be required. A limited number of tickets are available from this office for interested persons and organizations. In order that unclaimed tickets may be made available to the general public it is necessary that we know at an early date whether you will be able to join us at Emory University on the evening of January 3. Please indicate on the enclosed card your own ticket requirements, and return the card no later than December 24. Tickets will then be mailed to you, or may be picked up at this office, 614 Candler Building.

Much credit is due WSB Radio and Television, and also Emory University, for making this "NBC News Forum: Great Decisions... 1963" available to Atlantans at no cost to those who attend the forum.

As many of you know from personal experience in GREAT DECISIONS discussion groups, the program provides a means to gain deeper understanding of the complex international problems which confront our nation. For the past eight years hundreds of thousands of Americans have participated in these small, informal discussion groups, making a valuable contribution to continuing dialogue on matters which shape the destiny of this nation, and the destiny of the human race. Should you wish to obtain a "Great Decisions ...1963" fact sheet kit, and organize your own discussion group, we call your attention to the enclosed "Who, Me?" brochure.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Stallings

Jerome Stallings
Associate Director

Enclosures
JS:csh

March 22, 1963

Professor Paul B. Foreman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Pennsylvania State University
240 Sparks Building
University Park, Pennsylvania

Dear Paul:

We are sending you thirteen (13) copies of Albany, and a bill for $1.20 plus postage; the thirteenth is your desk copy.

We are putting you on our mailing list for reports, and I am enclosing a subscription blank for New South, to which all the world is invited to subscribe. In the meantime, we are sending you, under separate cover, a package of all the 1962 issues of New South plus a couple of reports which you probably did not get, and which I would like for you to have. This is gratis, and if you will send in your $2·00, we'll get New South to you every month.

It was awfully good to hear from you and to have news of the Foremans.

I wish you wouldn't say that Penn State is such a blessed relief from Alabama, but that is the patriot in me speaking. Incidentally, by the time you get this letter, the University's Extension Division in Huntsville will either have been

desegregated, or hell will begin to jump; or maybe I should have said hell will be jumping one way or another.

All the best, and let us hear from you now and then.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Separate mailing:
13 copies of Zinn's ALBANY
New South subscription blank
Bill for $1.67

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Professor Paul B. Foreman
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Pennsylvania State University
240 Sparks Building
University Park, Pennsylvania

****

Purchase Order #

Date Shipped : **3/22/63**

12 copies of Howard Zinn's <u>ALBANY REPORT</u> @ .10 ea. $1.20

Postage via parcel post .47

$1.67

March 22, 1963

BC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send to Mr. Paul B. Foreman (Label attached) the following:

1. A complete run of NEW SOUTH for 1962
2. " " " " " " " 1963 (Jan., Feb.) Mar.
3. 1 copy of "PLANS FOR PROGRESS"
4. 1 copy of "South Carolina Farmers..."

3/22/63

MA MMJ

Montex,

Please put the following person on our Research List:

Professor ~~Ba&~~ Paul B. Foreman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Pennsylvania State University
240 Sparks Building
University Park, Pennsylvania

thanx, mmj

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
240 Sparks Building
UNIVERSITY PARK PENNSYLVANIA

College of the Liberal Arts
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Area Code 814
UNiversity 5-2527

March 20, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have read and greatly enjoyed Howard Zinn's Albany: A Study In National Responsibility. I'm teaching race now and would like to have my students read it. I don't know how to order SRC pamphlets for class use. If it is available, would you mail and bill me personally for a dozen copies.

I miss The New South and other SRC relases which came with membership in the Tuscaloosa Human Relations Council. Is there a way I can subscribe independently? If so, will you let me know?

- my attorney complete file stops about Dec 61

Penn State is a blessed relief from Alabama. When usual and unusual matters play hell with getting any real work done around here, that comparison is always reconciling. We are doing things like mad. Lyd is teaching on a part-time, "when needed" (but too regular) basis in the speech department. Julia, who had grown into Alabama gentility without much scholarship, blew her college boards and had to settle for Penn State instead of Oberlin, Penbroke or Carleton. However, she's catching on, making reasonable grades and hoping for a semester in Spain under Penn State auspices next year. Mark, a freshman in high school, is in the shooting up stage: football, wrestling and to hell with parental needling about academic success.

Cordially,

Paul B. Foreman
Professor of Sociology

PBF:ju

Ltr of reply sent 9/20/60

Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister
San Francisco 2

August 31, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A copy of an article on school desegregation is enclosed. Aiming higher than my expectations, I have fired off the original to the Atlantic Monthly, whose reply I await.

The article won't add much to the sum total of man's knowledge. It does try to pull together, I hope in a connected way, some of the tough questions that tend to get swept under the rug when people start out to cook up solutions. My model decree contains a lot less than many of my friends would wish. But it also has more than the judges have yet bought (though almost every element has won at least passing support, somewhere, sometime).

Nothing would please me more than your reactions and the reactions of other knowledgeable people like you. We plan to be at San Francisco on a sabbatical leave from the law school at the University of Wisconsin for about another year. This is far away from the scenes of active skirmishing and I am sorry about that for in many ways I'd like to keep a hand in on this business.

Best of luck.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

P.S. Another copy is going separately to Leslie Dunbar in the hope that one or both of you will see this fairly soon.

September 1, 1961

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I hope you mean it this time and that we shall see you some time this fall.

I wish you could get your memorandum on "Reimbursement of Costs" published. I thought it was an excellent development and presentation of a clear-cut principle of justice.

Thank you also for the Florida memorandum which was instructive and helpful to me. My only regret is that you were not able to go into the Volushia County case; this one has already intrigued me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

"30" General.

August 30, 1961

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed for your files a pair of memos on Baton Rouge and Jacksonville. (filed in Record)

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

August 22, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed, a memo summarizing some of my Florida reactions. A more detailed memo on Jacksonville is coming, as are brief reports on Baton Rouge, Little Rock and Memphis.

In a month or so I hope to make the rounds in North Carolina, and want to wind up that trip with you at Atlanta. I'll be in touch soon.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

MB! - this adds urgency to completion of the "courtroom resistance" report

July 29, 1961

LD

Dear Leslie:

Have a good vacation.

I'm off tomorrow for a couple of weeks, much of it in Florida, the rest at New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Little Rock and Memphis. If you can be reached by phone as I wind up in Memphis, I'll try to get by Atlanta en route up to Washington.

What think you of the proposal in the enclosed memo? I sent the original to Thurgood Marshall this week, with copies to Burke Marshall, Harold Fleming, and Skelly Wright. An approving note from Judge Wright today has spurred me to look for some means of publishing it.

Hope we can get together around the 14th or 15th of August.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister Sts.
San Francisco 2, Calif.

September 26, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I rush this off in the hope of catching you before you leave Atlanta for San Francisco. If you find that you have any time to spare and breath left for talking, I'd like to see you while you're here. My time is most flexible, so you need not worry about giving me any notice in advance. A phone call, day or night, would be welcomed and we can make some sort of arrangements on the spot. At the bottom of this letter I'll set out phone numbers and my home address in case you seek me out while I'm not at my Hastings office.

To Leslie has gone a revised (and much shorter) version of the article. The revision benefits much from the detailed criticisms he sent, and I have commented on some of them in further detail in my letter which went along with the newer draft. The newer version went off to Harper's on Friday, September 22nd.

The thought has been somewhat in my mind of doing a monograph using the sections of the model decree as chapter headings. Each chapter would, in turn, carry more detailed discussion and furnish footnoted reference to authority for the various matters considered. I won't undertake it without giving the matter further thought. If you and Leslie have thoughts about this, they'd be welcomed.

Hope you can get in touch while you're out here.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Office: HEmlock 1-8383, ext. 44

Home: 108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15

Phone - FIllmore 6-1865

1514 Cole
OV 1-0979

YU 2-1210
Mrs Woolf

Walter Haas, Jr
① NO?
② Send prog + fin
data - contrib, budget

Koshland
Send copies + ltr

Chas M. Stone
Same as above + [illegible]

Mr. Russell

Chas.
Mr. Stein
C-B Found.
3 PM 1 Bush

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10 - Wed
Wm M. Roth
215 Mkt #818
Matson Line

Dan Koshland
Walter Haas Jr.
Lev. Strauss
98 Battery St.

Eleanor
Mrs. Anderson?
(Rosenberg Found.)
Mrs. Amy Braden

Sheraton - Palace Hotel
Mkt + New Mgy

original & mss. ret. to Leg

September 20, 1960

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister
San Francisco 2, California

Dear Bill:

Thanks for remembering me with a copy of your manuscript, "The Courts and the Schools." It's a stimulating piece of work -- particularly the model decree -- and I shall be most interested to learn of The Atlantic's reaction.

Les and I both have reservations about some of your judgments and interpretations in the first part of the manuscript, and Les has also spotted a few factual errors. Since he is writing you in detail about these, I won't duplicate here.

I will be in San Francisco for a few days in early October. Since I am to be in others' hands, I don't know what the schedule will be like, but I will hope to see you there.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE COURTS AND THE SCHOOLS

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Until now the federal courts have administered school desegregation without help either from the President or the Congress. Help from both these quarters appears likely for the future. In surveying desegregation since the School Cases in 1954 this article points up some problems which have not easily yielded to judicial solutions and suggests things which the President and Congress may do to help out.

I.

The rule of law applicable to a desegregation case today may be stated simply: States cannot regulate the use of public facilities by rules based on racial differences. The rule was announced by the Supreme Court in 1954 with respect to public schools, and by 1957 the principle had been extended to strike down state imposed segregation of such facilities as public golf courses, beaches, city busses and parks.

But the rule of law against segregation is not self-enforcing. Segregation has a persistent character, giving way only after sufficient new forces gather to bring about a change.

The manner in which segregation gives way is variable, too. Desegregation may take place overnight and be complete. Or it may occur gradually, with only token desegregation at the beginning. The change may be accompanied by great notoriety, and sometimes disorder. Or it may occur unnoticed and peacefully.

Again, the change may result from voluntary action by the community, or at least through community processes short of court action. But when the other community processes have failed and the pressure for change continues, only court action is left.

So far as school desegregation is concerned, the processes short of court action appear about exhausted and not likely to resume any real utility until substantial changes in the present pattern have taken place. In short, court action must be counted on to bring about most of the school desegregation likely for the immediate future. And at least until Congress extends help in major ways, court action must be counted on to produce a new atmosphere in which voluntary desegregation will be resumed.

All this is a tall order for the federal courts, for potentially a great deal of school litigation lies ahead. Segregation was practiced in approximately 3,000 biracial school districts at the time of the School Cases

in 1954. About three-quarters of these (or their successors where districts have consolidated) have done nothing whatever to desegregate up to this time.

A first question to examine is, why - when school segregation is in principle unlawful - has there been so little court action? Like most questions involving segregation, this cannot be answered in absolute terms. At least three big and importantly interrelated factors influence the decision to go to court: (1) Negro reluctance to press for school desegregation; (2) white resistance to desegregation; and (3) problems inherent in the judicial process or which must be faced in going to court.

These will be considered separately in the sequence just stated.

II.

Perhaps the most startling fact in this whole complex business of school desegregation is the reluctance of most Negroes to press for it. But the truth is that few Negroes step forward to become plaintiffs in court actions. Typically, many plaintiffs will withdraw their names from the case even before it goes to trial. If the lower federal court rules against them, those left in the case often hesitate to press for an appeal.

Some of this reluctance is explainable simply in terms of the nature of the judicial process itself, particularly when you consider some of the harsher implications of being put on the witness stand and being subjected to cross examination.

And it is easy to say that this kind of reluctance is simply the product either of fear of violence or perhaps of a concern that a Negro involved in this sort of thing may lose his job. Doubtless both fears operate to some extent. But the extent varies.

There are communities - Birmingham is one of them - where knowledgeable Negroes and whites alike report that many Negroes have a real fear for their safety and feel they lack adequate police protection. In contrast, Negroes at Atlanta and Memphis seem largely to respect and not to fear the local police and express apparent confidence that they would be protected against those who threatened to harm them for taking steps toward desegregation.

Negro fear of losing a job if identified with efforts to bring about desegregation appears to be an equally variable matter. A surprising number of Negroes in the South today earn their living entirely within the Negro community, and sometimes a very good living. In the larger communities a secure Negro middle class is emerging. These people earn their living doing what middle class people elsewhere do. They are bankers, lawyers, doctors, insurance men, retailers, wholesalers, and the like.

Everywhere I have gone in the South I have put this question to Negro leaders: Why have so few of these middle class Negroes been active in desegregation efforts? I got about the same answer from everyone, though

perhaps the most articulate response came from a Negro funeral director, well-to-do, and prominant in the affairs of the NAACP in his state:

> "The economically secure Negro is the most complete captive of the power structure of this city of anyone here. He's got it made. If he doesn't push for racial progress, he can even win further status for himself by getting appointed to interracial committees by whites. Most middle class Negroes," he concluded, "simply value other things ahead of school desegregation."

Not just middle class Negroes, but most Southern Negroes value other things ahead of school desegregation.

Why?

A partial answer lies in the kind of education the Southern Negro gets in his presently segregated schools.

On the side of quality it can be said generally that huge improvements have taken place in the segregated schools of the South, particularly in the past decade. In many places the bulk of new construction has been for Negro schools. In some places I have visited the Negroes concede their schools are physically equal to, and because they are newer, sometimes better than the white schools of the same community.

There has been a widespread movement to equalize salaries of Negro and white teachers. Indeed Negro teachers frequently earn higher average salaries because of their greater seniority in the system. Teacher turnover is much higher among whites. Negroes, with fewer alternatives, tend to stay put. And thanks again to the comparative seniority of Negroes in teaching ranks, it is frequently true that the average Negro teacher in a particular school system will have had more years of graduate training than the average white teacher.

These are impressive virtues: newer physical plants with better paid teachers who have received comparatively more teacher training.

But the beauty is only skin deep. Almost universally in the South the academic standards of Negro schools lag far behind the standards of white schools in the same system. Because his parents are so poorly educated the average Negro child on entering school scores, as a rule, significantly lower in achievement tests than the average white. He is a disadvantaged child right from the start. And his position of disadvantage worsens by the end of high school because the rate of advancement is so much slower through the Negro schools.

The differences in academic standards of Negro and white schools in the same system are well documented and usually well kept secrets in most cities. But the local educators know about them. And now and then the magnitude of the gap is revealed.

Thus the principal of a white high school in North Carolina estimated that the first Negro assigned to his school was more than two school years

behind the average of the eleventh grade class into which he was integrated. The boy had been near the top of the Negro class from which he came, but he failed several courses his first semester of integration. Fortunately, he was able to catch up and graduate on schedule with the class the next year.

In another state a Negro high school principal reported that the average performance on a standard achievement test was lower for his graduating twelfth grade class than the minimum score required for admission to the ninth grade of the "college preparatory" (white) high school of the same city. The academic gap, in other words, was more than four years.

Is it any wonder that only the very best Negro students dare to try a transfer at the high school level? Or that some Negro children have returned to segregated schools after trying a year of desegregation? Obviously it is difficult for the children to make this academic transition even where school authorities have made special provisions for helping them out. Where little or nothing is done to assist them in making the grade, the first year a Negro spends in a white school can be, in purely academic terms, unbearable.

The lower academic standards of the Negro schools also result in part from the comparative incompetence of the Negro teachers. Again, the school authorities are aware of this but guard the secret carefully.

It is not surprising that the Negro teacher is on the average less competent than the white teacher in the same system. Most of the Negroes were educated in segregated primary and secondary schools even poorer than the ones they presently teach in. They attended segregated Southern colleges commonly inferior to the schools from which the white teachers graduated. And with this education they entered teaching.

Much has been done to encourage these Negro teachers to obtain further education. Many flood the summer sessions at the graduate schools of education in the North. And a lot of them cannot meet the academic standards usually set. A professor of education described for me what he called a "not atypical case." After two weeks of the summer session, a Negro graduate student came to his office. She taught school in Mississippi, she explained, and four Negro families were helping support her in summer school. The girl was in tears. "I haven't understood a thing in your class. It's all over my head. But if I don't get a 'B' in your course, they won't even re-hire me back home, or if they do, I'll never get promoted. What can I do!"

The professor reported that he gave her a "B" grade.

In time that girl will doubtless receive a master's degree which has been watered down a good bit. No doubt her teaching abilities will be improved in the process. But the degree she will get isn't legal tender by the standards set for whites in the same school. And professorial sympathies for these disadvantaged Southern Negro teachers result in many sub-standard master of education degrees at Northern universities.

Northern educators are thus helping perpetuate the inferior standards of the Negro schools by sending back to the South teachers with degrees that supposedly stand for something else. The Negro teachers sense this. And

they have other fears about desegregation, too. They fear that pupil desegregation will not be followed by teacher integration, and point with concern to occasional instances in which some Negro teachers have not been retained by school systems that have desegregated.

There is a widespread consensus that the Negro teachers are one of the most effective forces resisting school desegregation that can be found in the Negro community. At Louisville, where desegregation has occurred on a broad scale, I ran into numerous stories about children who had resegregated after their old teachers had urged them to come back from the white schools. And this sort of thing crops up elsewhere, too.

Now, as with all generalizations, it is perfectly clear that exceptions can be found. I know of a Negro public school in Tennessee acknowledged to be head and shoulders above the academic standards of the white schools in the same county. And many Negro teachers in the South have worked hard to bring about school desegregation. But the generalizations hold true for most.

Several other deterrents to school desegregation should be mentioned. In the really resistant communities the first desegregation has often been but a token affair. For the few Negro children who start the process, this means a terribly lonely year. Often a child may be the only Negro in the school. He begins by eating his lunch in the locker room. Most likely he will not be invited to participate in a single extra-curricular activity during the entire year.

It takes children - and parents - of pretty resolute stuff to feel so keenly about desegregation that they will endure the conditions needed to pursue a case successfully through court in order to break up the old pattern. This is true even where parental income is not placed in jeopardy and where no violence is threatened. Many Negroes want their children to have a good education. A lot prefer to put their energies into trying to improve the segregated schools rather than take on the desegregation battle as well.

One final deterrent is residential segregation. As I shall point out in some detail later, the various systems which the white Southerners have worked out for assigning students to particular schools rely heavily upon a rule which requires a child to attend the school nearest his home. This means that a Negro child who lives closer to a Negro school than a white one is immediately disqualified from seeking a transfer to the more distant white school. The patterns of residential segregation in most cities are such that relatively few Negroes live closer to a white school than to a Negro one. Hence the effect of these geographic assignment rules is to reduce to a comparative handful the number of Negroes even potentially eligible to commence a school desegregation case.

The surprise is not that so little desegregation has been begun. It is rather that, in the face of all this, so much desegregation activity has taken place. The progress is all the more surprising when we consider the patterns of resistance erected by the white community to prevent or minimize desegregation.

III.

Southern resistance has been most noisely manifested by those who have tried to build around themselves organizations to combat desegregation. Hundreds of these groups announced their formation soon after the decisions in the School Cases, and their leaders vied for position and power.

Few of these have had any real staying power, perhaps partly because they have found few things which they can do successfully on a continuing basis. The whole movement has a strong rural flavor and since very little desegregation has been attempted in the rural areas of the Deep South, there has not been much for them to do at home. Now and then they will mount a cavalcade and ride off to some urban area to protest desegregation there. But city police tend to hold them down to a moderately harmless letting off of steam. Only rarely have they succeeded in physically breaking up desegregation activities. The fire hose has proven remarkably successful in warding off threatened violence.

Some violence and destruction have occurred. But even in short run terms this kind of lawlessness has damaged the position of the segregationist. Most of the white South doesn't want desegregation. But when the segregationist compels the community to choose between some desegregation on the one hand, or mob action, shooting or bombing on the other, the choice almost invariably has been against the forces of violence and disorder.

Public officials, and would-be public officials, of the South have also had a lot to say about school desegregation. Much of it has been aimed at reinforcing segregation.

In the years immediately after the decisions in the School Cases, the legislatures over much of the South let off all sorts of fireworks. They erected a formidable array of laws designed to curb or slow down desegregation and tried in various ways to mobilize public opposition to it. Since then, many of these laws have been involved in court actions and discussion of them will be saved for the section on judicial action. More recently the pressures for further state legislation have subsided, although Arkansas, Mississippi and perhaps Louisiana may be pointed to as exceptions to that conclusion.

The segregation issue has overhung the election campaign for virtually every office in the South since the decision in the School Cases. And doubtless the campaigns both affect, and are affected by, local resistance to desegregation. But the effects of one on the other are widely variable.

All-out segregationists have enjoyed their greatest successes in elections at the local level. Many school board members in recent years have been elected on promises of do-or-die opposition to desegregation, a result which often tends to stifle needed discussion and to impair realistic planning for the future educational needs of the community. But even locally, extremists have not always carried the day. Little Rock, after its public high schools had been closed for a semester and a half, replaced enough of its school board members with moderates that the schools were able to re-open

the following Fall with at least a token desegregation in effect. And school boards in other large Southern cities appear to be in the control of moderates who will accept some desegregation in preference to closing the schools altogether.

At the level of offices elected on a state-wide basis, the extreme segregationists have fared less well, even in the Deep South. Only in Mississippi, if we leave the puzzling case of Governor Faubus to one side, has a real extremist succeeded to a governor's chair since the School Cases. And certainly Senator Kefauver's remarkably successful bid for a return to the Senate from Tennessee was a blow to the John Kaspers and their following.

How much the press has contributed to Southern resistance is difficult to assess. Racial matters receive prominent attention in news and editorial columns alike. Many who work quietly to improve interracial conditions in the community deplore this notoriety, and point to frequent instances in which apparent success has been converted to failure by untimely publicity at some delicate state of the operation. But publicity does not always result in increased resistance, certainly not in long range terms. The closing of the public schools at Little Rock, Charlottesville, Front Royal and Norfolk had a profound effect. Many who hoped to preserve segregation were awakened to the realization that the only real choice is either to abandon segregation or abandon public education.

White resistance has also taken other forms, more personal and less public. An illustration of this was a letter sent in August 1957 by the Alabama State Superintendent of Schools to the Negro plaintiffs in a then pending court action to desegregate the Birmingham public schools. Here are two sentences from the letter:

> "If you refuse to cooperate with the city board of education in the school placement of your children, you will in effect invite the abolishment of the public schools. Where would your children be, and where would the children of your friends and your people be in this State without public schools?"

Running through much of the white resistance has been the insistent theme that public schools can be maintained on a segregated basis. This has been the segregationist's position from the beginning and the white South has been more than willing to give that position a try. As evidence mounts that this is not so, that either segregation or the public schools must go, there has been a split between the purists and the realists. For purists, segregation must be maintained and public education abandoned. The realist, placing public education first, has directed his attention to ways of delaying desegregation and minimizing the amount of it which occurs.

Public education, though in places it may be temporarily unavailable, will not be abandoned. And the realistic segregationist has set up the two issues most often considered in court actions: How much desegregation? And how quickly?

IV.

Any system which operates two or more schools must necessarily work out rules for assigning pupils to particular schools. There are countless ways to do this and the matter has traditionally been done by local school officials. What the School Cases did was to require that these rules for assigning pupils be worked out in such ways that the states were no longer "maintaining racially segregated public schools."

The Supreme Court recognized that a period of transition would be required to carry out a program of desegregation and that many hard problems would have to be defined, understood, and solved before the transition could be completed. Primary responsibility for working out the transition was assigned to local school authorities, subject to challenge and review of their program by the local federal District Courts.

Planning and carrying out the transition was a new experience for the school officials and the judges alike. The Supreme Court announced in 1955 a general formula for the transition: "A prompt and reasonable start" had to be made toward removal of racial distinctions in assigning pupils to schools, and the whole transition was to be carried out "with all deliberate speed."

The formula, intentionally broadened to permit dealing with widely variant conditions, invited debate over its application in specific situations. And the host of new state laws dealing with public schools and aimed at curbing desegregation posed further uncertainties which only the passage of time and quite a bit of court action could resolve.

We have answers now for some of these uncertainties as a result of judicial decision since the School Cases.

Thus, we can write off as largely ineffective - in urban areas at least - the state laws which require or permit a public school to close down when it has been ordered to desegregate. Courts have ordered re-opening, on occasion at the instance of white parents, on constitutional grounds: such a preferential closing denies children of the affected school equality with children whose schools remain open elsewhere in the state. City schools, closed at Little Rock and at Charlottesville, Front Royal and Norfolk in Virginia, were opened in a year or less under court orders which put Negroes in attendance at most of them. The rules worked out for these cases will permit use of equitable remedies which should curtail and perhaps in most cases prevent future school closings.

As this is written, no court order has yet directed a re-opening of the public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The County abandoned public education entirely for the school year of 1959-60 rather than submit to a desegregation decree. Negroes in the case, apparently hoping the white community would act to restore the public schools, have only recently gone to court asking for an order to re-open the schools.

Under the principles of cases already decided Virginia officials are

under a duty to restore public schools in Prince Edward County. But this unhappy case, one of the five actions involved in the original School Cases in the Supreme Court, deals with a South Side Virginia county, largely rural, where the Negro population approximately equals the white. Another of the original School Cases involves a somewhat comparable rural area of Clarendon County, South Carolina. The only difference is that nothing whatever has happened in Clarendon County. The public schools remain open and completely segregated. The two cases dramatically reveal the difficulties ahead for desegregation in the so-called "Black Counties" of the rural South. Successful desegregation of any kind has been confined almost entirely so far either to urban areas or to rural areas where the Negroes form but a small part of the entire population.

Just as states cannot circumvent desegregation by preferentially closing particular schools, neither can they attempt that result by paying out state funds for the operation of segregated private schools. Arkansas cut off state school aids for Little Rock and while the schools there were closed paid out state funds to a private school organized to educate white children. The lower federal courts, backed by the Supreme Court, have now held these state payments illegal and have ordered the State to pay over to Little Rock public schools the state aids which had been withheld after Governor Faubus ordered the schools to close.

In theory it would appear that a state can, without violating the federal Constitution, go out of the business of public education altogether. The Fourteenth Amendment simply declares that the state shall not deny to any person the equal protection of its laws. Presumably if the state did go completely out of the school business, including abandonment of public schools by local units of government, there would be no state inequality involved. There simply would not be public education for anyone. But such a state withdrawal would have to be complete. Public funds will not be permitted to support segregation in private schools.

Perhaps all the public schools of one or more Southern states may close down temporarily but a complete abandonment of public education by any of them seems improbable. Strong forces work against such a result. Every Southern state actively recruits new industry. With embarrassing frequency they are pressed for information about the quality - and indeed the very existence - of public schools. Stories abound of instances in which national concerns have promised personnel sent into their Southern plants and offices either to pay tuition in private schools or to transfer families with school age children in the event local schools are closed. And apart from new arrivals in the South there appears to be strongly rooted support for public education among the indigenous population as well, especially in urban areas.

The future course seems unlikely to involve any protracted closing down of the schools. Rather, the major battles will continue, as in the court actions of the recent past, to involve the criteria and procedures for assigning pupils to particular schools.

Numerous criteria for pupil placement have appeared. These raise the essentially substantive question of huw much desegregation may in theory be expected. When the Supreme Court announced in its mandate decision of 1955

that school desegregation could occur as a gradual process, the question at once was: how much (or how little) desegregation constitutes a "reasonable start"? Some answers to this have been worked out in the past five years, but complex factors are involved and important issues have not yet been resolved in the Supreme Court.

Shortly after the School Cases the lower courts began to read the decisions as imposing no affirmative duty upon local school officials to mix, or integrate, children of different races. In this view a school district could continue to maintain completely segregated schools as long as machinery existed for seeking a transfer by criteria stripped of racial distinctions. The argument was that a state does not deny a child equal protection by permitting him to attend a school of his choice. He could thus be assigned to a school of his own race, provided he could thereafter transfer to a school of his own choice.

The rationale just stated forms the core of the pupil assignments statutes that Alabama and a number of other states have adopted. It is the core also of the so-called voluntary programs adopted in a number of North Carolina communities, and appears to be the practice which is followed at Little Rock.

The Alabama-type assignment plans share the same significant features, though the details differ. Under them, all children are initially assigned to school of their own race, either by explicit direction or by subtle suggestion. White children of course do no apply for transfer to Negro schools. Only a few Negroes apply for transfer to white schools; in most places where these plans exist as general laws of the state Negroes have made no applications for transfer. One commonplace criterion in the plans rejects the application of any child who has been assigned to a school nearer his home than the white school for which he has applied, thus relying upon residential segregation to disqualify many who might otherwise choose to attend a desegregated school. Other criteria for passing on the application are more vague but are usually sufficient to cause rejection of most or all applications.

The Alabama-type plans rely heavily upon the inertia and reluctance of the Negro community. They initially place the Negro in a Negro school, and shift to him the initiative for getting out. The plans treat the right to a desegregated education as an individualized affair, and not as a right owing to a class of people. The criteria for passing on applications call for subjective evaluations which can readily cloak racial discrimination. Thus, transfer may depend on whether an applicant has the proper cultural, moral and ethical background and qualifications for admission to white school When school officials refuse a transfer, and court review is sought, the child may be compelled to sit in open court and establish his compliance with these elusive standards. And the judge, obligated to scrutinize the whole process for signs of discrimination, often finds himself substituted as the ministerial authority who is in fact assigning pupils, a child at a time.

The lower federal courts at first insisted that the local assignment machinery had to be tried and shown to be inadequate before any judicial relief could be sought. They refused to presume, in advance of the fact, that a child's choice of a school would be denied him on racial grounds.

More recently a decided change in tone has appeared, and inroads have been made from a number of directions on the assumptions in the early cases decided by the lower federal courts.

Recently, several Courts of Appeal have made it clear that local school officials do have some affirmative duties toward the disestablishment of existing segregation. For the existence of such an affirmative duty, ample Supreme Court authority was available. In Bolling v. Sharpe the Court had explained in 1954 that the Constitution prohibits the states from "maintaining racially segregated schools." Four years later in Cooper v. Aaron the Court made the point clearer still when it said "State authorities were thus duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discrimination in the public school system."

Recently, too, the Courts of Appeal have insisted that the mere existence of Alabama-type assignment laws will not discharge a school district from its duty when it appears that completely segregated schools are still maintained. Formal plans or other steps must be taken "publicly to disestablish segregation in the school system."

An objection which may well result in the abandonment of the Alabama-type plans lurks in a recent suggestion of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit: A school board might be in trouble if it continued to maintain segregation by automatically assigning pupils to the same segregated schools and applied the assignment criteria only to "the relatively few Negro students who sought transfers to what had theretofore been white schools." The plan, the court suggested, called for applying the assignment tests uniformly to all students, and not just to those wishing transfers. Some unprecedented re-shuffling of school populations may be in the offing if school officials must also consider the cultural, moral and ethical qualifications of all white children for admission to white schools.

Other devices for pupil placement have been proposed besides the Alabama-type plans just discussed. One is the so-called "three-school" plan, which visualizes within a given system three kinds of schools, one exclusively for whites, another for Negroes, and a third for those who desired interracial education. A Tennessee statute providing such a three-school plan was declared unconstitutional in connection with working out the program for desegregation at Nashville. The District Court pointed out that a three-school plan would result in excluding Negroes, for reasons of race alone, from the set of schools organized exclusively for white children. "The right of Negroes to attend the public schools without discrimination upon the ground of race cannot be made to depend upon the consent of the members of the majority group."

Nevertheless, in a rather confusing directive to officials of the schools at Dallas, Texas, a District Court has apparently ordered desegregation according to a three-school plan for the Fall of 1960. Another federal District Court in Texas, on the other hand, repeated the idea that desegregation does not depend upon majority consent, and ordered desegregation for Houston despite a provision of state law calling for desegregation only after approval by referendum of local voters.

Surely the judges at Nashville and Houston are correct in saying that the right to attend public schools without racial discrimination cannot turn on the consent or choice of others attending the same school system. A policy which gives every child a free choice of any school in the system, on a first-come, first-served, basis was adopted by Baltimore in 1954 and has resulted in a thorough-going desegregation of the city's schools. But where desegregation is introduced at only one or two schools in a system, there is set up what is in effect a three-school system - white schools, Negro schools, and integrated schools - and a policy which permits children thereafter to transfer to a school of their choice results in a game of musical chairs. Something like this happened in Dade County, Florida, last year. Desegregation was initiated at only two schools in the County. In the Spring of 1959, four Negro and 81 white children were assigned to Orchard Villa School for the following Fall. Virtually all the white children thereafter moved into white schools. By January 1960 it was reported that Orchard Villa was being operated by an all-Negro faculty for 468 Negro and nine white children. The presence of the white minority at Orchard Villa is a most unusual circumstance, certainly for the Deep South.

Different from any of the plans so far discussed is the one developed under court order by the school board at Nashville, Tennessee. The Nashville plan deals realistically with so many of the hard problems in desegregation that it may well become a model for the future. The Nashville board, taking into account the academic disparities between the existing Negro and white schools, recommended desegregation of its schools on a grade-a-year basis beginning with the first grade. Academically, certainly, it is easier to mix the two races at the first grade level than to attempt it first in high school. Geography is the only criterion for assignment of children to school. Each receives a post card assigning him to school near his home. Once a child receives his assignment, he may request a transfer to a school of his own race if he is a member of a racial minority in the school to which he has been assigned.

Here is the way the transfer feature worked last year, the third year the plan was in operation: Children in the first three grades were subject to assignment. About 75 white children were assigned to previously Negro schools; and 145 Negro children were assigned to white schools. The 75 white children, being members of a racial minority where assigned, asked for and got transfers to white schools. The 145 Negroes, minorities where they were assigned, had about 100 of their number ask for assignment to Negro schools. In other words, only 44 Negro children remained in the white schools, and all 75 white children left the Negro schools.

Several characteristics of the plan deserve particular comment.

Under the Nashville plan Negroes are relieved from taking the initiative for obtaining nonracial school assignment. Initial assignment is automatic and by a simple and objective standard: to the school near the child's home. The only real question on judicial review is whether gerrymandering has been employed in mapping out the assignment areas around each school. Geographic assignment goes a long way toward meeting the hesitation and inertia of the Negroes in the matter of risking a fight over school desegregation.

A geographic assignment rule substantially restricts the amount of integration in most urban areas, simply because of residential segregation. This is true not merely of the South but of urban areas all over the country. Retention of geographic assignment, however, in time results in substantial desegregation as the character of neighborhoods changes within the community. And Southern cities, like those elsewhere, are experiencing the exodus to suburbia, urban redevelopment, and a constant stream of new arrivals. If geographic assignment may produce small results at the beginning, larger results can be expected for the future. And in smaller communities and rural areas, geographic assignment can result in major integration.

The Nashville plan permits children to seek transfer subsequent to assignment and according to an obviously racial standard. Transfer is permitted in only limited circumstances. White children have no choice in the matter where the school is predominantly white. Unlike the white majority which was able to retreat from the Orchard Villa School in Florida, the white majorities at Nashville must stay put. The transfer provision, on the other hand, permits uneasy members of a racial minority in a particular school to retreat if they desire or are pressured into it. Both Negroes and whites have made use of the provision at Nashville, the Negroes recently using it less than at the start in 1957.

The Supreme Court declined review of the Nashville program in the Fall of 1959, three Justices expressing regret that the Court had not desired at least to consider the racial transfer feature of the program at the time. The effect of the Court's action was to leave the Nashville program in operation and the question remains open whether the Court will in time accept or reject the racial transfer as a transition measure.

Nevertheless, the racial transfer feature of the Nashville plan appears to introduce a desirable flexibility into a desegregation program at its beginning. Any transition program requires that some interim decisions be made in racial terms. In practical effect the Nashville transfer means that desegregation will commence with Negro minorities in predominantly white schools, for white minorities will at the beginning elect to retreat from Negro majorities. Like any transitional device, the transfer provision can be modified or withdrawn after the transition is under way. Indeed, the grade-a-year program inaugurated in the southern counties of Delaware under court order in the Fall of 1959 contained no comparable transfer feature. And the general directive of the District Court for the beginning of a grade-a-year desegregation at New Orleans in the Fall of 1960 explicitly provided that transfers between schools could not be "based on considerations of race." In time we will know whether a geographic assignment system may be coupled at the beginning with a limited provision for subsequent transfer of the Nashville type. The combination may be particularly practicable for the really difficult rural areas where the academic disparities between white and Negro schools are in some cases extreme even at the first grade level.

A grade-a-year plan would seem to call for a twelve-year transition. But it need not take that long. A primary justification for the plan is the academic disparity between existing Negro and white schools in the community. A decree which permits a program to begin on a grade-a-year basis should also require concerted efforts by the school system to raise the achievement levels

in the grades which remain segregated. This should permit a speeding up of the transition, and in any case, improvement in academic standards is owing to those compelled to remain in segregated classes. The Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit has recently ordered a speeding up of the transition program for the schools in the southern counties of Delaware. After permitting the transition to proceed on a grade-a-year basis for two years, desegregation of the remaining grades has been ordered for the Fall of 1961, the third year of the program.

The courts have been involved not only with criteria for pupil placement, but also with numerous questions largely procedural in character. As earlier pointed out, Negroes have been required first to exhaust their remedies within the school system before coming to court. This has invited development of local remedies designed to take every advantage of Negro reluctance and inertia.

Thus, Negroes in North Carolina have complained that school officials refused even to distribute transfer applications through the Negro schools or to mail them out on request. Rather, the Negro applicant had to appear in person at the office of the school superintendent to ask individually for his form. Other procedural requirements make the applicant take special examinations, or permit anyone who opposes the child's application to demand a public hearing on it, thus affording segregationists a chance to appear and whoop things up.

In some recent cases the courts have treated such procedures as in fact affording no adequate relief and have dispensed with the need for proceeding first through local machinery. The question is one of degree, but once satisfied of the bad faith of local officials the courts have moved swiftly to grant relief thereafter.

Much uncertainty has also attended procedures in court actions themselves. Methods adequate for tort or contract cases have been challenged by defendant state officials who were looking for any objection which could delay things. Some objections have been jurisdictional, throwing the plaintiffs out of court and compelling them to begin all over. Serious questions of court procedures still remain, but some more or less standardized formats are emerging which should go far toward reducing future delays.

Once taken to court, school officials invariably seek further time for study of their local problems. The judges, in the beginning on uncharted seas, granted generous extensions. But when convinced that delay is being used for inaction rather than study, the courts have demanded action and got results. At Norfolk the court obtained a plan for commencing desegregation only after putting the school board in the jury box and delivering a stern lecture on citizenship.

Outside the Border States there has been a strong tendency for the court to approve any plan which promised even a token desegregation of the system as a first step. Certainly this has been true for the cities in North Carolina and Virginia, for Dade County in Florida, and Little Rock and Dollarway in Arkansas. But the Nashville plan, applying a grade-a-year desegregation to all the schools in the system, calls for much more than a token

desegregation and marks a breaking away from the token pattern. As this is written, court-ordered plans patterned after the Nashville decree appear due for operation in the Fall of 1960 in several other Tennessee cities and at New Orleans. The court-approved plan for Atlanta will not qualify as a Nashville grade-a-year type. The Atlanta proposal is simply an Alabama-type assignment plan with its transfer provisions available at first only for eleventh and twelfth grade students. And even this proposed small token for Atlanta awaits the Fall of 1961 to go into operation.

Occasionally school boards have refused to produce plans for desegregation even after court orders to do so. Early judicial response to this kind of defiance was a general decree to desegregate, without details for carrying it out, and the results were usually no desegregation whatever unless the judge subsequently made the assignments himself. More recently, after local officials consistently refused to submit desegregation plans, the federal District Court decreed that the New Orleans public schools were to be desegregated at the first grade level in the Fall of 1960. The decree specified that children would be permitted to "attend either the formerly all-white public school nearest their homes or the formerly all-Negro public school nearest their homes, at their option." This language will enable a Negro to overcome the fact of residential segregation, for he may attend the nearest formerly all-white school even though a Negro school is nearer his home. In this sense the decree is substantially more sweeping than the geographic assignment device at Nashville. The New Orleans decree will also permit inter-school transfers provided they are not based on racial considerations.

As this is written, Governor Davis has announced he is taking over the operation of the New Orleans schools pursuant to a state statute calling for this when a court has ordered schools to desegregate. This will doubtless produce commotion. Legally, however, a governor has no greater powers than a state, and states cannot maintain racially segregated public schools. More than this, nothing in the Constitution prevents sending a governor to jail for contempt of court when he acts beyond the ambit of his powers. Use of contempt powers is simply a question of tactics in such a case. It may be sufficient in some cases to employ contempt against those around him, thus depriving a governor of whatever benefits he might see in becoming a martyr.

It is essential for the courts to retain supervisory jurisdiction over a school case during the transition period. Occasionally the supervisory powers are needed to deal with evasive actions such as the seizure of the New Orleans schools by Governor Davis. More often the supervisory role will be confined to ironing out difficulties that crop up during the transition and to introducing modifications that speed along the plan as ways are found for solving problems which had justified a slow beginning. Imaginative usage of judicial remedies is called for and historically the judicial process has been singularly effective in evolving adequate means for giving substance to legal rights.

V.

Assessment of the role the judiciary may play in school desegregation

for the future involves some speculation. A few generalizations can be made, however, even if their relative importance cannot be accurately gauged.

First, we can count on future judicial actions to proceed more swiftly, smoothly and certainly. There is better understanding of what elements are essential to a decree which can get desegregation off to a satisfactory beginning in a resistant community, and of procedures for speeding along the transition after a start has been made.

At the risk of criticism from every quarter, I tender the following elements which seem to me essential to a minimal decree for commencing desegregation in a school system:

1. The plan should apply uniformly to all schools in the system. Even if the plan is to begin on a grade-a-year basis, it should apply to every school in the system at which first-grade classes are conducted. Anything less is a three-school system - some white, some Negro, some integrated - with all the attendant pressures for transfer to schools that remain segregated, and with the obvious racial character of exclusion from schools that are thus legally permitted to remain segregated.

2. Initial pupil placement should be by uniform standards applied to all. Various standards are possible. If pupils are to be left free to choose their school, they should be permitted, as at Baltimore, freely to choose any school in the system on a first-come, first-served, basis. If geographic assignment is employed, it should be applied to everyone and the use of gerrymandering should be watched for. If assignment is based on such things as the ethical, moral or cultural qualifications of the pupils, the testing should be given all children in the system; it won't do to assign pupils initially to segregated schools, then apply these tests only to the few Negroes who seek a transfer.

3. Inter-school transfer should be permitted after initial placement. School authorities should be permitted to transfer a child to another school against his will. Probably this should be confined to grounds of discipline, health or, perhaps, academic attainment. In any case the burden is on the school officials to show the transfer is free from racial taint. How far pupils should be permitted to transfer for their own reasons may vary depending on other characteristics of the program. In principle, transfers grounded on racial considerations are forbidden, but as a transition measure the Nashville plan makes some sense by permitting uneasy members of racial minorities in a particular school to transfer, and refusing transfers to racial majorities, who must stay put in the school. Such a device safeguards against the kind of musical chairs game played in Dade County, Florida.

4. Grade-a-year plans should start from the bottom up, not the top down, and should provide for raising achievement levels in classes left segregated. Desegregation should be permitted to begin on a grade-a-year basis only upon proof of academic disparities between Negro and white schools in the system. On proof of these disparities, the decree should direct efforts to improve achievement levels in grades which remain segregated and should require other steps needed to equalize the two groups. Proposals to start desegregation from the twelfth grade down suggest a purpose of capitalizing on Negro

reluctance to face the more difficult academic standards in white schools, for the achievement gaps between whites and Negroes are far greater on the average at the high school level than in the first grade.

5. The decree should clearly announce the continuation of court jurisdiction and the opportunity for modification as the transition progresses. Future court actions will be dealing with cases where segregation has been retained years after its illegal character has been known. These will tend to be places where substantial disparities continue to exist between the educational levels in the white and Negro schools. In these cases desegregation beginning with the first grade will afford a reasonable start, particularly when coupled with efforts to upgrade the education of those who remain in segregated classes. The need for continuing scrutiny of this kind of transition is manifest and it should help to clear the air for the court to annouce from the outset the availability of further judicial proceedings to consider modifications as the transition evolves.

Doubtless the passage of time will reveal further refinements with which the decrees will have to deal. And some of the points stated here as conclusions have not yet been given full blown judicial consideration. A decree which tackles the problem along the lines here suggested can be administered relatively simply, presents fairly clear-cut standards which the average person in the community can understand, and can be sought without involvement in issues which have no real bearing on the question of placing pupils in such a way that segregation will not be maintained.

The future course of judicial action may be profoundly affected by the proposal to have desegregation cases brought in the name of the United States. This would relieve Negroes from the costs of bringing desegregation cases. It would provide assistance in the form of attorneys and others needed to prepare and conduct the actions. And finally, it would stress the national character of the right which the action was brought to enforce. Congressional action in 1957 and 1960 has authorized suits in the name of the United States to enforce voting rights. Comparable authority for school desegregation suits is needed.

Public funds should underwrite the full costs of a school desegregation case. Defendants in the cases are state officials and state funds have consistently been used to defend against every desegregation effort. Private funds, however, have been the only source of support for bringing these cases to enforce what are the most obvious kind of public rights. And indeed some states have tried to curtail even private support by employing statutes patterned after the old crimes of barratry and maintenance.

The need for more attorneys who can devote full time and specialized attention to desegregation cases is also great. Probably there are fewer than two dozen attorneys in the whole country who presently possess the combination of skill and specialized experience that is required. Few of these can devote their full time to desegregation. The rest must support themselves at other legal work and engage in desegregation cases in the discharge of professional responsibility or as a labor of love. Congress can help by establishing a group of full-time attorneys for this purpose in the Justice Department. And an interested President can see to it that they tackle the job head on.

The future course of judicial action will also be affected by the growing experience of the judges themselves. The initial concerns that the judiciary itself would be discredited or disabled in the desegregation process have largely abated. At Clinton, Little Rock, Norfolk and elsewhere the courts have stood by their orders to desegregate in the face either of violence or promises, later carried out, to close the schools. The rule of law has prevailed over defiance.

The judges themselves can aid the judicial process by undertaking seminars which deal with the problems of desegregation litigation. Most of those I talked with in 1959 expressed the desire and need for exchange among the judges of their experiences in this area. They hesitated at that time, however, to take the initiative for inviting groups of judges together for this purpose. The changing judicial attitudes toward these cases should soon create the kind of atmosphere in which judges will call for fruitful exchanges of thinking on this subject.

The future role of judicial action will probably be influenced most profoundly, however, by the atmosphere, in the South and elsewhere, toward the desegregation question. The courts themselves will influence this atmosphere, as they have already influenced it. A court proceeding to compel any kind of desegregation puts in motion a unique process of education. As court enforcement becomes a more sure-footed process, some resumption of voluntary desegregation may be expected as the point sinks in that the task is easier to do out of court than in court. And voluntary action is obviously the preferable way to desegregate.

VI.

Desegregation, which has shaped and been shaped by so much political maneuvering in recent years, has received very little assistance from the two great political arms of the national government. No public action of Congress has yet spoken favorably of school desegregation. Beyond expressing his support for law and order, at one time to the extent of sending the 101st Airborne Division into Little Rock, President Eisenhower has done little to express presidential approval, either.

It would settle a lot of dust if both Congress and the President would declare, in terms all could understand, that school desegregation is a fine idea and a proper construction of rights guaranteed by the United States. Segregationists have long cited the silence and inaction of Congress and the President as proof that the Supreme Court usurped powers in declaring school segregation unconstitutional. They overlook the fact that silence does not constitute approval either, and they are of course wrong in suggesting that presidential or congressional approval is required to validate decisions of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, affirmative support for the School Cases out of both these quarters will help when it comes.

Congress has received a wide variety of proposals for aiding school desegregation. I have already referred to two which seem to me essential. One is the proposal to have school desegregation cases brought by the United States

in its own name, as may presently be done to enforce voting rights. The second is a simple declaration of agreement with the principle of the School Cases, accomplished in some way which dispels any claim that Congressional approval is required to validate the decision.

Another recurrent suggestion would furnish federal funds to any school district to help it desegregate. Variations on this thought would condition school aids to states on requirements that local desegregation plans meet some minimal federal standards, or that some federal authority should take over the operation of schools which remain segregated.

I have two objections to the use of any of these proposals at the present. So far as they would seek compliance by dangling money before a resistant school board, I doubt their efficacy. So far as they substitute a stick for a carrot, I doubt that sufficient congressional support can be mustered for such coercive control over the public schools.

What it seems to me Congress should do is tackle the problem of upgrading the education of those whose achievement levels fall far below national norms. Help should go to a school not because it has been racially segregated, but because its academic performance is beneath any acceptable standards. This avoids using racial criteria in operating the program. And it faces a problem which is not Southern and racial but national and non-racial.

There are disadvantaged children crowded into disadvantaged schools in our great cities, the gap between them and the children in the best schools of the city widening every day because of the differences in academic pace. The same may be said of what education is obtained by the children of itinerant Mexican or Puerto Rican agricultural workers. Or of children in ungraded schools of bleak rural areas too impoverished to accomplish anything better.

The problem common to them all is the inadequacy of their educational facilities to close the distance by which they lag the nation at large. Methods, all of them costing money, are nevertheless at hand for rapidly closing such gaps. Exciting instances can be found in which the reading levels of whole groups of disadvantaged children have been raised several grade levels in a matter of months. But this requires specialized attention by specialized teachers. And we need to be broadly at work, training teachers and furnishing the means for seeing that they get where they are most urgently needed.

Perhaps a start in the form of numerous kinds of pilot projects affords a basis for Congressional beginning. And perhaps some of the great private foundations can be called upon to help experimental programs which creative school systems are willing to undertake in return for some kind of matching assistance from the foundations.

The central point is that the most urgent education need of the Negro in segregated Southern schools is the same urgent need of many other disadvantaged groups elsewhere. The problem is not racial and it is national. It should be solved in terms which are national and are not racial.

VII.

The amount of school desegregation has thus far disappointed those who six years ago counted on much more. The authoritative Southern School News estimated in September 1960 that complete segregation was maintained in ____ biracial school districts in which _____ white children and _____ Negro children were enrolled. And in hundreds of other districts there has been only a token beginning of desegregation.

No sweeping desegregation of these districts is in prospect. For the immediate future desegregation can be obtained only through court actions, brought individually against each district to be affected. Court procedures and rules for carrying through the transition to desegregation are only now shaking down into workable and reasonably efficient patterns. Future desegregation actions should move more smoothly and swiftly, with still further improvement likely. The reluctance of the Negro to go to court and the costs of litigation will continue to limit the rate at which desegregation actions are begun. Congress can help here by permitting the United States to bring desegregation suits in its own name.

Desegregation, when it comes to these resistant districts, is likely to take the form of a gradual transition beginning at the first grade level. The gap in achievement levels between existing white and Negro schools, a gap that widens in the upper grades, imposes severe restrictions on the number of Negroes prepared to compete in white classes, particularly at high school levels. Efforts to close these achievement gaps must be undertaken as part of the desegregation process. But closing the gap in time to permit desegregation for children in higher grade levels of many school districts will call for more teachers and better trained teachers than can now be mustered for the job.

Achievement levels far below national norms are not a problem peculiar to segregated Negro schools or one confined to the Southern United States. The difficulty is nationwide and not racial, and should be dealt with by Congress in national terms in the form of assistance for schools shown to maintain standards below any acceptable minimum levels. Numerous methods exist for upgrading deficient achievement levels but they call for higher teacher-pupil ratios and specially trained teachers. This is expensive business but it is difficult to think of a national concern more important than striving toward our best, and not something less than that, in the education of our people.

The next President will play an active role in pressing for the end of racial discrimination. Both candidates have impressive records of achievement in this area. As President either can set a tone and create an atmosphere in which needed machinery can be provided, and in which defiance and fear can in time give way to cooperation and confidence. He can work toward solutions in non-racial terms, for solutions in racial terms pay a heavy price for the friction, evasion and hostility they generate and are in the end antithetical to the objective itself, which is to remove racial considerations from the picture.

* * * *

San Francisco, Calif.
August 31, 1960

September 15, 1961

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

If you have extras could you send copies of your Florida, Baton Rouge, and Jacksonville reports to the following:

Mr. Ben Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Also please send any subsequent reports you may put out.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

file

September 20, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
c/o Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy
Executive Secretary
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Leslie:

Can you manage to phone me either here at Law School or at my home sometime before this week-end is over? My office phone is ALpine 5-3311, x-4147; my home is CEdar 3-0578. The Area Code is 608.

My present expectation is to leave here at noon, Monday the 25th for Raleigh, North Carolina, with the plan of moving across the state during the week to Charlotte or perhaps Asheville by Saturday. If possible, I'd love to see you at Atlanta either on Saturday the 30th or preferably on Sunday, October 1st since the later time would give me another day of trying to pick up information in North Carolina. In any case, I would like to leave Atlanta by 6:20 Sunday evening in order to meet a class at Law School the following morning.

There are a thousand things I'd like to talk over with you and hope we can work out something this time.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

P.S. Thought the enclosed memo might interest you. I'm skeptical about asking Congress to touch any of it, but Berl seems anxious to keep Congress stirred up.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 5, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A copy of a recent memo on Little Rock is enclosed (and I have sent copies on to Ben Muse andJohn Brewbaker).

On the plane down from Asheville to Atlanta last Saturday I rode beside a charming lady of perhaps fifty who turned out to be the executive director of the YWCA at Dallas, Texas. She has general charge of two Y's - one Negro and one white - and has an active interest in interracial matters. I told her I'd ask you to put her on your SRC mailing list since it struck me she could now and then do some good things with your ideas. She is:

Miss Lucille Douglass
1709 Jackson
Dallas, Texas

Thanks again for a wonderful week-end.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

P.S. If you can send along a few copies of my Saturday Review article, I'd appreciate it.

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OK
8/

Phil in
[illegible]

November 16, 1961

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I think we got nowhere and I probably went about it the wrong way. I am sorry.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:dm

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 9, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

My law Dean, George H. Young, and University Vice-President (for academic affairs) immediately assured me that University sponsorship of the affair we proposed could be counted on. Both saw such functions as part of an urgent responsibility of this and other universities (things like this are part of the reason I'm so attached to this damned place!)

Even if Vernon Eagle decides against underwriting an affair here, I suggest that we push elsewhere for funds to put this one. To this end, doesn't it make sense that we sketch out a proposed maximum budget and attach it to the sort of prospectus you put together for Vernon? Give me a ring after you've got more definite information from Vernon, won't you? I'll be happy to put together the mechanical arrangements at this end of the line.

The Pinellas County, Florida, clipping is enclosed. I have a copy, so you need not return this.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

December 16, 1961

Mr. Bryce Wood
Social Science Research Council
230 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Wood:

My application, in the amount of $12,000, for support during the year commencing July 1, 1962, is enclosed. You had indicated during our conversation in your office at the end of November that your committee concerned with research into the legal process could act upon applications received by the end of this year.

The application is considerably longer than it should be. But at this end of the line it is difficult to know what is material for the decision of your committee, and I have chosen to err on the side of too much rather than too little.

Nevertheless, there may still be questions which you have concerning the application. If you do, I will cheerfully accept a collect call from you to do my best at answering them, considering the lateness of my application. I plan to be at my office during much of the next two weeks and the phone there is ALpine 5-3311, x-4147; my home phone, should I not be at school, is CEdar 3-0578. The Madison Area Code is 608.

You may wish to do some independent checking on me, and I suggest that any of the following people are generally knowledgeable about aspects, at least, of what I have been doing: Prof. Willard Hurst, Law School, University of Wisconsin; Judge William E. Miller, U. S. District Court, Nashville, Tennessee; Judge J. Skelly Wright, named last night by the President to the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and formerly on the District Court at New Orleans; Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington; Mr. Harris Wofford, Jr., Executive Office of the President, 17th and Pennsylvania, N.W., Washington, D. C.; Mr. Stephen R. Currier, Taconic Foundation, Inc., 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19; and Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

Thanks again for the opportunity to talk with you at New York and I shall be grateful for the consideration you give my application.

Sincerely,

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

December 16, 1961

MEMO TO: Social Science Research Council
FROM: G. W. Foster, Jr.

SUBJECT: Support for Continuing Study of School Desegregation Process

This memorandum seeks support for a one-year project, part of a continuing long-range study of school desegregation. The proposal visualizes support of half my salary at the Law School of the University of Wisconsin during the period September 1962 through June 1963, in addition to provision for travel expenses and a per diem fee while ~~while~~ traveling in connection with the project for the year commencing July 1962. A commitment not to exceed $12,000 for the period July 1962 through June 1963 is here requested.

The balance of this memorandum discusses the objectives to which the project would be expected to contribute and proposes a budget for its accomplishment.

The Broad Objectives: Better Understanding and Improved Communications

The broad objectives of the project for which support is here sought are two:

(1) A better understanding of the processes by which public school desegregation is taking place in resistant communities; and

(2) Improved communications among those involved in the process of school desegregation.

A summary of the three years I have already invested in this general problem may be helpful to an understanding of the work I hope to continue in the coming year.

My initial inquiries into desegregation, in the winter of 1958-1959, focussed on questions of judicial administration, an inquiry into the limitations and the resources of the judiciary in enforcing a rule of law with which dominant forces in the community vigorously and publicly disagreed. My interest in this facet of the problem had grown out of some years of teaching both Federal Jurisdiction and Constitutional Law, coupled with awareness of such then recent events as those at Little Rock and the closing down of public schools at Little Rock and in several Virginia communities in the fall of 1958 to circumvent court-ordered school desegregation.

A Ford Foundation grant to the Law School of the University of Wisconsin made possible a six-week seminar which I organized for the summer of 1959. Legal sanctions available for court enforcement of school desegregation furnished the central core of discussion for the seminar group. The seminar members were professors of law and of sociology, brought together because each had distinctive contributions to offer either in interracial matters or in questions of federal judicial powers. The law professors were, in addition to myself, Louis Pollak of Yale Law School; Paul Mishkin of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; and Paul Sanders, then Director of the Race Relations Law Reporter and professor of law at Vanderbilt Law School. The sociology professors were Harry V. Ball, then of Pomona College; George Simpson

of Oberlin College; and Melvin Tumin of Princeton University. As visitors who spent two or more days with the seminar we had Thurgood Marshall, then General Counsel of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund; U. S. District Judge Caleb M. Wright, who had handled various early phases of the Delaware school desegregation cases; Weldon James, Louisville editorial writer who co-authored with Superintendent Carmichael the "Louisville Story," describing desegregation of Louisville's schools; and Robben Fleming, law professor and skilled labor arbitrator at the University of Illinois.

All who participated in the 1959 seminar concurred that we raised more problems than we resolved. But the experience in those weeks deepened and broadened greatly our understanding of problems (though it probably made most of us less certain than before of quick and simple solutions).

Prior to the holding of the seminar I spent some three weeks in the spring and early summer of 1959 making the rounds of the Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Department of Justice and thereafter visiting communities in the South where at least some efforts had been made to desegregate the public schools. Typically, I sought out federal judges, elected and appointed school officials, attorneys for the Negro plaintiffs and attorneys for school officials, and community leaders both Negro and white who were in one way or another knowledgeable and, often, were in some way involved in shaping the decisions which would be made in the whiteand Negro community respecting changes in local race relations. In November 1959, following the seminar, I made another extended swing through other communities in the South, still seeking out information about the shape and source of ~~fomomsat~~ work in the desegregation picture.

By the end of 1959 my interest and the scope of my inquiry had expanded well beyond the earlier focus upon the judiciary's role in helping administer a social revolution. The "law" of desegregation, it became clear, comprehended a good bit more than the issues treated in reported court opinions. The designedly vague commands of Brown v. Board of Education that there must be a "prompt and reasonable start" made toward desegregation and that the process, once begun, must be carried out "with all deliberate speed" were being tested against the widest imaginable array of devices intended to defeat or delay desegregation. And even in 1959, four years after the mandate decision in the Supreme Court, so many questions respecting these general commands were unresolved that it was difficult to state many principles which were effective tools for working out desegregation in resistant communities.

During the school year 1960-1961 I took a research leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin Law School, supported jointly by funds from the state of Wisconsin and the Ford Foundation. A substantial part of this year went into reading in several areas. In particular I examined other instances in our American past in which whole communities had withdrawn their consent to be bound by the rule of law - Shays' Rebellion, the Railroad Strike of 1877, the Pullman Strike of 1894 are examples - looking for things which might throw helpful light on understanding the desegregation process. Other reading focussed on the history of public education and in particular as it bore on the development of education in the South. And I tried to read everything I could find which had been written about the present school desegregation problem - court opinions, legislative proposals and acts, news accounts, all sorts of material bearing on race and race relations. And I continued periodically to travel, a week to a month at a time, questioning people who were in some way or other involved in or knowledgeable about desegregation in Washington, and across the South.

In Saturday Review for December 17, 1960, appeared an article, "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation?" in which I sought to define some of the patterns which had by then emerged in the desegregation process, and to point up what appeared to be problems which remained largely unyielding. (A copy of the Saturday Review article is attached to this application.)

Since September 1961 I have resumed teaching on a half-time basis at the Law School of the University of Wisconsin. The other half of my time is supported by a grant from the Taconic Foundation, Inc. Taconic, a small foundation with offices at 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, New York, has in recent years become an important contributor to work aimed at better understanding and improvement of race relations in the United States. The budget proposed in this present application to the Social Science Research Council for the year 1962-1963 quite closely corresponds to the grant which I have received during the current year from Taconic funds.

As my own understanding of the patterns in which change occurs has increased my meetings with judges and other community leaders in the South have more and more involved an exchange of information. From them have come their views of what their problems are, what the "law" requires of them, what the quality of their local leadership and general political atmosphere may permit to take place. And from me have come reports of what others have done when faced with analogous problems. This reciprocity has often established a rapport which has furnished valuable insights into the forces which ultimately shape the patterns of community action. And, hopefully, some of the replies I have given to questions asked of me have opened up new lines of thinking and action in particular communities.

For communications between the people most directly involved in the desegregation picture remain poor. Even at this time, the federal judges of the South have hesitated even to hold off-the-record meetings at which they my exchange experiences they have had in handling desegregation cases. One result is that an individual judge commonly must work out, alone, solutions for problems that other judges have already solved and of which he is unaware. More than this, court opinions reveal but few of the problems and still fewer of the solutions which must be at hand to start a community along the road to desegregation. Most of the more serious local problems are worked out informally, and no report of these appears either in court opinions or in the press.

The same communication breakdowns exist with respect to Negro and white community leaders. A few cities, where local leadership is particularly sophisticated, have sent "observers" around to communities which had previously desegregated, seeking to learn about school problems, police problems attending an orderly change, efforts to mobilize favorable community opinion, and the like. But for every city like Atlanta and Dallas which did try to learn in advance from others, there are a dozen communities which have plunged into a desegregation crisis compelled to rely on their own very limited local knowledge about how the problems should be solved. Local Negro leadership, usually excluded from the councils of white leadership, of course lacks knowledge of the problems which the whites see (or think they see) and seeing no problems save refusal of thewhites to act, commonly offers simple, sweeping solutions which do not come to grips with the problems as the whites see them. And the converse is equally true that the white leadership lacks knowledge of the problems as Negroes see them, making white suggestions equally sweeping and unrealistic in Negro eyes.

Nevertheless, a great deal of experience is now at hand, waiting to be accumulated and restated in working principles which can prove helpful for those who still face the task of making a start toward desegregation or of speeding along desegregation where a token beginning has been made.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has recently given approval to a proposal I made which will make it possible for young professors in law schools of the South to undertake study of local desegregation problems in their own state, working on study grants from the Commission. As this is written we have commitments from professors at the law schools of the University of North Carolina, University of Arkansas, University of Louisville and Vanderbilt to participate in the program commencing early in 1962. And the prospects appear good for participation by professors from the law schools at the University of Virginia, Florida and Texas within the next few months. All this reflects a greatly changed public attitude which now makes it possible to work toward creation of local "experts" who can quietly work with local school officials and community leaders in their own state.

The Commission on Civil Rights has also approved studies of racial education problems for a selected group of cities in the North and West where the great slum clusters have inherited most of the hard problems generated out of the isolation of the Negro from the white middle class culture. It makes sense to have more or less disinterested observers watching the developments at places like New Rochelle, and in Philadelphia and Chicago where Negroes have already commenced litigation aimed at tackling some of the worst deficiendes of Negro education.

For the summer of 1962 I plan to bring these young professors who will start their studies of school problems in the next few weeks across the South and in the larger Northern cities to Madison for a six-week seminar which will follow somewhat the pattern of the 1959 seminar described earlier. A Ford grant to the University of Wisconsin will provide the means for accomplishing this and will give these young professors an opportunity to exchange thinking and experience among themselves and with visitors such as federal judges and school officials.

Somewhat more detail about the objectives and hopes for this program which I have just described are found in an attached copy of a letter to Berl Bernhard, Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights, in which the proposal was made to the Commission.

In short, I would like to continue in 1962-1963 the sort of thing which I am currently doing as this application is prepared: to teach on a half-time basis and to have support for half my time which will permit travel and continuing contact with the evolving problems of Negro education as we work at undoing a system which was not only racially segregated but woefully inadequate in academic terms. It is appropriate to ask why I have turned to Social Science Research Council rather than to seek a continuance with the Taconic Foundation. The answer is simply that Taconic has only limited resources. These resources it has tried to make available, on short notice, to aid projects relating to race relations work which either could not await the slower machinery of most foundations or which involved matters which lay outside the scope of interest of other foundations. If by this application to SSRC I can free some further Taconic funds for use on problems which arise abruptly and must be acted on quickly, it would be my wish to do so; as, I am sure, it would be the wish of the trustees of Taconic. And I would suppose that the sort of work in which I am engaged - an effort to understand more about the implementation of one of the most important "legal" matters

of our day - would fit within the general scope of research into the legal process which SSRC has in the past supported.

Administrative Details and Estimated Budget

My proposal for continuing during the year of 1962-1963 with the work already described calls for reduction of my teaching load at the Law School of the University of Wisconsin to a half-time basis during the period September 1962 through June 1963. My salary for the summer of 1962 will be supported by the grant from the Ford Foundation for the seminar with the young law professors, described above. The seminar will end, however, early in July and I am most anxious to resume some rather extensive travel across the South in the period immediately following for it is then that many of the major school decisions are made. Hence, the request for travel support covers the period July 1962 through June 1963.

My experience in the present year with the reduction of my teaching load to one-half has been quite satisfactory. With this much time I have been able to keep reasonably well abreast of developments in desegregation, to maintain the level of correspondence with people active in the school picture who have been so helpful to me, and to travel in order to continue picking up information on a first-hand basis.

The request for travel support introduces a somewhat unorthodox feature which has been part of the Taconic grant in the present year: a $50 per diem, above expenses, for those periods when travel is called for. The per diem, made proportional to the amount of travel involved, is designed to add something above ordinary income when these occasions arise and has already accomplished a lot in smoothing over some of the rough places in my family life occasioned by my absence from home. Should provision for the per diem arrangement be thought outside the scope of any grant which SSRC might make and you were ready to make the rest of the support grant without it, I should like to feel free to apply separately for the per diem arrangement as a supplement to your grant.

Finally, the proposed budget contains some provision for other expenses not connected with travel, such as telephone calls, stenographic supplies and services.

An estimated budget, not to exceed a maximum commitment of $12,000 for the claendar year ending June 30, 1963, is based on the following items:

Half-time salary support, September 1962 through June 1963; the Dean of the Wisconsin Law School has informed me that my salary for this 10-month period is not likely to exceed $11,200		$ 5,600.00
Travel expenses, per diem, other expenses:		
(1) Transportation	$2000.00	
(2) Room, meals, other travel expenses	$2000.00	
(3) $50 per diem for days involving absence from Madison, Wis.	$2000.00	
(4) Telephone, stenographic services, other incidentals	$ 400.00	
Total		$6,400.00

Maximum total commitment: $12,000.00 for period July 1962 - June 1963.

Several administrative details remain. If the project is approved as requested, it is recommended that the amount of my half-time salary support ($5600 or less) be made in the form of a grant to the Regents of the University of Wisconsin. The Regents will, as I understand it, accept and administer such a grant for that purpose. On the other hand, the Regents will not accept for administrative purposes the grant for expenses with the per diem feature; they will, however, accept and administer the grant for expenses if the per diem feature is omitted. Should SSRC act favorably upon this application, including the per diem, it would be my wish that the expense fund be administered directly by SSRC if this is feasible (Taconic is doing this during the current year on their grant to me). If administration of the fund by SSRC is not feasible, I would of course undertake responsibility for administration of it according to whatever terms are suggested by SSRC.

A final thought about the budget is appropriate. The figure of $12,000 is submitted as a maximum commitment; and the actual commitment within the period of the grant may be well below that amount. My 10-month salary is roughly $10,700 for the current year and Wisconsin legislature, faced with chronic financial problems, has not yet agreed upon a tax program to support the biennial budget it had earlier approved. And the several items of expenses for the per diem are estimated higher than they apparently will run during the current year.

Pollak

Dunbar, Price

February 15, 1962

Prof. Louis H. Pollak
Law School
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Lou:

Thanks for passing along the reactions from Bickel and Emerson. I have in turn sent a copy of your letter on ~~the~~ to Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council and we've since discussed it briefly by phone. While Leslie won't see a copy of this letter until it reaches him through the mails I think that it pretty much reflects the views of both of us.

The proposal for the meeting grew out of several discussions which Leslie and I had over the course of the late Summer and Fall of 1961. From the first we spoke of a "small, off the record meeting" out of which could come ideas. It is probably fair to say that we were counting on the idea content of the report growing out of that meeting - rather than the renown of the contributors - to be the principal measure of the report's effectiveness.

As you point out, the "spectrum of participation" in the meeting has a bearing both on the question whether the conclusions are largely pre-packaged and upon the breadth of respect the report may command. I'd like to talk about several aspects of this.

So far as the spectrum question bears on the number of people attending the meeting, I would be much more fearful of pre-packaged results from a large meeting than from a small one. Where larger groups are involved, participants tend to contribute in the form of speeches rather than discussion. There is often a tendency for a moderator and perhaps one or two others to dominate the shape taken by the meeting - and the conclusions. Whether a dozen participants are too many or too few to hold things largely at a discussion rather than speech-making level will depend upon a lot of things, among them a willingness by the group to impose self-limitation, and an absence of many who feel a compulson to "speak for the record" in maintaining some sort of institutional position.

The discussion sessions which helped shape the Southern Regional Council's report, "Federal Executive and Civil Rights," were attended by a dozen to fifteen people. And they were remarkable affairs. There were no public figures - in a Ralph McGill sense - in attendance. The particular kind of people with institutional connections who came were the sort willing to speak freely and an atmosphere was created in which they felt relieved of having to take or defend institutional stands. One real hazard, it seems to me, of asking people who are in the public eye to participate in a group effort of this kind is their manifest need for protecting their own image against the force of ideas with which they may privately agree.

I have no real concern about the matter of pre-packaged conclusions from a selected group of a dozen people. If we can create an atmosphere of free give and take and can select knowledgeable people of widely diversified ex-

perience (and reactions), I am reasonably confident that a subsequent report can have constructive effect.

There are perhaps some questions of method that might raise suspicions of pre-packaged conclusions. The suggestion that at least three of the participants prepare pre-discussion papers for advance circulation among those invited could be questioned on this score. We would hope, however, that the papers would involve a serious effort to collect and present most of the ideas currently circulating. The further suggestion that the compiler express his value judgments regarding them seemed to us useful on several scores. It would give the group the advantage of a set of judgments passed after consideration of the material and, more importantly, would almost surely provoke thinking about alternatives (at least if we succeed at getting the diversified kind of group we would want to get). Our point in suggesting three such papers was primarily to assure that some advance compilation of ideas was undertaken; and we would certainly want to urge all participants to circulate in advance to the group any material which they thought appropriate for consideration. We were concerned, however, that without specific assignment of responsibility for compilation we might find ourselves in formless discussion of particular problems simply because most of the participants are sufficiently busy at other things that few would have found time to pull much together before their arrival.

From several quarters have come suggestions that the meeting take the form of hearings before prominent figures connected with and interested in civil rights. This, if desirable, seems to us to be something which might be considered as a later phase of all this. What we hope for from this particular phase is a closed discussion made up of people who can discuss these difficult matters freely and without fear of personal attribution with respect to whatever ideas are pitted against one another in the report.

I hope this has been responsive to the concerns which Professors Bickel and Emerson have voiced. We cheerfully concede there are more ways than one of skinning the cat. I'd like your reactions when you have a chance to pass them along.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

P.S. On reading this over several other points, probably implicit in what I have said, occur to me. First, our thought was not to create a pressure group in convening this meeting; and calling prominent people together becomes, willy-nilly, a pressure group. Second, the quite remarkable success of the Southern Regional Council's "Federal Executive and Civil Rights" in advancing ideas which have become staple elements of Administration policy persuaded us that a document of good content can win its own way without reliance upon the prominence of those who contribute to it.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

March 29, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I've just finished your "Executive Support of Civil Rights." Hooray! I can't think of a better balance than you have struck in both praising and socking the Administration for its first year. And besides all that, you write damned well.

This document should have as much or more influence than its predecessor. You have left them with a lot more work to be done, and several times cautioned against losing the momentum acquired in the year.

Has the Attorney General flatly indicated the belief that he lacks power to initiate school desegregation actions? My pimpression was that this point had not been conceded; that, rather, the position was simply that the present Civil Rights Division staff is simply too overburdened to undertake this responsibility, too.

But the whole is a striking and effective job. Congratulations!

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

File

June 18, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A letter, or a copy of one, sent Dean O'Meara today is enclosed. It commits us, as you see, to pay him a social visit on Saturday, June 30th.

You should receive your ticket from us shortly. I have left open on your ticket the reservations for your return to Atlanta, though, as indicated in the letter to Dean O'Meara, tentative reservations for getting us to Notre Dame and you to Atlanta on Saturday have been made. We can alter your ticket after you reach here. I will also have hotel reservations for you here and at Notre Dame.

It will be great to see you, and I'll have some manuscript in your hands in another week or so.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr. — file

June 18, 1962

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean:

This letter confirms our conversation this morning and reports on a subsequent development or two.

Reservations for Dr. Leslie Dunbar (Southern Regional Council) and me are set for a departure from O'Hare Field at 6:00 p.m. en route to South Bend on Friday evening, June 29th. We are both scheduled to depart for O'Hare at 4:20 p.m. on Saturday, June 30th, which should provide ample time on Saturday for us to talk things out.

There is no reason whatever for you to consider meeting us on our arrival Friday evening, so please feel no obligation to do so. I'm tentatively counting on our being able to stay at the hotel on the Notre Dame campus Friday evening and would like a confirming note on this. As to meeting you on Saturday morning, we will show up whenever and wherever you suggest.

It was good talking with you and we look forward to the visit.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

June 27, 1962

ALL MATERIALS AND CORRESPONDENCE RELATED TO BILL FOSTER'S LEGISLATIVE PROJECT WAS PULLED FROM THIS FILE AND HANDED TO LESLIE DUNBAR TODAY FOR A TRIP TO MADISON, WISCONSIN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

August 22, 1962

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A copy of the manuscript of my book is in route to you separately. You may keep it and I want you to feel no obligation even to read it - though I'd welcome a going over from you. Knopf seems interested in publishing the book but I am anxious for reactions from some knowledgeable people before we lock up the copy.

I've already started a list of things I wish to change. In particular the thought is in my mind to expand what is now the final section of Chapter VI ("Reactions and Reflections") into a separate chapter. But I want to hold off until I've had a chance to read the entire manuscript through in a connected way.

Hopefully, I'll be down your way around the early part of September and want very much to see you then.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

September 24, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Attached are some quibbles on volume one. Good going.

Hurriedly,

LWD:A
Enclosures

Leslie W. Dunbar

Page

ii - could I please not be "Dr."?

Chapter 1.

20 - "replaced by the machine", "swept away by the chain store", "for an urban life" --in Washington's time?

20 - "perhaps all the white South...would accept" why?

28 - this "larger share" figure always deserves suspicion: typically, southern states rank high, southern localities low, and I would wonder if Ashmore was not basing this solely on state comparisons. The NEA Ranking of the States, 1960, showed for 1958:

State and Local Governmental Expenditure for Local Schools as % of Personal Income

1. Utah	5.5%
2. Arizona	5.4
3. New Mexico	5.1
4. Louisiana	5.0*
12. South Carolina	4.3
13. North Carolina	4.3
14. Georgia	4.2
15. Texas	4.2
20. Mississippi	4.1
24. Tennessee	3.8
26. Florida	3.8
27. Arkansas	3.8
31. Alabama	3.7
35. Virginia	3.5

*remember about the parochial schools

32 - 1. 10 - "received instead of "took"

32 - "as great a battle" - no

33 - "announced"? was the phrase even used in P v. F?

45 - fu. 47 - Plant

46 - fu. 57 - "appealed"?

Chapter 3.

9 - 1.2 - delete "before"

9 - is the Hoxie injunction worth a little more attention?

10 - wasn't Clinton suit filed in 1950?

13 - "widely believed" by whom?

15 - what is a "large fraction"? In both Nashville and Little Rock, Negroes are 1/5 - 1/4 of the total, which is close to the southern average.

16 - graf 1 - a pretty big exception

25 - should footnotes 39 and 40 be incorporated into the text?

34 - last graf. You are the expert here, but has this "sobering issue" been yet fully resolved? I thought the issue legally resolved in 1958-59 was that of selective school closings.

35 - I believe the picture was: Florida amended its law to adopt Alabama in 1959. Georgia never did, until Atlanta in 1960. Louisiana adopted Alabama in 1960. I'm not sure about others.

38 + 66, for 70 - the strangling of funds was new and perhaps sophisticated.

41 - Watch the Florida figures: mostly made up of Negro kids in a school with only a few whites. Texas estimates always have been shaky and hard to compare.

42, 1. 3 - "disingenuous" or "ingenious"?

Chapter 4.

1 - I feel uneasy about your definitions of desegregation and integration. Maybe we can discuss.

15 - "were going over to unitary." I think you should either document or qualify. There hasn't been much so far, has there?

23 - last graf. Was Brown clear in holding this? I thought it went no farther than to say a state cannot compel segregation. Worded as you have, it seems to me you open the door wide for Hempstead.

32, fu. 27 - I would not give this degree of credit, without noting the role of others, such as some municipal politicians, editors, preachers. Where are these complaining businessmen?

October 6, 1962

Memo to: ~~Mr. William Pincus~~, Ford Foundation
From: G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School

Subject: Professional Training of Negro Attorneys for the South

This memorandum advances a proposal for a 10-year program designed to ~~train~~ school Negro attorneys for professional training in the South. It would take the form of fully-paid scholarships for four years of college and three more years of law school. Applicants would be recruited from top-ranking Negro high school graduates in the South and the scholarships would be conditioned upon the applicant's willingness to attend the best (integrated) university in his state of residence for all his training through college and law school. Residents of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina might at the outset of the program be permitted to choose a Southern university outside their state of residence in the event that some degree of desegregation has not been smoothly established by the time of their prospective enrollment.

As proposed, the program would furnish complete training through seven years of college and law school for a maximum of forty students during the 10-year period. An additional fifteen students would receive 4 to 6 years of training during the decade. These numbers are derived as follows: 10 new students would be enrolled in the program during its first 4 years and each of these would potentially be able to complete college and law school during the decade; the number enrolled in the fifth year as new students would drop to 7 and these would complete only 6 years of training in the decade; in the sixth year the number of new students would drop to 5 and these would receive only 5 years of training during the period; in the seventh year the number of new students would drop to 3 who would receive only 4 years of training within the decade. Whether students were added beyond the seventh year of the program would depend upon the assessment of experience up to this time.

The need for competently trained Negro attorneys who will remain in the South is presently great. The number of attorneys among Negroes in the South is far below their proportionate ratio of the Negro-white population of the region. They are, generally speaking, no professional match for the white bar against whom they compete. Most of the Negro attorneys have been educated in entirely segregated schools of inferior quality and in a number of states it is frankly acknowledged by Negroes and whites alike that Negroes are admitted to practice under standards lower than required of whites. (One motive for this is to deter Negroes from entering desegregated law schools by applying the lower bar admission standards only to Negroes who graduate from all-Negro law schools.)

Some graduates of Howard University are to be found among the Negroes practicing in the South. Only rarely, however, were they the strong members of their classes; the economic opportunities for skilled Negro attorneys in the North and West are, or have been until now, so much greater that the best performers in law schools of the North and West have chosen not to return to the South. A few Negroes have graduated from integrated Southern law schools. Wylie Branton, a graduate of the University of Arkansas Law School handled much of the school desegregation litigation at Little Rock, is extremely able, and is presently directing the Voter Education Project for the Southern Regional Council. Julius L. Chambers, a 1962 graduate of the law school at Chapel Hill, finished at the top of his class and served as editor in chief

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of the law review; he is at Columbia Law School this year and it is at least doubtful whether he will return to the South.

Even among the Negro attorneys of the South only a few, relatively, are active in cases which grow out of racial clashes. Most handle mine-run litigation and hesitate to risk the accomodations they have worked out with the white bar by becoming involved in racial clashes. White attorneys will defend Negroes occasionally when charged with serious crime but whites are nowhere on the scene when it comes to desegregation cases on behalf of Negroes. Indeed the view seems widespread among Negro leaders that they prefer Negro attorneys to handle the desegregation cases.

There are of course many reasons to question the possible success of the program proposed here insofar as it is likely to produced skilled Negroes who will work on racial litigation in the South. Yet it seems to me that the Southern climate is changing rapidly and the chances for success of the program appear to me to be worth giving it a trial run. Negro attorneys who have done effective work on the race front enjoy substantial prestige and the best of them have prospered financially through the other business their eminence has won them. Some, like Arthur Shores at Birmingham, are now wealthy men. I would hope that young Negro high school graduates of real ability could be attracted to a program which lifted their sights to the ultimate possibilities and provided scholarship support for its attainment.

Nevertheless, solid objections to the program have to be met. An obvious one is that law schools in the South, both Negro and white, are academically below the best law schools of the country. Negroes of the ability I would hope them to have for such a program as this could surely perform competently at the best law schools in the nation and would receive in them an education superior to that at hand in the South. The best answer I have for this is that few in the white bar of the South are educated outside the region; Negroes who would be educated with these whites in the South would at least be exposed to the same training as most of their peers in the bar and in this sense would not suffer invidiously.

There is a question, too, how many of the recruited students would desire to remain in a course of legal studies and a further question as to how many of them would remain in the South upon completion of their work. I can only respond to these objections by saying that we cannot know until the experiment has been tried. I believe many young Negroes have been swept up with an aspiration to lead their people forward and the law furnishes a kind of training which can fit them for important roles in their generation. If financial obstacles to effective training can be removed and encouragement given to setting their sights high, I am hopeful for real success in the program.

<u>Budgetary and Administrative Considerations</u>

I roughly estimate the cost of the program here proposed at $750,000 for the 10-year period. At present a single student can support a school year at the University of Wisconsin Law School for about $1700 and the amount is somewhat lower in the state universities of the South. From this I estimate an average annual cost per individual student of $2000 during the decade. For the forty students who potentially could complete all 7 years of schooling the total cost would come $560,000 (forty students at $14,000 each). The cost for the remaining 15 who would receive 6 or fewer years of training in the decade would come to an added $158,000. Thus the total scholarship fund would reach $718,000. Administrative costs of screening and interviewing could probably be held to the order of $32,000 in the decade, making the overall cost about $750,000.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 25, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

You lovely guy! I shall never be able to repay you for the debt I owe you in connection with the book. Your questions concerning the second volume have arrived just as I turned to revision of the volume and couldn't have been better timed.

Thus far a good bit of up-dating has been done thoughout and I'm now quite well satisfied with the first volume. Your problem with the attempted dichotomy between "desegregation" and "integration" I have resolved by entitling the chapter "Color-blind? Or Race-Conscious?" and the former desegregation-integration analysis has been abandoned throughout. I feel much more comfortable about it now.

I have sent out follow-up letters to those who earlier did not give definite answers on their attendance at Notre Dame and we should have some more replies before long on these.

Hope you're feeling better. And thanks again for your thoughtfulness.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 1, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Sorry I missed seeing you at Atlanta Wednesday, but you guys were sporting weather almost as bad as we endure up here. Let me suggest that you drop Joe O'Meara a note indicating your flight number and arrival time. I talked with him this afternoon and told him approximately your arrival plans, but I suspect it will be politic to have you give him in writing some more detail.

It will be good to see you next week. (Incidentally, my flight plans call for reaching Notre Dame shortly after 2:00 Thursday afternoon. I will leave word for you at the Morris Inn, where we will all be staying.)

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

3/20/63

BC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send one copy each of NEW SOUTH which contains Bob Coles's piece and a copy of his mimeographed piece which Nobbie typed for him to Bill Foster. (Label attached)

thanx, mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

File
Faster, attach back

WB
PA
MJ-file

May 1, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have your blue letter and am still not wholly sure how to react.

With much of your analysis I have no real disagreement. At the same time, I do not feel so intensely as you apparently do the sense of despair toward recent developments.

You make the point, for example, that the Administration is seeking to hold an alliance with such Southern governors as Sanford, Sanders, Clement and Connally, and secondly to "do enough in the South to retain the northern Negro vote." These conclusions strike me as reasonable deductions from presently available evidence, certainly. What I think troubles me is your conclusion that these policies will result in "law and order, and tokenism," consequences which you intimate could somehow be different if alternative policies were adopted.

On the score of law and order, I would take it we would both agree that that objective is a desirable one. Certainly it is difficult to support any alternative to this, and, indeed, we have had in the past too much which was neither lawful nor orderly. Indeed, it was only in the closing weeks of the Eisenhower Administration that I sensed any real involvement by the Federal Government which was committed to this objective.

The more serious question, of course, is that of tokenism. Here, it seems to me that tokenism is simply an unavoidable evolutionary change of the situation itself, little as either of us likes it. I remain impressed that substantial departures from token beginnings on the school front are already evident in a number of communities which have lived with two or three years of token beginnings. The unitary zoning due for Memphis and New Orleans in the fall of 1963 suggests that more substantial change in the school picture is pretty directly proportional to the pressure coming from within the Negro community of each of these cities. Where the pressure is retained, the changes can be made quite significant. Perhaps of

greatest concern to me on this score is the fact that the Negro leadership groups have spread their pressures to so many fronts that the education problems will receive relatively less attention from them in the next few years simply because there are not enough bodies to man adequately all the ramparts along the line.

It strikes me that in the past several years there have been major new efforts to work on the problems of Negro employment. Here I have had the reaction from Negro leaders in a number of communities that they presently face very real shortages of skilled people to fill certain categories of jobs presently available. At New Orleans recently, for example, Ernest Morial reported his inability to recruit a sufficient number of Negroes to fill secretarial, clerical and accounting jobs which were available there. Perhaps one conclusion to be drawn from this is the need for specialized job training programs to develop skills in using calculating machines, punching data cards and the like.

I remain discouraged, as do you, about the voting picture in critical areas of the South. One very real problem for me here involves the matter of increasing Negro voter registration in areas where white resistance is not seriously encountered. Archie Willis and others in Tennessee report optimistically on the effects they see flowing from substantial Negro registration in some counties. They talk, for example, of the prospects of placing Negroes in clerical and other white collar jobs in state agencies and in some instances even in public service and county courthouses. This they attribute to the growing effectiveness of the Negro vote in those particular places. The same people, however, continue to express frustration at the relative rate of Negro registration in other places and are looking for means to build a firmer basis of negotiating for public jobs in these areas.

Finally, you express concern for the increased partisanship evident in the Negro action organizations, a result you importantly ascribe to the conduct of the present Administration. My reactions to this are somewhat ambivalent. On the whole, however, I am inclined to feel this is healthy. I feel keenly the need for the development of an effective two-party system in the South, and any forces which can in measure commit both parties to a heightened awareness of Negro aspirations will have beneficial results in the long run.

This has been a rambling letter and perhaps at most it only confesses that I have no real answers for you. It may also confess that I

have never been as optimistic over the prospects for major change in short run terms. The only comfort, and a cold one at that, is that by expecting less I find it easier to be cheered by any beneficial results which come along. I only wish we could get in a night of talk over a bottle of bourbon before I leave, but the prospects for this seem to be diminishing steadily. And however bleak the present, I can't see either of us abandoning ship, although life would certainly be more pleasant if there were more to show for the efforts.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

WB - ✓ for i dam good speech WB
MJ - file

April 24, 1963

Professor G. W. Foster
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Your telephone call on Good Friday caught me at a bad time. I had promised to take Tony to the Shrine Circus, and we were just on our way out the door. I had the feeling, when we hung up, that you were a little puzzled about my reaction to your report of Dear's comment on the Justice Department's handling of the Greenwood case.

I have lately felt more discouraged and worried about the way things are developing than I can remember ever before feeling. I tell myself that this may be simply caused by tiredness or other frustrations. But it exists, and it may also be the cause of my increasingly sour opinion of the Administration's policies toward the South.

This Administration has always been characterized by a tendency to talk too much. I think we are living with two bad results of this. One is that it has built up expectations on the part of civil rights groups, and more specifically on the part of the more or less new Negro leaders such as the SCLC and SNCC people, that the administration has never had the will or intention of fulfilling. Even the most elementary sense about human nature, for example, should have warned the Attorney General and his assistants that when you receive and search-out youngsters of the age

of the SNCC people, get on a first name basis with them, and talk, talk, talk with them, that you build up expectations, whether justified or not, which, when not fulfilled, yield some real bitterness. And I think we've got some of it with us now. Secondly, I think this Administration's constant reiteration that it has done more than any previous administration has the effect of sucking civil rights leaders into partisan positions. And, moreover, has the effect of making some of us extremely cautious any more about saying a good word for this or that federal program because we are afraid of the partisan implications.

Moreover, the more the Administration boasts, the more I wonder if it is all true. Has this one done more than did President Truman's? He, after all, carried out the integration of the armed services. By appointing his civil rights committee, and then adopting its recommendations, he forced the country to do what we had long evaded, and that is to face civil rights issues. By doing so, he destroyed the Democratic coalition President Roosevelt had established, and in the long run this may have been the sine qua non for civil rights advance. And what about President Eisenhower? His administration got through two civil rights acts. He appointed some very decent people to the federal bench in the South. His Department of Justice made these acts operative by filing and winning the key voting cases. His Department of Justice developed, in New Orleans, the strategy of defending the integrity of federal courts.

You know, when you look for the outcome of all the cases filed since January 1961, it is not so darn impressive.

And then, when Robert Kennedy or Burke say about an Albany or a Birmingham, we have not the power to do anything, I begin to be reminded of Herbert Hoover in 1930 and 1931.

I think we (SRC) and others like us have failed the last year or so. I think we have not got across an understanding of the civil rights movement's penetration into the Black Belt. Because of our

failure, I think leaders in the government are intellectually overwhelmed and baffled -- as they well might be -- by events. I think the press is too, though it has no excuse. We reached a point in 1958, 1959, 1960, and 1961 where a pretty widespread consensus got established in favor of peaceful school desegregation. The press, in the South, learned this principle and defended it vigorously. The southern press did pretty well also on the sit-ins, etc., as long as they were confined to urban areas of the upper and middle South. But the southern press seems to me still confused as to what it ought to think about an Albany or a Birmingham or a Greenwood. So, for the most part, it has just abdicated. All those editors who made great reputations fighting for law and order around the school houses - what leadership are they giving now? Partly because of this lack, and for other reasons too, the Administration and Congress seem equally cloudy of mind about recent events, which are merely the prototypes of the next couple of years. We (SRC and VEP) got a not-bad but also a not-good press on Greenwood. I am still hopeful that this will be improved. But I think it was just one more indication of the great intellectual and moral difficulty which the press, and also the government, have in understanding situations such as that.

Nearly three years ago I made a speech up in New York, which got reprinted in Phylon, where I said in reference to the sit-in movement that it posed the potential of organizational rivalry and that "to maintain their old unity will be a real test for the liberal forces." On the whole, I think the proliferation of organizations and leadership since 1960, has not made for enfeebling divisions. There is a lot of disagreement, of course, but at the point of action it has been controlled better than one would have had a right to anticipate. What I did not foresee in 1960 was an Administration like this one. Frankly, I think this Administration has become a divisive force within the civil rights movement. Unless something changes, I think there is the very real possibility -- I say possibility -- that before much longer the civil rights leadership may be divided into pro- and anti-Kennedy. Even if this does not

happen, I think the Administration's policy toward the South is going to have a bad effect. Because, as I see it, the Administration is guided by two aims: one, to hold the South politically through alliance with governors such as Sanford, Sanders, Clement, and Connally and to get men like them in other southern states (Coleman in Mississippi, for example); two, to do enough in the South to retain the northern Negro vote. The practical application of such policy can, I am afraid, be summarized in two terms: law and order, and tokenism.

I don't believe the Department of Justice can do everything I believe it should. I believe it ought to recognize itself for what, in fact, it is: an enormous engine of power over which different interests struggle. I believe it ought to act like an engine -- which is to say, that it should stop talking. I believe it ought to go about, impersonally, administering federal law. I believe it ought to stop trying to persuade and conciliate and make deals.

I feel soap-boxy: I am sending John and Harold copies of this.

Yes, I'm still going to write up the Notre Dame Conference.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. John Wheeler
Mr. Harold Fleming

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

May 9, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

With everything else on your shoulders that I know is there, it really isn't quite cricket for me to send along as I intend doing a copy of a report I have just completed on school desegregation at New Orleans. Please don't feel any obligation to read it any time soon, or indeed at all. I would be flattered, nevertheless, if you sometime got around to it and gave me any reactions you might have.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

May 24, 1963

Professor G. W. Foster
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Your call just now was quite a shocker. I will talk with you when I get back from Washington. In the meantime, you might be interested in having copies of the correspondence I mentioned to you; as I said, Ellegood is now Director of the University of Washington Press.

Here are some nitpicks:

P. 1, last graf. -- I don't know how to figure these things, but the figures in the Statistical Abstract of 1962, page 595 don't look this way to me. As I read it, both San Francisco and Baltimore outrank New Orleans by a good bit; anyway, you might look at it again, ~~and~~ just say that New Orleans is a busy port. I don't know what "most cosmopolitan" means. Urban? I doubt it. Mixed? Maybe. The non-white population is not, I believe, rising in the metropolitan area~~s~~.

P. 12, first graf. -- Names and dates of the four institutions.

P. 20, third graf. -- I believe it would be convenient for you to note in parentheses that Judge Wright's plan is quoted in full on pages 30 and 31.

P. 21, second graf. -- I think the suit by the thirty white parents is sufficiently interesting to get more discussion.

P. 22. -- It would seem to me that right here you should discuss (even if you do it in more detail further on) the Board's ignoring of Judge Wright's May order.

P. 23, last graf. -- All through I had the feeling that you did not give sufficient weight to the role of the Department of Justice. Here, for example, I would suggest a little more comment about the impact of its entrance into the New Orleans picture.

P. 25, first graf. -- Why not here, ~~rather than~~ as well as later, ~~as you do~~, say something about the selection of the children ~~into~~ and the schools?

P. 26, last graf. -- I think this implies a non-seguitur. The ~~decision~~ desire for desegregation is not necessarily measured by the number of people who publicly demand it.

P. 27. -- You and I have had this same semantic difficulty before. If you say the defense was "unsophisticated," this implies that there was a sophisticated legal defense. Was there?

P. 27, last graf. -- I would add, and maybe stress, that the tactics served also to mobilize and maintain white resitance.

P. 28, second graf. -- Sophisticated?

P. 30, second graf. -- The next to the last sentence is, I think gramatically ambiguous; moreover, I am not entirely in agreement with you that the Board should be morally absolved from its contempt for the court.

P. 32, second graf. -- The report is well written, and I have not paid any attention to stylistic points. The last sentence in this graf is, however, incomplete.

P. 33. -- I think right here you should call attention to the non-compliance of this plan with Judge Wright's order, and explain to your lay readers how such a thing is conceivable.

P. 37, first graf. -- I think some comment regarding the role of the mayor and the police during these riotous days is called for.

P. 40, third graf. -- "best it"; the antecedent is pretty distant.

P. 42, last graf. -- The entry of the United States as amicus in New Orleans was, in my view, one of the great events of the last nine years. It established the basic pattern within which the present administration has continued to function. Consequently, I think it should have more stress.

P. 42, second graf. -- I think any reader would wonder why these telephone calls helped. Are you implying political deals, off-shore oil agreements, appeals to conscience and patriotism, or what?

P. 48, second graf. -- I do not understand why "to achieve this result" standards had to be lowered.

P. 49, second graf. -- You are absolving the Board of any imputation of a decision to re-segregate or to quiet things down. I talked with Mr. Rittener in the summer of 1961, and as far as my memory serves me his attitude about McDonough, which he discussed at some length, was that it was pointless to keep this school for whites when they did not attend.

P. 54. -- Of course you know I think your title is prematurely optimistic.

P. 64, second graf. -- Why is it necessary to say "in fairness to Judge Wright"? And in your last sentence do you really believe those six-year-olds think seriously about where to go to school?

P. 67, second graf, last line. -- 1960.

P. 67, last graf. -- Bill, I read and re-read the two orders, and I may be very dense, but I do not see these more severe limitations. Judge Wright said no placement as long as there is a dual system, and Judge Ellis said no placement in grades where there is a dual system.

P. 74, first graf. -- Shouldn't you as a writer, and especially as a reporter for the Commission on Civil Rights, comment on how it is that a court of appeals says do this, and the school board doesnot do it; I am referring to the lateral transfer matter.

P. 76, last graf. -- Ugliness is a relative thing as you know, and partly it is relative to time and place. Little Rock and New Orleans were about as ugly as they could get.

P. 77, second graf. -- As Judge Tuttle was saying today to the attorney in the Chatham County Case, what are these administrative problems that are so tough? I think when you speak of "staggering problems" you do owe it to your reader to indicate how these problems are so hard, and how they are harder than normal problems of a school system.

P. 84, Objection #5. -- Throughout the book you have shown a great sympathy for the school board, and I don't disagree. I point out, however, that because you don't similarly pat on the back anybody else, not even Judge Wright, and not even the Negro children, the impression, at least this reader took away from the whole book, is that the Board is the hero. I think you need to be careful of phrases such as "fully aware," and "real effort." Do you know the situation intimately enough to make such judgments?

P. 86, Objection #9..-- Why should there be so many administrative problems in opening up vocational, summer, and evening schools?

P. 87, first line. -- When?

P. 90, Objection #11. -- Strictly within the terms of your own explanation here the paradox is not clear to me.

P. 103, third line. -- Why "curiously"?

P. 107, last graf. -- In several places you used the device of referring to privately expressed opinions. I question whether you do not over use it. Here, for example, I would think you simply could state these concerns as your own analysis.

P. 109-109A. -- I like the Board, but I think you have made them appear to be an isolated and solitary defender of the schools. They were not. Should there be no reference to SOS, CPE, WDSU, not to mention the Negro community which waited, acted, and voted with remarkable restraint?

Footnote #17. -- I always like to begin with Murray v. Maryland. But, of course, that was a state case.

Footnote #76. -- I grant you interposition was silly, but it was interesting. I do not think the decision of November should be buried in a footnote, nor should it be treated so briefly. Am I wrong in believing that this was the first judicial resolution of what is, after all, an issue with a long history?

Best wishes/

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

Returned to both lists 6/5/63

June 3, 1963

NM & BCC & MG MMJ

Nobbie and Bernice, and Mary,

Please see that Prof. G. W. Foster, School of Law, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, is removed from all our mailing lists until later notified. Les says he's going to Eurppe for a year -- when we get a new address for him it will be passed on ~~g~~& to you.

thanx, mmj

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

MJ

please have

Bill Foster

removed from

all mailing lists

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

June 3, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Owing largely to sheer exhaustion, I have abandoned most of my principles so far as Elizabeth Cole and the New Orleans report are concerned. By tomorrow I expect to complete all I intend to do on modifications of the report and will simply leave the rest in her hands. The thought still attracts me of expanding this business into a book, and if the spirit moves me during the year, I might do just that. I shall, in any event, make a real effort to rewrite and enlarge the general manuscript on school segregation during the year.

I am particularly anxious to stay on the Southern Regional Council mailing list. To this end, I would appreciate having you change the mailing address to the University of Wisconsin Law School. My faithful secretary will see to it that in due course these reach me.

You mentioned the other day your intentions of sending a draft of your manuscript on the Notre Dame conference. From mid-June to mid-July our London address will be: 107 Eton Rise, Eton College Road, London, N. W. 3. We will let you know during that time as to subsequent addresses.

Go with the Lord.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

via air mail December 16, 1963

Professor William Foster
11, rue Paul Alexis
Aix-en-Provence, France

Dear Bill:

I'm sorry things were messy for you during the summer. It's all rather frightening to me. Some day yet we are going to get, for the first time, out of these borders and get to Europe, and when we do I want it all to GO JUST RIGHT. I would have answered your letter much sooner, because I had waited long and eagerly to hear from you. But in addition to being as usual busy, I have been in something of a funk myself. I look back over the last three or four months with less feeling of satisfaction than I have ever had since coming to work with the Council. On top of that, the world has gone wrong, and Dallas was the horrible crusher. But now comes a Merry Christmas to you, Jimmy and the kids.

The civil rights bill, which went up in June, fell, of course, way behind schedule and Lord knows when or what will be passed. Somehow I feel that among all the other horrors of the President's assassination, the fate of civil rights is not one of them. I always had a better opinion of Mr. Johnson's commitment and vigor on this question than did most liberals, and I rather expect that he will be at least as energetic, and probably more successful in Congress, than was Mr. Kennedy. Some things I cannot see him doing. For example, I can't see him moving quite as freely in new fields of executive action such as military bases; but he may.

The bill now, as it has come out of the House Judiciary Committee is, I think, a much sounder bill than the one that went up. But we shall see what we shall see.

My Notre Dame report fell like a wet wash rag. We picked the wrong year. Moreover, so

far as I can see no one has been pushing it. I still think it's a good report, but right now it is almost unpatriotic to try to inject different ideas into the Congressional pot. In reading over your letter I see that you asked for a copy. Did you really never get one? I am sending one air mail. I am sending inside it a copy of a letter I received from Judge Tyler. You might find it interesting.

The whole civil rights movement has been lithargic ever since the March on Washington. On the positive side, we have witnessed, as did you in far away France, a notable pick-up last fall in school desegregation -- but still very slow. And we have witnessed the growing and widespread recognition within the Negro leadership of the central importance of jobs and of the relationship between full employment, and at least lesser unemployment, and desegregation. On the other hand something of a steam seems to be going out of the push for school desegregation. This could have its hopeful side, because both parties to the conflict seem to be quieter, and we may have an opportunity now to trudge ahead. We'll see.

My very best to you, and please write.

I would like to know what you all are doing.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

11, rue Paul Alexis
Aix-en-Provence, France

October 1, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Please forgive the long delay. Two nights ago we moved into our house at Aix, the first stop we've made since leaving Madison which promises an office and a chance to have enough privacy to get any work done. In personal terms, this has been a disappointing, frustrating summer. Worse yet, my chagrin at being away from the States has marred the pleasure of the rest of the family. In short, four months have passed without my having done anything I really wanted to do - and I've been a bad sport about it at that.

My efforts to learn something of race problems in England largely fizzled although for a time I put a good bit of effort into it. I had all sorts of difficulties with communications. Few would see me on first appearance. Rather, polite promises were made to phone or write me to confirm an appointment - but even where I followed up, nothing happened. Several days spent making notes in the morgue of the Time-Life bureau at London provided information enough drawn from the past five or six years to suggest there were some first-rate problems. But getting participants in any of these to discuss them was something at which I simply failed.

Altogether, we spent five weeks in London and were in Devon in S.W. England for the last two weeks of July. We had an apartment in Paris during the month of August and toured Spain during the first two weeks of September. Since mid-September we've been here at Aix, living in a pair of hotel rooms and waiting to get into our house. The house will have to serve as an office. French universities, or the one here in any event, assume that professors work at home and make no provision for this kind of thing at the university. Nevertheless, if the winter isn't too damned cold I should be able to get a good bit done here. There is a glassed-in area, more or less apart from the rest of the house although attached to it, in which I am putting my books and have a desk. There is no heat in the place other than a small paraboloid electric heater which beams its rays either on your head or your feet but not on both areas at the same time. I've brought over quite a number of the books and files, all of Southern School News, all of the Race Relations Law Reporter, and the Supreme Court reports for the past decade - materials importantly relied on for my book manuscript. Hopefully, I can do another round on the book and get it into a shape which will be acceptable to someone.

Now, please, try to bring me a bit up to date on things when you get a chance. The European editions of the New York Times and the Herald Tribune - which we've seen pretty regularly - do a fair job of reproducing the major news stories that appear in the U.S. editions. In addition, we've had Time Magazine. These are about the extent of our information sources, however, and I've longed for more.

The only glint of information I've had concerning the follow-up on our Notre Dame conference came from my secretary at Madison, who sent me copies of some acknowledgments addressed to Dean O'Meara thanking him for the copy of the report. So I gather there has been a report. If you can, would you send me a copy here?

From what scattered reports I've seen concerning school developments, this

school year appears to have produced more changes in the South than in any year since, apparently, 1956. This may not be a great deal to boast about but at least it's in the right direction. Again, many of the changes were obviously of the most token character - e.g., the commencement of desegregation at the high school level in Baton Rouge and Birmingham. But at least something has been started. Far harder to assess - certainly from where I sit - are such questions as the extent to which Wallace in Alabama and Johnson in Mississippi are playing pace-setting roles which will be widely aped in their own areas, at least for some time to come. I've been struck, for example, by the extent to which Mississippi has disappeared from the news stories over here as events in Alabama and scattered disturbances in the North and West have pre-empted the space. This suggests that things in Mississippi (and places like Albany, Georgia, too?) may have ground on in stalemate, receiving little national attention.

I find myself at the moment rather more anxious to see Congress enact some civil rights legislation than I've ever been in the past. Most of my old doubts about the efficacy of legislation remain nevertheless. The difference is simply that in the present atmosphere we're likely to get more "voluntary" compliance to a Congressional command than we were likely to have got a year or more ago. In much the same sense that the Brown decision made it easier for the people to go who were ready to go, I suspect an accommodations statute will ease the way to change in less resistant areas. On the other hand, I continue to have my doubts about the efficiency to be expected from use of some kind of authority in the Justice Department to initiate civil rights litigation. The existence of legislation will of course increase demands upon the Administration to do "something" and will probably increase in some measure a federal "presence" in some of the more notorious situations. But at the moment I remain pessimistic. There aren't anything like the number of knowledgeable people available to do a great deal - and given the national political ruckus shaping up for 1964 I don't place much reliance on the prospects for federal initiative. Initiative will be imperative - as it has been in the past - where other efforts have stirred up an Oxford or a Birmingham to the point that national responsibility can no longer be avoided on any grounds. But initiative taken in those instances is likely then, as now, to absorb most of the energies that can be mobilized.

But maybe I'm wrong. I certainly have been wrong on other things in the past in this business.

Do write when you get a chance, Leslie. And I hope it will be soon. I've been so out of touch with everything - and so depressed about being out of touch - that until now I haven't even been able to muster enough resolve even to admit to the funk I've been in. It hasn't been much fun. Jim has really been great through all this for she's had to shoulder so much just as a consequence of the multiplied problems of running a household on the move. And my own attitude and sense of frustration at being uprooted haven't made it any easier for her. Hopefully I'll be able to turn this room in which I sit now into a place in which I can get going again. Most of my books are here now and the rest should arrive in a few days. For the first time in months I've got some privacy in which to work. Things in short are looking up. And it will be great to hear from you.

Faithfully,

Bill

Foster, William

file

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

July 27, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

It is great to know people who like vacations. I certainly cheer you on and hope your three weeks turn out well.

There seems to be no reason at all why I cannot arrange to reach Atlanta after your return and indeed will do just that.

It will be great to see you. Please give my love to the family.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

File:
Foster, William

July 22, 1964

Dr. William Foster, Jr.
The Law School
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Your letter came in yesterday, and I can't tell you how good it is to hear from you after so long. I am sorry about Europe.

If I had more time I would write a longer letter, but the main thing is to get off to you, quickly, a word about your trip and my schedule. It seems altogether sinful, but we are planning to take three weeks of vacation this year -- from August 8 to August 30.

This means I'll be away the first week of your trip, but back here the second week. Can you plan it that way?

I shall be here un-interruptedly, I think, until August 8.

Give my best to Jimmy. It will be wonderful to see you again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

July 17, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I'm back, considerably worse for the wear. I won't try to explain now, and probably couldn't do an effective job even if I tried, just why it was that I found it impossible to make any effort at continuing contacts with my friends once we got to Europe. Suffice it to say that I found myself a fish out of water and have every hope of forgetting about the whole business as soon as possible.

My central concern at the moment involves efforts at getting back in business with race questions and creating, if I can, a life to replace the one so unceremoniously terminated when we shoved off last June. This letter to you represents my first step in that direction, and pretty clearly, much that I shall say is provisional.

At the top of my list of priorities is the desire to sit down with you about as quickly as we can mutually arrange an occasion to do so. I have commitments here at the Law School to teach five days weekly through Friday, August 21. Probably, if any specific opportunity cropped up, I could get away for two or three days prior to that time and manage somehow to make up the classes that I missed. One serious obstacle to all this, however, is the limitation on the funds with which I presently have to work. Neverless, I would give anything to see you before the end of my summer classes here.

I presently expect to pull out for a couple of weeks of prowling around the South, commencing around the 22nd of August. As much as anything, I would hope from this to get some sort of sense of

changes since I had last done it and want to wind up the two weeks spending some time with you, Harold Fleming, and possibly some Foundation people in New York, mulling over possible avenues of activity for me.

For the present, I remain persuaded that I want to continue my focus, as in the past, upon the field of public education. The magnitude of this, of course, leaves plenty of room for choice, and I suppose one obvious question is whether to attempt essentially a Southern commitment or make a stab at following something on broader national aspects of the problem. Again, I suppose my activities will be determined in part by the extent to which others have gone to work in the area during the past year or so. While I see no serious harm flowing from some duplication of effort, there are solid reasons for shaping efforts in ways that complement those of others. And as to what other efforts are now in the picture, I need a considerable education.

Obviously, too, there are problems with finances to support whatever kind of program makes sense. From the University of Wisconsin I can count on some, though limited, assistance at the beginning. Chiefly, this is in the form of a commitment to pay for my two weeks of travel in late August and early September and in the generous decision by the Dean of the Law School to reduce my teaching load to a half-time basis for the fall 1964 semester while furnishing full salary support during that period. Hopefully, it should be possible to map out some means of defining and financing a program to keep me afloat from January of 1965 on. At least I shall try hard to achieve this objective during the intervening months.

There are countless things which I would like to ask you about and discuss with you. These, however, must simply await the future, much as I would like to get started right away. In particular, I find it hard to resist a temptation to launch forth on some of the ideas contained in your piece in the Journal of Politics--which I have read several times and mulled over a good bit.

I do look forward to hearing from you before long and carry high the hope that we will soon be regularly in business together. I send my love to all the Dunbars.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

September 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Since my return I have been all but overwhelmed with time consuming odds and ends. There still are all kind of things I would like to have discussed with you and I am only sorry that neither one of us was in very good physical shape at the time I visited you in Atlanta. Frankly, by the time I left John Letson's office for the airport I was not sure wether the better thing would have been to find a bed somewhere and hope that rest would cure whatever ailed me. It is just as well that I went on to Washington, however, because after a long night sleep there I found things considerably improved the next day.

You surely were aware of my own uncertainty concerning steps that I should plan on taking in the next few months. With that in mind I wanted you to see a copy of the letter which I am today sending to the Ford Foundation. (I have sensed at times that the Ford staff regards documents of this sort as more or less confidential affairs but I can see no harm whatever in having you receive a copy of this).

The letter manifestly avoids detailed specification of projects. However, I have so often in the past few years wished for some kind of machinery which could be tapped promptly when the job needed to be done. If somehow Ford can create an open-ended arrangement of this kind I can see a good bit of use being made of it without having to decide now on the particulars. Needles to say I shall be interested in your reactions.

I certainly hope that by now you are feeling fine. I send my love to you all.

Faithfully,

Bill

G.W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

GWF:bb
Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

September 28, 1964

Messrs. Christopher Edley
and William Pincus
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris and Bill:

This letter responds to your thought, Chris, that I detail some of my suggestions for involving in civil rights during the next three to five years some law-oriented people. For the present I offer the suggestions informally though I stand ready to re-frame some or all into a formal proposal.

My own experience over the past six or seven years warns me against detailed specification of substantive questions to be pursued over the next five years. Even a cursory comparison between law-civil rights problems as we saw them in 1959 and as we see them today drives home the realization that we are living through a period of rapid change. Moreover, even the most foresighted have perceived but dimly or not at all the inadequacies which would come to light later when legal theories, spun to meet a set of present circumstances, were applied thereafter to conditions not previously visualized. I doubt, for example, that many would have pressed the color-blind theory of the Equal Protection Clause as long as they did had they foreseen its limiting effects on demands for judicial relief in correcting racial imbalances within de facto segregated schools.

But if I am unable to specify precisely the kinds of problems that must be faced during the next five years, I do feel it is possible to catalog at least partially some law needs which will continue to be pressing throughout that period. Such a list would include:

1. Increased Need for Law-Trained People. I believe the needs for law-trained people in the field of civil rights will increase significantly in the next few years. And I say this despite wistful expressions of many in "the movement" that it is time to take the problems out of the courts and away from the lawyers. The aroused spirit within the Negro community and the heightened awareness everywhere that claims of discrimination must be faced and dealt with are enough to insure more work on more fronts than ever in the past. Again, the various pieces of machinery authorized by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 create all sorts of new problems, many of which lawyers will have to resolve, and the Act further makes demands for skilled people to carry out the new duties created. One has only to ask such agencies as the Office of Education or the new Community Relations Service where they are turning to find the trained consultants they need to realize how critical is the shortage. And there are countless other demands for competent personnel to handle civil rights matters elsewhere in every level of government.

2. Continuing Need for Collection of Empirical Data. Perhaps the most urgent need over the next few years at least is simply to collect as much information as possible about the civil rights field. Only when we have a continuing flow of information about this swiftly changing scene is it possible to detect trends, assess effectiveness of methods for dealing with problems already defined, to frame in

reasonable context the problems which emerge only indistinctly at first and, finally, from these data think out the elements of public policy which must be fashioned to deal with problems as promptly and effectively as possible. The onrush of new problems so quickly dates the effectiveness of policies and theories of yesterday that only with ever-fresh data can we expect to furnish the supply of theory, method and practice which will be needed by the courts, the schools, the countless other institutions both public and private which will be asked to face demands that old precedents and practices will not satisfy. Moreover, I believe law-trained people have some distinctive skills that can be useful in searching out materials relevant to shaping public policy. It can be admitted that lawyers are not in terms experts in the fields of education, housing or employment but the point must also be made that the experts in those fields are not necessarily specialists in the law. Thus in creating the kinds of composite skills needed here there must be a start somewhere. Lawyers do possess a particular expertness in bringing the expertness of others to bear meaningfully on problems. And because lawyer skills do involve a knack for dealing with situations in which tensions develop, I think it appropriate to include law specialists among the resources for gathering and assessing developments in the area of civil rights.

3. Need for Machinery to Provide Reasonably Detached Inquiry. I readily concede that essential roles are played in the field of civil rights by law-trained people to be found both in private organizations such as the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the A.C.L.U. and in public agencies such as the Department of Justice, the Commission on Civil Rights and their counterparts at various state and local levels. But each of these institutions is captive in its own way of the forces which created and sustain it. Thus the great creative role of the Legal Defense Fund is shaped primarily by demands which come from the Negro rather than the white community; and the A.C.L.U. - particularly at local levels - is so engulfed by demands for remedial assistance that its members have little time for thought about broad preventive measures. On the other hand, such varied forces impinge upon governmental agencies that their pursuit of civil rights policies is frequently flavored by concern for what disfavor they may earn at the White House or what storm they may stir in the Congress. What seems to me to be eminently desirable is to provide a means for supporting at least a few able and interested law-trained people who can work between, and in considerable measure, independent of, the forces which in one way or another confine the activities of both private organizations and public agencies in the civil rights field. What I visualize here is some kind of continuing machinery backed by substantial funds and possessed of a sufficient flexibility that it can over the course of the next five years act with reasonable promptness to mobilize and channel the energies of skilled people to cope with problems which continue to emerge in a period of rapid change. And I believe that administration by a university law school would furnish an appropriate means of providing both the desirable independence and detachment and the physical facilities for handling the program.

4. Need for Dissemination of Information among Operational Levels of the Country. Manifestly, the utility of any program for generating theories, practices and methods will be proportioned directly to the effectiveness with which the information is made available to those who at operational levels actually shape and carry out public policy. Moreover, thoughtful and constructive criticism from those who work at operational tasks can strengthen greatly the worth of findings and suggestions which flow from more or less detached observers. Thanks largely to support from early Ford Foundation grants I have, since 1959, been able to conduct a number of off-the-record seminar meetings which have brought together groups of law professors who had undertaken field inquiry into problems of school segregation and such operational visitors as Federal judges,

school superintendents, race relations specialists and others. The data dervied from the field researches of the professors has furnished the matrix for discussion at these meetings and from these discussions has emerged a considerable quantity of useful thinking. In a trip only recently completed across the Southern States I had occasion to visit again a number of Federal judges and school authorities who had attended one or more of these sessions. Consistently the thought was voiced that these had been extremely useful and the hope was expressed that they could be continued.

Those generally familiar with the pattern of my own involvement in problems of segregation in public schools over the past six years will recognize that the suggestions advanced here are not untried. Past experience demonstrates that capable people can be found among law professors who, provided with released time from teaching duties, can add materially to our factual knowledge about developments, help in definition of emerging problems, and produce useful contributions to the theory and practice needed for shaping effective public policy. It has also been possible to temper their own work by the practical contributions of those who on an operational level have attended off-the-record discussions of problems the professors have unearthed. Through the process of accumulating information, analyzing and thinking about it, discussing it in the relative freedom of off-the-record meetings, it has been possible to enlarge the number of skilled law professionals who now are still making contributions to civil rights and to add to the total of our knowledge by reason of the writings they have published which grew out of their field work.

In at least four Federal agencies I can think of - the Office of Education, the Community Relations Service, the Commission on Civil Rights and the administration contemplated for the poverty program - budget authorizations provide for contracting with specialists to undertake field studies of various kinds of problems which will be directly related to racial matters. I can visualize some kinds of parallel efforts which can make it possible to bring some of these persons together who contract for such studies and build considerably upon their own experience by permitting them to study further and discuss over a period of weeks the consequences of their findings. Moreover in the same period they are brought together it can be possible to bring in groups of judges and other relevant operational persons for discussion. On two previous occasions that such conjunctive programs as this have been tried here at the Law School of the University of Wisconsin there have been instances in which some of the findings and recommendations of the contracting professors conflicted with the then policy of the Federal agency with whom they had contracted for the research. By providing an off-the-record forum in which such differences could be fully explored before an enlarged group of knowledgeable people, it sometimes developed that the agency policy changed or that the dissenting professor was encouraged to take his case to a law review or other publication. I can foresee a real need for such conjunctive dealings in the future and have good reason to believe that arrangements can be evolved if financial support can be worked out.

My own activities over recent years have been confined largely to questions of school segregation in the South. More recently I have been able to acquire some derivative knowledge of school problems in the North and West, owing chiefly to the work of those who have been brought to the University of Wisconsin Law School in prior seminar programs sponsored by the Ford Foundation. There is every reason to believe there is much remaining to be done on the school front. However, the school problems are in so many instances so closely interwoven with problems of housing and employment that I would very much like in the next few years to get some law professors working together on field studies and protracted conversations about problems in these areas as well.

To do all of this calls for financial support not now in hand. For the present semester the Dean of the Law School has found a way of proving me with only a half-time teaching load and full salary support. But this does not make provision for travel funds, and for the spring 1965 semester I will be able to continue only if I am successful in obtaining further financial help from other sources. There is some reason to believe this will be possible for the present year. The Stern Family Fund has invited me to submit an application for assistance during the present year for my own studies and work. In November 1964 I shall know the outcome of the Fund's action on my request.

On longer range terms, I should like to devote half my time during the school year and all of each summer to working on legal problems related to race relations. My experience has persuaded me completely of the value derived from looking into the same kinds of problems in many different areas, simply because the problems arise in a wide range of contexts and reactions to them produce greatly different efforts at solution. Much comparative information is thus to be had and from it can be assessments of how well various alternatives appear to work. In more recent years my travels have been supported chiefly by the Taconic Foundation, which has also paid me a consultant fee of $50 for each day spent away from my home in Madison in addition to supporting half my salary during the teaching year. The travel is difficult enough anyway and I would hesitate to resume anything like my past regime without similarly receiving a daily fee while away from home.

But in addition to support for my own continuing studies I am most anxious to see made available some means for buying free time for others like myself and providing some means for fruitful interchange of thinking among ourselves and with others who come in for off-the-record week-end discussions. One great shortcoming I have sensed in the past six years has been the absence of some continuing means for putting skilled people usefully to work on problems which loom in sight and are not or cannot readily be dealt with either by existing private organizations or by agencies of the public. I remain convinced there is a real need for encouraging development of a kind of third force of civil rights lawyers to deal with law problems free of restraining influences either of governmental internal policies or the demands upon the private groups such as the Legal Defense Fund and others which perform in their own way such useful services in the entire picture.

Much of what I have said here suggests that my concern is primarily for what might be thought of as operational techniques for dealing with civil rights problems. And certainly I regard these as of real importance. But in the pressing search for answers to immediate problems we must not lose sight of the need for thinking through longer-term goals and for working out social theories which square with the needs and directions of society. Such inquiries traditionally have constituted the principal stuff of a university's contribution to the social order. And indeed the very nature of the processes at work in both the private civil rights organizations and in the public agencies such as the Department of Justice permit but little time for thought about the longer range consequences of policy. Thus it seems to me desirable to assign to such institutions as law schools some continuing responsibilities here. The civil rights problem will be around for a long time and it is important that we create repositories which can collect and preserve running accounts of history as we make it; and this, too, is an appropriate university function. My hope is that the kind of format I have suggested here can make useful contributions both to development of operational techniques and to more fundamental thinking about directions and goals for law and society.

Rather than submit even an outline budget at this time for what I have in mind, I will only suggest that I would like to see the Law School of the University of Wisconsin receive a grant of perhaps $60,000 annually for a period of perhaps five years to conduct the sort of program I have suggested here. Within that five year period I would expect to make extensive annual reports upon work undertaken or in process and to understand that grants for subsequent years within the five might be altered in light of the effectiveness of the program.

Finally, it is the last thing I want to do to find myself so burdened with problems of administration that I cease having time for direct personal study and involvement. I believe that with a competent secretary to handle mechanical aspects of the program I can, based on past experience, recruit and coordinate the work of as many as 10 to 15 people who might be engaged in some aspect or other of law-connected race problems at a give time. In most instances I would suppose the number might be considerably less than this. The point is that I wish only to be connected with something which I can follow closely enough really to understand.

I shall be glad to answer as best I can any questions you have. My best regards to you both.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

GWF:bb

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

136

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 21, 1964

Dear Leslie:

The excerpts from the conference of last winter which you sent me have given me reason to think through again what I should be doing with my time in the next several months. You know of course that I have always regarded Paul Freund with the greatest respect and I thought he put very well the points he intended to make.

Perhaps if I have a difference with him it is on the question wether we can usefully write a philosophical foundation for the Negroes drive in the North until we have collected more empirical information than we have now. I particularly feel this is true with respect to the constitutional question raised by the Northern effort.

Perhaps I am only saying that I do not know how to write such a book but the matter is certainly worth thinking through more thoroughly than I have attempted. Thank you too for the copy of the editorial from the Little Rock newspaper, Wiley has done a first rate job.

I thank all the Dunbars for the pleasant week-end at Atlanta and I very much hope you are now back on your feet. I send my love to you all.

Faithfully,

Bill

G.D. Foster Jr.
Professor of Law

October 14, 1964

Professor G. W. Foster
The Law School
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

The letter you have sent to the Ford Foundation seems to me very sound, and I suspect it will seem so to the people at Ford. David Hunter at the Stern Fund has talked with me, and they at least are strongly interested.

I hope I am not one of the wistful ones. The only problems I want to take away from the courts and lawyers are the ones they can't handle well; for one example of many, the Atlanta schools. It's ridiculous to give one, as Mr. Letson and the school board here do, discourse on the school problems of this city confined within the framework of court decisions. And yet, as long as the thrust for changed policy is dominantly a set of legal maneuvers the discourse can be confined in this way.

I think the role of courtroom lawyers at the present time should be out of the edges of the law where new legal concepts are defined.

I had a very easy time in the hospital, and subsequently. The next time you get down this way we'll all be more relaxed.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 19, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

You're great. No, I don't count you as one of the wistful ones and I quite agree that we will all be better off when many of these problems currently in court can be worked out short of the rigid courtroom posture of case decisions.

About a week ago David Hunter wrote that he was unable to submit my proposal to his board at the Stern Fund though he did not give any details. Since that time I have crawled back on my hands to Taconic with the same proposal for support during the present year. Obviously, I do not know yet what reaction this will produce. Chris Edley also dropped me a line last week that Bill Pincus would talk over before long the letter which I wrote him and would let me know their reaction.

So, for the moment I am sitting out a period of watching and waiting. A letter from James Cass at Saturday Review encourages me to do another article. This time an inventory of unsolved problems on the school front. I would like to presume upon your time by sending a rough draft to you before long for any reactions you might have.

Meanwhile I am delighted that you came through your operation so well and I do hope to see you before long.

Faithfully,

Bill

G.W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

November 18, 1964

Mr. G. W. Foster
Professor of Law School
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

You said you were going to send me the manuscript of a Saturday Review article?

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Recd 11/24/64

BP - for SW - file

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

November 22, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a copy of the only draft there has been of an article I hope Saturday Review will publish. I have just this minute completed it and will take on to the Post Office now the copies for you and for James Cass of Saturday Review. I'm sure they will accept some changes if word reaches them shortly. So if you have comments, could you phone me?

Tomorrow I shall write you a longer letter. By and large I'm pretty blue about prospects for my remaining active in this school business. I have flunked out with the Stern Family Fund, with Ford, and after a month have heard nothing whatever from the letter to Jane Lee Eddy, asking whether I can apply again for help from Taconic.

During the past month, though, I have been much involved with the Office of Education, trying to help out in setting standards for using the fund cut-off provisions in Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It is in many ways quite a discouraging business for they have no disposition to involve themselves in any kinds of quarrels with anyone and I have the suspicion they believe they will make fewer enemies by giving money than by withholding it. I'm glad at least for the chance to make them squirm a bit and suspect they will do a bit more for my having been involved. But the experience serves chiefly to satisfy me that I am willing to stay at this race business only if I can retain some kind of independent status; the idea of having to bend to institutional restraints of Federal agencies leaves me cold. And I'm just about out of confidence so far as going hat in hand to support me for the future.

Hope all goes well.

Faithfully,

Bill

SCHOOL SEGREGATION:

AN INVENTORY OF UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

G. W. Foster, Jr.

After a decade filled with discord and sometimes with violence, the public schools of the South opened without major disturbance in the fall of 1964. Here and there Negro families reported threats, and Atlanta squirmed through a period of boycotting at a couple of schools. But these episodes hardly caused a ripple in the national press. Instead it was from New York City that came the kind of knock-down, drag-out battles which arouse and divide a community and erode the value of a school year to those most intimately involved.

Put another way, problems of integration rather than desegregation were for the moment producing the principal community disruption. In many respects desegregation and integration are merely time phases of the larger problem of segregated schools. Nevertheless the differences between the two concepts, while not always clear, are real. The immediate problems for the South are still those of desegregation. For the urban areas of the Border States and for the North and West, the pressing problems come from demands for integration.

Desegregation refers to the process of undoing the separate, dual systems of schools for Negroes and whites which had been required by law prior to 1954 in the District of Columbia and 17 Border and Southern States. The end product of desegregation is a unitary public school system organized along nonracial lines. But such a system is colorblind and segregated schools can exist within it where they are the product of residential patterns.

Integration seeks cultural and social assimilation and insists that race be taken into account in order to prevent segregation. The end product of integration is a system which affirmatively seeks to compensate for pre-existing cultural, social and educational isolation and to break up school segregation

resulting from residential patterns in the community.

Desegregation became a public issue well in advance of integration. The historic School Segregation Cases, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 and 1955, attacked a system of Negro and white schools kept separate by restrictions based on race. As seen at the time, the conversion of these separate schools into unified systems was to be accomplished by gradual removal of racial restrictions. Demands for integration arose in the urban areas of the North and West in the 1960s when it became evident that the removal of racial restraints would not break up school segregation which resulted from segregated housing.

The constitutional differences between desegregation and integration, if they exist, remain undefined by the Supreme Court at the end of 1964.

An era ended in fall 1964 when Mississippi, the last hold-out, peacefully accepted its first public school desegregation. Thus ended the last major threat of another State-Federal clash over the basic principle of public school desegregation.

In the fall of 1964 even the fire-eaters looked the other way. Governor Paul Johnson, who took his turn with Governor Barnett two years earlier in blocking James Meredith "at the door" of the University of Mississippi, saw fit as Governor in his own right to leave school desegregation up to the communities of Mississippi. Governor George Wallace chose in 1964 to strike his defiant postures in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland rather than in Alabama. A year earlier his efforts to block the schoolhouse door pretty well ruined the school year for hundreds of children in Macon County, Alabama, and helped blow up the stormy atmosphere which provided Birmingham with the most uncomfortable year in living memory.

Much remained to be done even though desegregation had been established in

principle in every state by 1964. In the Border States more than half the Negro pupils attended school with whites, a percentage probably higher than in some urban centers of the North and West. A much bigger job lay ahead for the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. Three-quarters of the school districts in the South remained completely segregated and less than two percent of the Negro children attended schools with whites.

It was significant, however, that the bulk of the change was recent and voluntary in the South. The spread of desegregation to new districts began an upward movement in 1960 and of the 583 Southern districts desegregating by 1964, almost half had been added during the 1963 and 1964 school years. More significantly, 105 of the 139 districts desegregating for the first time in 1964 did so without waiting for a court order.

The desegregation process was also speeding up in districts which earlier got off to only token beginnings. Numerous districts fitted the pattern of New Orleans, where the number of Negro pupils attending public schools with whites rose from 4 in 1960 to 107 in 1962, and to more than 850 in 1964; and though the numbers were not made public, many other New Orleans Negroes attended Catholic schools with whites after parochial school desegregation in 1962.

Many factors contributed to the speeding up of school desegregation in the South by 1964. From November 1960 on the Department of Justice has played an active role behind the school scene in taking steps to head off defiance of court orders to desegregate. And when Executive Branch intentions of backing up court orders became specific, the tacit - or overt - encouragement of disorder from local officials became less inviting. Too, the law of school desegregation, hammered out over the years of judicial action, has taken more definite form and a number of workable desegregation patterns have evolved. The vigorous new economic community of the South increasingly enlisted on the side of orderly change. And the

Negro revolt, frequently under dynamic new leadership, gained momentum through sit-ins, Freedom Rides and economic boycotts which often produced substantial change.

The expansion of desegregation also reflected a growing consent to the principle of desegregation itself. Since the rule of law rests finally upon community consent, it helped that desegregation was at last winning a sense of legitimacy among Southern whites. For years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, segregationists denied its validity, citing as evidence the refusal of President Eisenhower and the Congress to support the decision in principle. Now, however, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson had thrown the full moral weight of the Presidency behind desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a sweeping congressional affirmation of principles even broader.

Growing confidence and lessened fears among Negroes also contributed to the more rapid change. Typically only a handful of Negroes took part in the first year of school desegregation in a district. As tensions abated the numbers of Negroes attending schools with whites generally rose, sometimes dramatically, over the next few years. But what happened both at the beginning and in later years depended importantly upon Negro leadership in the community and upon the willingness of whites to avoid trouble. When Mississippi first desegregated its schools in 1964, some 40 Negro children entered the formerly white schools at Jackson. This was a marked enlargement over token beginnings elsewhere, a point of pride for those who sought to bolster confidence and resolve within the Negro community, and a reflection of credit on Jackson school officials for imposing no discriminatory screening.

Desegregation plans were still in an active state of evolution in 1964. Largely gone was the complex administrative machinery designed to produce interminable delays and to exhaust those who sought to enter desegregated schools. By 1964 no district just beginning to desegregate could expect to be granted 12

years to complete the transition on a grade-a-year basis. Many courts were requiring that discriminatory regulations be removed at the rate of two or three grades a year and with desegregation often moving from the bottom grades up and the top grades down simultaneously in the same district.

Two general types of desegregation "plans" were at the moment dominant on the scene, though many plans borrowed characteristics from both types:

1. "Freedom of Choice." Freedom of choice permits each child to choose attendance at any school in the district. Where a grade-a-year or other stair-step device is also employed, the choice is confined to those grades affected by the desegregation policy. When a school is threatened by overcrowding, preference is given regardless of race to those living nearest the school. Freedom of choice has been widely used in North Carolina and is spreading elsewhere among newly desegregating districts. In practice freedom of choice rarely produces significant alteration in the biracial character of the school district; all-Negro schools are almost never chosen by whites and the bulk of Negroes, responding to custom and in many instances to fear of reprisal, elect against formerly white schools. Without question freedom of choice exposes Negroes to threats and intimidation when tentions run high and some recent court decisions have ordered substitution of geographic zoning in districts where it is shown that freedom of choice has operated to preserve segregation.

2. Geographic Zoning. Segregated school districts have commonly zoned Negro schools on one set of maps, white schools on another. Desegregation obviously requires an end to such dual attendance systems but there have been problems. Desegregating districts which continue to use zoning have typically converted to unitary zoning in a series of year-to-year changes and there have been numerous charges that gerrymandering has been employed to contain Negroes. The conditions under which a child may attend school outside his zone of residence have also

caused dispute. For a time many districts allowed escape only by children who were in a racial minority at the school in their attendance zone. This permitted white minorities to escape from predominatly Negro attendance areas but it also prevented white majorities from running away when Negroes first desegregated a school. The Supreme Court has now forbidden the minority transfer as a racial restriction which operates to preserve segregation. As a substitute most districts now either permit unrestricted transfers to any uncrowded school or provide each child with a choice of several optional schools including the one in his residential attendance zone.

It is frequently difficult to see substantial differences between freedom of choice and geographic systems when in operation both provide a considerable range of choice among schools. Neither system is likely to undo the racially separate character of a dual school system unless teacher and staff desegregation is also undertaken. As long as any community sees its public schools as having all-Negro and all-white faculties, pupil assignment procedures which permit any real choice will be influenced by the racial character of the school staffs.

Teacher desegregation will be the next big step in the South. Many Negro teachers fear loss of jobs in the process and there are other problems. But Border State experience can provide helpful guidance. Already Federal courts in the South have held that teacher desegregation is coming and it is only a matter of time before the courts fix a date for beginning the change.

Other unsolved Southern problems include tuition grants, which provide a way to attend segregated private schools at public expense in Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia. These public funds have spawned a host of second-class schools which are trying to get by on grants hopelessly inadequate to meet both capital costs and operating expenses. A Federal court has barred use of Alabama tuition grants in any school which practices segregation and similar decisions

elsewhere should soon put an end to preserving segregation by this device.

Threats and violence continue to intimidate desegregation efforts. Deep South juries still decline to convict, even on compelling evidence, but a lot can be done preventively, as effective police work over much of the South attests. The hardest problems involve the outlaw communities in which local officials are themselves part of the lawless element or at least condone such conduct. Enlarging the Negro vote has brought some relief but the process is slow and no other really effective approach has been tried.

Federal judges remain indispensable to desegregation. A handful of judges, including some appointed by President Kennedy, have found it impossible to do their job in race cases. The result has been further delay and added difficulties for the appellate courts. But most Federal judges in the South have faithfully carried a heavy burden of decisions which community leadership, Negro and white, should have worked out together. All too often, communities refused to accept responsibility; the easy way out was to let the judge do the job and take the heat rather than use interracial dialogue to find needed answers.

After 1960 new and significant lines of communication were being established between Negroes and whites in many communities. Protest demonstrations contributed to this. So did white desires to avoid the kinds of trouble which had occurred elsewhere. And so did efforts of private groups like the Southern Regional Council which worked below the level of community visibility to bring people together to talk out their differences. By 1964 such communication lines were still nonexistent in many places. And even where continuing machinery had been established there were still many problems for Negroes and whites to work out. But the encouraging fact was the strong trend toward meaningful interracial discussions.

Beyond the process of desegregation were many other problems which were the product of a society that had so long practiced racial segregation. The South

was still too preoccupied with desegregation to pay much attention but in the 1960s some of these problems came into focus elsewhere in the nation. In time they would have to be dealt with everywhere, including the South.

These newly seen problems could be embraced within the concept of integration, for their solutions involved affirmative steps to meld the Negro into the broader pattern of American society from which he had been excluded. For public education the problems posed questions of what could be expected from our schools to compensate for a formidable array of handicaps inherited from segregation.

First, there were education problems in the strictest sense. Millions of Negro children came from families which could not adequately back them up to compete academically on even terms with middle and upper classes. In many respects they shared this handicap with whites and others descended from generations of the chronically poor, though it was likely that racial discrimination only dampened down further the will of many Negroes to learn.

Demonstration projects to provide compensatory education for "disadvantaged" children had become a big business by 1964. Careful comparative studies of results among various projects were hard to find but even the reports issued from separate demonstrations rarely claimed any dramatic new discoveries. With greater personal attention, specially trained teachers, and teaching materials tailored for the purpose it was possible to elevate somewhat larger fractions of children to median levels of performance and beyond. But the compensatory programs were expensive, took time, and the Negroes whose knowledge and skills failed to reach median ranges would be victims of discrimination by the economic system if not because of their race.

As a national commitment the War on Poverty was an important step. More, much more would have to be learned about processes to produce victory. And far more money than now committed would be required to complete the job. Nevertheless the job was very much worth doing and it mattered that a beginning had been made.

Negro discontent over "de facto" segregation brought attacks on the "neighborhood" school and New York was only one of many Northern and Western cities drawn into the bitter controversy. The issue was whether school assignment policies should compensate for community housing patterns. Here the tactical positions of Negroes and whites reversed from the stands taken earlier in the South. Many whites insisted that school authorities be colorblind and that school assignments should operate without regard to race. Opponents argued that race could and should be taken benignly into account in assigning pupils, both to break up and to prevent segregated schools.

There were constitutional questions galore in the various suggestions. It was evident the Supreme Court looked with suspicion at the use of race by public officials but the questions had typically arisen in cases where race had been used to produce segregation rather than integration. The Supreme Court has yet to rule on the use of race to encourage integration and lower courts are cautiously feeling their way through the problems. Of the obviously fluid present situation it can be said generally: (1) No court has compelled a school system to compensate for housing segregation; (2) courts have generally permitted school systems to relieve segregation by rezoning and pairing adjoining schools or by providing buses in which children may voluntarily go from crowded, largely Negro schools to less crowded, largely white schools; and (3) no scheme is likely to be valid if it assigns individual students on the basis of their race. In short, schools may adopt some general rules for correcting racial imbalance but such a decision will be a question of political choice rather than judicial compulsion.

Behind the question of trying to achieve racial balance within the schools is often the problem of the rapidly changing racial character of the community itself. Almost 90 percent of the public school population in Washington is Negro today. In Memphis, New Orleans, Philadelphia and St. Louis today Negroes make up half or more of the public school population. White exodus to the suburbs, Negro migration from

the rural South and generally higher birthrates among Negroes combine to push upward the fraction of Negroes in almost every major city of the nation. If the trend continues, Negroes will have voting majorities in many of our major cities by 1980. Whether efforts to achieve racial balance in a city's schools only serve to speed the flight of whites to surrounding communities may be debated; integration improves understanding of the kind needed to crack present barriers in the suburbs. But it is clear that housing and economic barriers isolate the Negro in ways which schools cannot alone correct. This does not discharge our schools, however. They have major responsibilities for compensatory education, for trying to eradicate segregation by every reasonable means at hand, and for building into the education of every child an understanding of, and a willingness to work toward, our long overdue national commitment of equality for all.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 represented a long step forward for the Congress but on the education front it extended only limited help. Unquestionably, the Act will forward the desegregation process, both by the threat of cutting off Federal aids to schools which persist in racial discrimination and by making limited funds available for technical assistance, training institutes and grants to work at problems incident to desegregation. But help in correcting racial imbalance in the schools was explicitly withheld and the authority granted the Attorney General to initiate desegregation suits in the name of the United States is so hedged with limitations that privately initiated judicial action will be a more effective alternative. But after all there can be other Civil Rights Acts in other days as problems continue to press.

The future holds many challenges and much remains to be done. But now, in national terms, Negroes and whites were sitting down together to work out our common problems and a pragmatic nation had reason to believe this was the best way to get things done.

# # # # #

Madison, Wisconsin
November 22, 1964

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

Steve - please don't quote or refer to this yet

March 3, 1965

File - Foster, Wm.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Please forgive my silence. The short answer is that I have been running my head off for the last two months.

Enclosed is the draft of an article to appear in the issue of Saturday Review dated March 20, 1965. Please don't discuss this fact with anyone until I have had the chance to reach you by telephone. A few minutes ago your office reported that you were in New York today. I shall try to phone you at Atlanta Thursday or Friday of this week to discuss the article with you.

I hope all goes well.

Sincerely,

Bill

G.W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

GWF:bb
Enclosure

TITLE VI: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS FACE THE FACTS

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act provides that racial discrimination must be ended in all programs that receive federal financial assistance. Responsibility for administering this provision for the many educational programs that funnel $_____ million annually into the seventeen southern states and the District of Columbia lies with the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Requests for federal support for these programs for the 1965-66 school year are now being prepared in thousands of communities in both the North and the South. And in the process, the full import of the Civil Rights Act is coming clear.

The South, today, is a society in agonizing trasition. Ancient traditions and attitudes are slowly changing before the onslaught of contemporary demands. For a decade or more since the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in the schools, the South has been moving with more deliberation than speed to bring Negro and white together in the classroom. Slowly, but inexorably, efforts to avoid change have been swept away by the courts. The inevitability of full compliance with the Supreme Court's decision has become progressively clearer as one alternative after another has been attempted and has failed. Now, Title VI opens ~~the final~~ another major act in the drama of school desegregation. As one Florida news headline stated the decision that must be made, "INTEGRATE -- OR LOSE FEDERAL $$."

The issue appears clear -- and to the uninitiated, simple. Yet enforcement of Title VI is a complex matter. Its purpose is to build, not to destroy, to liberate, not to erect barriers.

But harsh and unsympathetic enforcement of the letter of the law could be destructive. It could deny federal support to those children most desperately in need of it -- and in the process exacerbate sectional feelings far beyond anything we have seen to date. Yet the law must be enforced.

Aware of the complex responsibility assigned to it, the Office of Education has moved with its own version of "all deliberate speed." To date it has been more notable for its caution than for its accomplishment in providing help to school authorities faced with the necessities of radical change.

There are, to be sure, good reasons for caution. A well-defined set of standards for desegregation would almost certaining be interpreted as an acceptable minimum, and few if any school districts would feel obliged to move beyond them. Nor is it reasonable to expect equal action from communities in Mississippi or Alabama and those in Kentucky or Tennessee. Yet it is difficult to justify unequal enforcement of the law of the land. And, meanwhile, southern school authorities are not receiving the help they need in charting their course in unfamiliar waters.

The following memo is designed to provide specific guide lines to school authorities seeking to meet the terms of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. It was prepared by G.W. Foster, Jr., professor of law at the University of Wisconsin and consultant to the Office of Education, who has long been deeply concerned with the problems of education. Mr. Foster's memo has no official status and does not bind the Office of Education in any fashion. Yet there is no doubt that it reflects directly the thinking of the officials charged with the responsibility

for enforcement of Title VI, as it applies to education.

SR hopes that southern school authorities will find these guidelines helpful in making the fateful decisions they face. And northern readers will find, in the calm words and careful analysis of the memo, a clear view of the issues as they have evolved to date.

Introduction

The issue posed for southern schools by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is not whether they will desegregate. It is whether they will desegregate with -- or without -- continuing federal financial assistance. Even if federal aids are discontinued, segregated school districts still face the prospect of private litigation brought on behalf of Negro pupils in the community. And the 1964 Civil Rights Act increased the inevitability of desegregation by authorizing the Attorney General to bring suit in the name of the United States.

Etc. with final paragragh on page 1 of memo.

Tentative Draft, 2/21/65

GUIDELINES FOR SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Note: I cannot speak for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. I am a professor of law at the University of Wisconsin, presently serving on a part-time basis as a consultant to the Office of Education in the administration of the non-discrimination policy laid down in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Nevertheless, I am aware in a general way of the policy considerations which are being taken into account in reviewing desegregation plans submitted pursuant to requirements of Title VI. Thus, while I can provide some general guidelines, I can give no assurance they will suffice. Obviously the more nearly any district moves toward a total removal of discrimination the more certain it can be of compliance with Title VI.

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law and Consultant to
U. S. Office of Education
University of Wisconsin

Introduction

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 calls for an end to racial discrimination in programs which receive Federal financial assistance. Or, as a Florida news headline put it, "INTEGRATE - OR LOSE FEDERAL $$."

For public schools of the South the point is perhaps more accurately put another way. The issue is really whether Southern schools are going to desegregate with - or without - continuing to receive Federal financial assistance. Even if Federal aids are discontinued, segregated school districts still face the prospect of private litigation brought on behalf of Negro pupils in the community. And the 1964 Civil Rights Act increased

the inevitability of desegregation by authorizing the Attorney General to bring a suit in the name of the United States.

According to Regulations promulgated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to implement the nondiscrimination policy of Title VI, school districts which seek to qualify for future Federal aids must select among three courses of action:

1. "Form 441" Assurance of Compliance. This is an unqualified assurance that no discrimination whatever is practiced within the district. The 441 Assurance is largely inapplicable to districts in the 17 States which in 1954 maintained legally separated Negro and white schools since in only a very few Southern school districts have the last vestiges of the dual school system been eradicated. The Office of Education is returning for further information all 441 Assurances it receives from districts not fully desegregated and presumably a plan of desegregation rather than a 441 Assurance will be required of these in order to comply with requirements of Title VI.

2. Plan for the Desegregation of the School System. The Regulations implementing Title VI will allow future approvals of Federal aids for a district which submits to the Commissioner of Education a suitable plan for removing whatever discrimination remains in the school system. For the great bulk of the biracial school districts of the South the only effective way to continue receiving Federal aids lies in submitting a plan of desegregation.

3. Court Order for Desegregation of the School System. The Regulations also authorize continuation of aids to districts which are operating under a final order of a court of the United States for the desegregation

of the school system. It is crucial to note that the order must be one directing desegregation of the school system; an order merely directing admission of a few named individuals, for example, without otherwise providing for desegregation of the system, will not suffice. Despite more than a decade of litigation only a small fraction of the South's biracial districts were acting under court-ordered desegregation plans when the Regulations implementing Title VI were promulgated.

The balance of this memorandum is designed to furnish some guidelines to school authorities seeking compliance with Title VI. It stresses the points with which a desegregation plan must deal, illustrates ways in which particular procedures must be described, and suggests something of the range of choice open to a school district.

What the memorandum cannot do is guarantee approval by the Commissioner of Education. It seems clear that no tersely stated or vague plan will be approved. What must be done in any plan is to spell out enough detail that there can be general understanding of the situation and problems in the district, of the policies and procedures designed to deal with the problems, and of the district's intentions to carry out the plan in good faith.

On all these points the burden of persuasion is on local school authorities. Their plan must sell itself.

1. Summary Statement of Present Racial Situation in District Schools

All plans for desegregation or final court orders submitted to the U. S. Office of Education for compliance withe the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be accompanied by a summary statement describing the racial

picture in the district schools at the time the plan is submitted. Or, as an alternative, the questionnaire at the end of this memorandum may be used, with the district adding to the questionnaire whatever further information it believes appropriate.

The reason is that rational appraisal of any desegregation plan is impossible without a general picture of the circumstances in the district when the plan is submitted. The questionnaire covers the points needed at a minimum to tell the story. But if the district intends to make use of geographic attendance zones or if bussing is to be employed, maps and statistics sufficient to show the general racial characteristics of the proposed arrangement are essential.

Lest there be undue concern that too great a burden is imposed by having to supply this much information, it should be understood that precise, up-to-the-minute statistics are not required. The information needed is the kind that knowledgeable school authorities are aware of in general terms. It is enough that what is supplied is what fair-minded school officials believe to be true and what reasonable men would think necessary to know in order to judge a desegregation plan rationally.

II. Types of Desegregation Plans: General Characteristics

Most school desegregation plans evolved since 1954 are based either on geographic attendance zoning or freedom of choice. Some plans combine features of geography and choice and occasionally it has been suggested that pupils should be assigned to schools according to achievement or ability test scores. While in many districts pupils are separated according to achievement, ability or vocational interests for some purposes no

widespread use has been made of these characteristics as the basis of plans for desegregation, though presumably they would suffice if operated in good faith without discrimination based on race.

Because geographic zoning and freedom of choice provide the usual bases for desegregation plans this memorandum concentrates on the features of these two types.

A. Assignment by Geographic Zoning

Throughout the country geographic zoning is the prevalent means for assignment of pupils to schools. In the dual systems of the South prior to 1954 separate (and often overlapping) geographic zones were widely used to assign Negro pupils to Negro schools and white pupils to white schools.

Since desegregation involves doing away with these separate sets of Negro and white schools, the use of geographic zoning to accomplish this result requires the establishment of a unitary rather than dual system of attendance zones. Or put in the form of an example, all elementary schools of the district, whether formerly Negro or white, would have to be zoned on a single map without any overlapping of attendance zones.

Plans approved by courts in earlier years introduced unitary zoning on a grade-a-year or other stairstep basis. The questionable status of grade-a-year plans at present should give pause to any serious thought about using them and any district must weigh carefully the factors discussed in Section VI of this memorandum as to any discriminatory practices preserved after fall 1965.

For many administrative purposes the relative simplicity of geographic zoning gives it evident advantages over assignment based on freedom of choice.

It provides a relatively accurate way of forecasting future enrollments and is a direct method for shifting pupil populations to adjust for overcrowding.

Across the South the courts have uniformly held that assignment by attendance zones satisfies constitutional requirements for doing away with dual systems of schools provided it is not used with the motive of producing racially invidious results. The fact that school authorities have the burden of explaining away circumstantial evidence of discrimination means that care should be taken to zone schools in ways which minimize instances in which suspicions of racial discrimination are likely to be aroused. And this is not an easy task.

The following examples illustrate situations likely to cause trouble. Oddly formed zones raise doubts, particularly where they coincide with racial boundaries between neighborhoods; indeed any zone lines coinciding with racial boundaries call for some explanation. Trouble comes also from creating optional attendance zones in racially mixed neighborhoods; certainly some special explanation is called for as to any rule which permits out-of-zone attendance for residents of some but not all school zones.

Plans using geographic zoning should initially assign all pupils to the school in their zone of residence. Whatever transfer policies are available for attending outside the zone of residence should be open to Negroes and whites alike on the same terms and by the same means. The provision, sustained for a time in the courts, for ~~restricting~~ permitting transfers to children who would be in a racial minority within their attendance zone school or classroom has been struck down as a device to preserve segregation and

will not do.

B. Assignment Based on Freedom of Choice

Desegregation plans based on freedom of choice are perhaps no more than transitional devices that ultimately will give way to unitary zoning. In theory, freedom of choice is unobjectionable. The practical difficulty is that the choice open to many may not in fact be free and school authorities who are considering freedom of choice plans have a special responsibility to assure themselves before they adopt them that the plans can be carried out in good faith. Particularly is this true where ingrained community custom is likely to result in economic reprisals or threats to parents and children.

In recent time Federal courts have directed some districts to install unitary geographic zoning where it was shown that freedom of choice plans adopted earlier failed to affect the dual school pattern. But at present plans based on freedom of choice appear sufficient to meet the requirements of Title VI, provided pupils are afforded a choice which is free and unfettered by past or present practices.

Thus a choice of schools is not free where a pupil is initially assigned to a school on the basis of race and then is provided only a limited right to transfer to another school. For this reason ~~southern~~ Pupil Assignment Laws do not constitute acceptable plans of desegregation.

Again, a choice is not free where administrative practices within the school system make the exercise of choice burdensome by requiring parents either to go through the ordeal of complex forms or discomfitting interviews. It would also be an improper burden to require a pupil to register at a place reserved for his race even though he was subsequently

permitted to enroll at a school of his choice; the answer here is that the pupil should be permitted to apply directly to the school he desires to attend.

Somewhat different problems are presented in handling transfers and re-assignments of children already enrolled in school. One reasonable way to handle the matter is to have the necessary forms and instructions distributed by the classroom teachers in the schools the pupils presently attend - provided that neither the teachers nor other school authorities attempt to influence or pressure in the exercise of choices to be made.

School districts which attempt to combine freedom of choice with geographic zoning face special problems. Where freedom of choice furnishes the theoretical basis for assignment, every pupil in the district should be provided with a right to choose either a formerly white or formerly Negro school. If over-crowding results from the choices made, racial considerations cannot be employed to reject those who initially select the school threatened with overcrowding; geographic proximity to the school should then be employed in determining which choices to reject. Where such choices are thus rejected, further opportunity should be provided each parent and child to make another choice which can effectively be carried out. In other words, if freedom of choice is to be adopted, geographic zoning cannot be employed to prevent an effective choice of either a formerly white or formerly Negro school.

In light of the ease and convenience of administering geographic attendance zoning it may be realistic for many districts to employ a combination which gradually adds unitary zoning to a desegregation plan which initially relied principally on freedom of choice. For example,

unitary geographic zoning could be employed for initial assignment and re-assignment commencing with the lower elementary grades, while a policy of freedom of choice was applied to the remaining grades of the system. Over a fairly short period of time the unitary system of zoning would be moved upward through the other grades, supplanting freedom of choice.

In short, freedom of choice plans are probably no more than a transitional device. Districts, in view of this, should give serious thought either to going directly to unitary systems of zoning or introducing unitary zoning at lower grade levels from the beginning, expecting to move the unitary zoning upward to replace the freedom of choice policy first installed at higher grade levels.

111. Detailed Statement of Administrative Practices; Notice

Rational appraisal of a desegregation plan (or a court order for desegregation) is likewise impossible unless the plan itself sets forth enough detail to dispel doubts about the manner in which nondiscriminatory policies will be administered.

The written Instructions to school districts furnished by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare make two points clear. First, there can be no discrimination practiced in desegregated grades as to questions of initial assignment, reassignment or transfer. Second, sufficient advance notice must be given so that parents can understand how the assignment and transfer rules work and can take advantage of them effectively.

It is a common reaction among school officials and other local authorities facing their first school desegregation that disaster will follow if public announcement is made of rules and procedures for making

initial assignments and transfers. The answer to this is that the courts have consistently required clear and ample notice to be given - and the consequences have not been disastrous for communities which have made plain their intention to brook no disorder and to see to it that the rules are given firm and faithful implementation.

A frequent shortcoming of the desegregation plans initially forwarded to the Office of Education has been the failure to set out in any detail either the administrative specifics or the content, timing and manner of providing notice of assignment and transfer rights. Below, for illustrative purposes are model forms of notice which set out the administrative details for handling four problems common to every system of schools. The models in question were designed for desegregation plans based on freedom of choice and would have to be adapted to fit the particular policy variations within any particular district. Too, the models would have to be altered to be made applicable to desegregation plans grounded on unitary geographic zoning.

The point to be stressed here is that every desegregation plan must deal specifically with providing notice of administrative details respecting initial assignment, reassignment and lateral transfer. Plans which fail to spell out the procedures and forms of notice for these four situations simply cannot be judged and thus no favorable action can be taken on them.

The following examples illustrate one way in which matters of notice, initial assignment, reassignment and transfer may be handled:

A. Pre-Registration of Pupils Planning to Enroll in Lowest Elementary Grades

(1) Beginning _____ 1965 (a date at least four weeks before Pre-registration is to commence) and once a week for three successive weeks the announcement below shall be conspicuously published in two newspapers having general circulation in the district:

PRE-REGISTRATION OF KINDERGARTEN/FIRST GRADE PUPILS FOR FALL 1965

Pre-registration of pupils planning to enroll in kindergarten/first grade (as appropriate for schools in the district) for the fall 1965 semester will take place for a period of ____ days, from ____ 1965 through ____ 1965. Under policies adopted by the Board of Education, parents or guardians may register pupils during this period at the school of their choice. At the time of pre-registration a choice may be expressed for either the nearest formerly Negro school or the nearest formerly white school. In the event of over-crowding, preference will be given without regard to race to those choosing the school who reside closest to it. Those whose choices are rejected because of overcrowding will be notified and permitted to make an effective choice of a formerly Negro or formerly white school.

The choice is granted to the parent or guardian and the child. Teachers, principals and other school personnel are not permitted to advise, recommend or otherwise influence the decision. Nor will school personnel either favor or penalize children because of the choice made.

Children not pre-registered in spring may be registered at the school of their choice on _____, immediately prior to the opening of schools for the fall 1965 semester, but first preference in choice of schools will be given to those who pre-register in the spring period.

(2) Annually after 1965, similar practices will be followed with respect to registering and enrolling pupils for the first time in the lowest elementary grades.

B. All Other Pupils Newly Enrolling in District Schools.

The Office of the Superintendent will furnish at such times as are appropriate to the parents or guardians of all other pupils newly enrolling in the schools of the district the forms and instructions necessary to complete registration and enrollment at the school of their choice. These instructions for registration and enrollment of new pupils shall be in writing and shall set forth in detail the Board of Education policies and procedures for registering and enrolling in the school of their choice (see form of published notice under Part A above).

C. Pupils Graduating From Elementary and Junior High Schools

The initial assignment of pupils graduating either from elementary or junior high schools and planning to enroll for the first time in a school at the next higher level will be handled in the following manner:

All such pupils will be furnished by their classroom teachers on a date fixed by the Superintendent prior to their graduation the appropriate instructions and forms on which their parents or guardians may exercise their choice of the school next to be attended by the pupils. A reasonable time will be provided for returning the form after it has been distributed and the written instructions accompanying the form shall set forth in detail the Board of Education policies permitting a free choice of the school next to be attended (see form of published notice under Part A above). Where no choice is exercised by the parents or guardians within the time fixed, the pupil will be assigned without regard to race to the next higher school, and the instructions furnished parents and guardinas shall so state.

D. Lateral Transfers by Pupils Eligible to Continue in a School Where Currently Enrolled

Prior to the end of classes for each school year pupils eligible to continue in the same school will be assigned for the forthcoming year. At a date fixed by the Superintendent and appropriately in advance of the time that reassignment for the forthcoming year is made, all pupils will be furnished by their classroom teachers with appropriate forms and instructions for use by their parents in exercising their right to apply for a transfer of their child to a school of their choice for the forthcoming year. Such instructions will set forth in detail the Board of Education policies respecting transfers without regard to race for the forthcoming year (see form of published notice under Part A above) and will state that each child will be reassigned to the school currently attended in the event the right of lateral transfer is not exercised within the time fixed in the instructions. The instructions may also provide for lateral transfer at other times of the year under special circumstances as may be fixed by the Superintendent under the Board's direction.

IV. Busses and Bus Routes

Districts which provide bussing must make special provision in their plans to make clear that discriminatory practices are removed. In dual school systems it has been customary in many instances for separate busses to travel the same roads, one to pick up Negroes for the Negro school and the other to take whites to a different school. Again, separate bus routes for Negro and white schools have operated in some instances to place individual children of either or both races under the burden of going to a distant pick-up point for their own race when a pick-up point for the opposite race was much more convenient.

Such policies and practices, supported with public funds, result in manifest racial discrimination and if continued can seriously impair the right freely to choose a school without regard to race. Desegregation plans must accordingly spell out in detail the present racial character of bussing practices, indicate the steps which will be taken to create unitary systems of bussing available to all pupils without regard to race, and describe the manner in which parents or guardians and pupils will be given notice of the right to ride busses without regard to race.

V. Teacher and Staff Desegregation

Desegregation of teachers and professional staffs is ultimately in the picture. It was characteristic of the legally separated schools that Negro teachers were assigned to Negro schools, white teachers to white schools. In general the courts have permitted desegregation of pupils to take precedence over desegregation of teachers and staff personnel in the schools. More recently, however, courts have been ordering districts to undertake teacher integration as part of the total job of desegregating.

As the court cases are dealing with the problem, pupils have been permitted to challenge faculty desegregation on several grounds. First, pupils cannot be discriminated against on the basis of their race and hence pupils have a right to insist that a teacher not be assigned them on the basis that the teacher's race corresponds to their own. Second, it has been objected that the existence of all Negro and all white faculties restrains freedom of choice, given traditional community patterns. Finally, it is objected that segregated faculties and teaching staffs are evident vestiges of the dual schools and that a district cannot be said to have a unitary character until patterns of teaching and staff desegregation are broken up.

The problem is one which every district must face and start working on. Every desegregation plan should reveal awareness of the problem and provide assurance that steps will be taken to remove racial discrimination in assignment of teaching personnel.

VI. Rate of Desegregation: How Many Grades to Desegregate?

It is difficult to advise with certainty concerning the rate at which desegregation must be completed. For one thing, the courts have ordered a speeding up in districts which first began at slow year-to-year paces. At the same time the courts have allowed some districts to break the ice by starting with a shorter step the first year than will be required thereafter.

Whatever the rate of completion, any plan of desegregation must sketch out the steps needed to finish the job. For purposes of funds for the coming year, however, what happens in fall 1965 is perhaps the most critical single point in the plan. The HEW Regulation makes it clear that any plan accepted may be reviewed in later years.

Some general guidelines may be helpful, however.

Neither Title VI nor the Regulations adopt court rulings as the standard to be followed by the Commissioner of Education. But under the Regulations the Commissioner must accept court ordered plans of desegregation and it would appear unlikely that he will accept less than required by judicial standards in passing on voluntary plans.

The U. S. Courts of Appeal have played a major role in rationalizing the differences among lower court reactions to desegregation plans. In the absence of more precise indication from the Office of Education the rulings of the Courts of Appeal probably furnish the best approximate guides at hand. But in looking to court decisions several things must be borne constantly in mind. First, what the courts ordered for fall 1964 is not likely to be the same they will order for

fall 1965; there has been a marked judicial trend toward accepting less delay as the years pass. Second, since the Commissioner of Education is free to reach an independent judgment, he is certainly not bound to follow lower court rulings which call for the most minimal amounts of desegregation.

Last year, for the opening of schools in 1964, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit laid down a general formula for newly desegregating districts which suggested (a) that desegregation had to take place both from the bottom up and the top down simultaneously; and (b) that a total of four desegregated grades for fall 1964 was expected. In the Fourth Circuit on the other hand some Federal courts have insisted upon applying a freedom of choice program throughout every grade level in the first year of desegregation; an illustration of this policy is found in the case of Stanley v. Darlington County School District, reported in 9 Race Relations Law Reporter 1293 (E. District of South Carolina, 1964).

It can be said with certainty that no plan will be approved which works exclusively from the top down. It will be essential for approval that there be in all instances desegregation which begins without restriction in the lowest grade levels of the school system. To avoid misunderstanding, any district which has a desegregation program which works from the first grade up must either apply the policy to pre-school clinics and kindergartens or state that classes at these levels are not held.

Each district must carry the burden of justifying any delay beyond fall 1965 in completing its desegregation plan. This is true of districts which have already experienced some desegregation. It is also true for districts which have yet to take the first step.

Clearly, the surest course is to make the desegregation program available generally to all grades for fall 1965. If less than this is done, desegregation should be installed both from the bottom of the system upward and from the top down. The real question for any district is the extent to which it wishes to risk disapproval of its plan.

VII. Consultants and Technical Assistance

Other provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 make available funds to assist school districts in designing and carrying out plans of desegregation. The U. S. Office of Education currently retains a group of legal consultants who can be called on by school districts who request such assistance. State Departments of Education, in complying with Title VI, agree to provide advice and assistance to local school authorities in working out desegregation problems and the State Departments may arrange ways for providing further guidance through the use of consultants and others. Questions concerning such help should be addressed to the State Departments of Education or to the U.S. Office of Education.

Madison, Wisconsin

February 22, 1965

Tentative Draft, 2/19/65

COMPLIANCE INFORMATION:
NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

This outline is furnished as an aid in reporting information generally helpful in appraising the sufficiency of plans for desegregation of school districts which seek compliance with the nondiscriminatory policy of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Precise, up-to-the-minute statistics are not required. The information sought is the kind that knowledgeable school authorities are aware of in general terms and approximations will suffice where exact detail is not easily available.

I. Racial Characteristics of School Population

A. By race, what are the approximate school-age populations residing within the geographic boundaries of the school district (including residents who attend public schools outside the district or private school within or without the district)? White _____ Negro _____ Other _____

B. How many Negroes presently attend predominantly white schools? _____

C. How many whites presently attend predominantly Negro schools? _____

D. By grade level, approximately how many Negro pupils presently attend classes with whites in the public schools of the district (strike out grades not actually taught in district schools)? Kindergarten _____; 1st grade _____; 2nd _____; 3rd _____; 4th _____; 5th _____; 6th _____; 7th _____; 8th _____; 9th _____; 10th _____; 11th _____; 12th _____.

E. How many pupils attend public schools outside the district on a tuition-paid basis? White _____; Negro _____; Other _____

F. How many pupils residing in the district presently attend private schools on a tuition-grant basis? White _____; Negro _____; Other _____

G. Where separate treatment is accorded any other non-white groups besides Negroes, please indicate the general situation on a separately attached sheet.

II. Racial Characteristics of District Schools

A. What is the number of elementary schools (grades ____ through ____) in which the pupils enrolled are: all white _____; all Negro _____; integrated _____; other (describe on a separate sheet)?

B. What is the number of junior high schools (grades _____ through _____) in which the pupils enrolled are: all white _____; all Negro _____; integrated _____; other (describe on a separate sheet)?

C. What is the number of high schools (grades _____ through _____) in which the pupils enrolled are: all white _____; all Negro _____; integrated _____; other (describe on a separately attached sheet)?

D. Briefly describe on a separately attached sheet the general racial characteristics of the pupil populations in any special schools operated by the district which are not accounted for in the categories set out above.

III. Racial Characteristics of Teaching and Administrative Staffs

A. By race, what is the approximate number of teachers in the district who are: white _____; Negro _____; other _____?

B. By race, what is the approximate number of non-teaching staff members who are: white _____; Negro _____; other _____?

C. How many elementary schools have teaching staffs which are: all white _____; all Negro _____; integrated _____; other (describe separately)?

D. How many junior high schools have teaching staffs which are: all white _____; all Negro _____; integrated _____; other (describe separately)?

E. How many high schools have teaching staffs which are: all white _____; all Negro _____; integrated _____; other (describe separately)?

IV. Maps

Maps, which need not be of professional quality, can be separately furnished where useful or perhaps necessary to demonstrate such things as school location, bus routes. Supply these separately where this is thought desirable to demonstrate particular characteristics of a desegregation plan.

V. School Bus Routes and Practices

Where school busses are supplied for some or all pupils, describe in a general way on a separate sheet the effect which the routes and stops made by the busses have on the racial characteristics of the district's schools.

Date _____ Name of District _____

_____

File Foster, William

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

July 2, 1967

Dear Paul...

Here is a first installment and it may surprise you. But the more thought I gave this the more I became persuaded that any understanding of where we go from here calls for some kind of predicate that takes into account the development of the Title VI operation in HEW. So my memo for you opens with a summary of that story. With this done, I hope to wind up tomorrow afternoon and during the day of the 4th all I have to say on the portent of recent court opinions and what these, coupled with existing legislative policies affecting HEW and the Department of Justice seem to mean for school segregation all over the country.

I hope all this may be somewhat helpful to your two law students.

Strength to your arm,

Bill

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

July 2, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: G. W. Foster, Jr.

RE: Reflections on the Process of School Integration

My purpose in this memorandum is to pass along some of my thoughts, rather hurriedly gathered, on the process of school integration. I shall attempt some description of significant developments over the past several years and indicate what they appear to me to portend. The memorandum will close with suggestions of some extensive and detached research which I believe is now urgently needed.

Part I. The Unfulfilled Promise of Title VI

It is puzzling, even in retrospect, that Congress did not fight more than it did over the enactment of Title VI. The bulk of the Congressional debate which even touched on its implications for school integration lacks the spirited character of debate over other Titles of the 1964 Act and throughout 1963 and 1964 there in general appeared to be little sophisticated discussion over the school issue at any congressional level.

True, there were discounting factors that might have led to a judgment that Title VI was unlikely to bring much change on the school segregation front. For one thing, President Kennedy himself had publicly expressed disagreement with the use of fund termination as a device for promoting integration and right down through the passage of the 1964 Act there is not much evidence of Administration enthusiasm for what eventually became Title VI. Too, there were a number of litigation-oriented people in the Department of Justice who seriously doubted the ability of a lay bureaucracy to enforce constitutional rights by manipulating the distribution of federal aids. But whatever the reasons a luke-warm attitude toward Title VI was widespread within the Executive Branch when it landed responsibility for administering the new policy and those who might have had cause to fear loss of funds through the Title VI device may have softened their attacks after taking some Administration attitudes into account.

The relative complacence of the educational establishment toward Title VI at the time was also shaped by the fact that federal financial aids to elementary and secondary schools in 1964 were of comparative unimportance in the total financial picture of most districts. A few districts, located near large military bases or other

federal installations, got substantial grants under the so-called "impact-area" program which provided aids for enrollments swelled through federal activities in the area. As early as 1962, however, federal pressures to integrate were being brought on these districts and for them, at least, Title VI would add nothing new. But for the bulk of the school districts in the South - some 2000 or so districts - which had taken few or no steps toward integration, federal funds were of such insignificance in 1964 that a threatened loss of these funds would not be likely to induce many to move toward desegregation.

Yet even when one took a maximum discounting of Title VI's potential, there were a lot of knowledgeable people in 1964 who saw in Title VI a device of primary importance for producing immediate, widespread and extensive change in Southern school patterns. Two factors were important to that judgment:

(1) Federal aids to elementary and secondary schools were soon likely to become very important indeed to most school districts. After almost a century of effort to obtain a program of general federal aid to education, a formula had at last been hit on which appeared to resolve the conflicting forces that earlier had barred passage of general aid legislation. That prediction turned out to be true when in April 1965 Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Thereafter billions of federal dollars would be available annually and only the wealthiest school districts in the country could afford to spurn participation in the programs for which the aids were available.

(2) With virtually every school district anxious to step forward for federal aids, a major inducement to integration would be at hand. Moreover, the administrative process should be able to come to decision far more swiftly than the courts. A decade in the courts after the Brown decisions had laid bare the shortcomings of the judicial system in dealing with changes that had to be wrought in several thousand school districts. As late as 1964 there were fewer than 200 districts under court order and many of these districts were acting under decrees outmoded by later appellate doctrines, either because no new proceedings had been brought to update the old decrees or because of inevitable delays in the judicial process. Time delays of these kinds would be far simpler to eliminate under some kind of administrative process tied in with the distribution of federal funds.

Those who placed hopes in Title VI saw it as a means of putting to every school district a dilemma created by other provisions of the 1964 Act which authorized the Attorney General to take judicial initiative against districts which failed to move toward integration. Thus even those districts which might decline federal aids would find themselves under other federal pressures to integrate. The 1964 Act, in short, provided a scheme under which districts had to choose whether to integrate with - or without-

continuing federal financial assistance.

Title VI was also welcomed by many of the federal judges in the South with whom I spoke soon after passage of the 1964 Act. They had long felt the impropriety of having courts called on for continuing supervision over school administration problems. They felt no personal expertise in running school affairs (although their involvement has made a number of these judges today capable of becoming superb school administrators). The judges, too, have been acutely conscious of the delays imposed by the nature of the judicial process. Understandably, however, they have been unwilling to add to the delays of other litigants by giving priority treatment to many school cases. Finally, the judges knew the acute shortcomings of seeking to solve a community's race problems within the narrow framework of issues drawn between the parties in a particular suit; time and again they had been compelled to issue orders that would have profound effect on matters well removed from the case before them and they had wished for more information as well as more effective enforcement machinery.

But in hoping Title VI would relieve the courts of large school integration burdens, the judges who gave the matter much thought were aware that the courts could not abdicate completely to some administrative agency, however skilled it might be. There would be a judicial role in determining the constitutional and statutory sufficiency of administrative rules being applied to newly emerging problems. And the courts could also expect some judicial actions brought either by private persons or by the United States to enforce claims which did not appear to be protected adequately by administrative procedures under Title VI.

Thus the courts as well as the agencies administering Title VI would expect they would have to stay involved with fashioning new rules to meet new problems. A decade of experience with school integration in the courts had taught that a constantly changing process was involved. Rules adequate (or thought adequate) to deal with the problems as perceived one year were often obviously inadequate to handle problems as perceived the next year. Judicial review over such a changing administrative process would be both expected and essential. But the great bulk of day to day application of settled rules to cases that involved recurring problems would be handled not by the courts but by administrative officials grown expert in the process.

I am considerably discouraged by my current assessment of where we stand three years after enactment of Title VI. Administration of Title VI over federal school aids has recently been stripped away from the U.S. Office of Education, largely

relieving the nation's most important education agency from responsibility for one of the greatest educational problems we face. The Department of Justice apparently retains its skepticism toward use of any administrative process for dealing with racial problems (a judgment I have long assumed grew out of the litigation-oriented attitude so evident in any discussion one has with Justice officials). But for whatever reason, the fact remains that there has at no time been created a close working relationship that showed hope of permanence between the Equal Educational Opportunities program in HEW and the Civil Rights Division of Justice. And I am inclined to place on Justice the primary responsibility for stultifying the development of coordinated policies between the two groups.

In the indispensable matter of funds adequate to staff the Title VI program the Congress has been seriously derelict. Not nearly enought people, in my judgment, have been put into the process of administering Title VI over the schools. And I regard as beyond debate the failure to provide a dozen or so jobs at salary levels realistic to draw people with the kinds of skills that were essential to (1) designing necessary administrative machinery; (2) making adequate review of operational policies; and (3) thinking out longer range policies which David Seeley and the handful of able people he drew around him have been simply too busy to consider. These deficiencies have been evident from the beginning, often pointed out. But higher officials in the Administration, aware of congressional attitudes and burdened with countless other problems, never made serious efforts to enlist support needed to obtain adequate staff.

Yet with all the shortcomings considered, I would most seriously urge that any criticism directed at Title VI take the form of pressures and suggestions for making it a more effective tool in using the federal purse to break up segregated patterns in our schools.

The effectiveness with which Title VI is enforced will heavily depend on the role of the Department of Justice. Actions in the name of the United States should be commenced promptly against districts once their federal aids have been terminated through administrative proceedings in HEW. Too, Justice should intervene to re-open cases against districts which are proceeding under outmoded court orders since HEW under present rulings continues funds to districts under almost any kind of court order.

HEW itself has simply got to expand and speed the process of hearings that lead to fund termination. The Fountain amendment of 1965 did a lot to speed up proceedings where funds were held back temporarily pending termination actions but as of now there is

nothing like the quantity of administrative machinery needed to handle the volume of business that should be done. Last winter Seeley opined privately that at least 500 districts then receiving funds were falling seriously behind in meeting the performance requirements of the Guidelines. He spoke hoefully of doing "something" about perhaps half of these this year. To suffer this kind of noncompliance is obviously unfair to districts which play the game according to the rules, discredits the HEW operation itself, and - most important - deprives pupils themselves of rights that are declared by Acts of Congress and the Constitution itself.

Part II. The Courts and the Guidelines: The South

The Meaning of "Discrimination"

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act declares that no activity receiving federal financial assistance shall subject anyone to "discrimination" grounded on race, color, or national origin. The application of this policy to the distribution of federal school aids has from the beginning raised numerous question, not all of which have yet been put to rest.

In the debate that has followed passage of the 1964 Act, three possible constructions of "discrimination" have been pressed, namely that it forbids (1) more than the Constitution forbids; (2) less than the Constitution or (3) only what the Constitution forbids.

Those insisting that Congress intended more than the constitutional standard suggest as examples that federal aids should be withheld from systems that operated what the courts have referred to as "de facto" segregated schools, not impermissible under the Constitution - or, again, that Congress countenanced no discrimination by any federally aided activity and hence refused to accept the concept of gradual desegregation that had been fashioned by the courts under the rubric of "all deliberate speed."

The argument that Congress intended "discrimination" to mean something less than the constitutional standard has not been well articulated. The position is implicit for example in the argument that the HEW school desegregation Guidelines go "beyond" congressional intentions in requiring teacher integration or an end to segregated school buses (both of which the courts have declared to be requirements imposed by the Constitution).

The legislative history of the 1964 Act fails to reveal a clearcut answer to

what Congress intended the antidiscrimination policy of Title VI to mean when applied to distribution of federal school aids. There is a fair amount of general talk about having Title VI protect constitutional rights but relatively little of this is in the particular context of the schools. On the other hand there is almost no evidence to suggest that Congressional supporters of Title VI meant it to mean something other than the constitutional standard. The most natural and probable answer is that Congress meant to adopt the constitutional standard, not something more or something less.

Several practical considerations also pointed toward the constitutional standard. During debate in the Senate, then Senator Hubert Humphrey gave assurances that districts acting under court orders to desegregate their systems would be able to qualify for federal aids under Title VI. It would be at least awkward to assume that administrative standards for compliance with Title VI would be greatly different from court-ordered standards. And perhaps the most compelling practical reason of all was that in the decade following Brown the courts had fashioned a set of implementing rules, based on the Constitution and directed at the specific area of school segregation; adoption of administrative rulings fashioned from these judicial standards would avoid difficulties inherent in creating and using untested rules.

So as the U.S. Office of Education began to wrestle with problems of implementing Title VI it became necessary to decide on what construction to give Title VI. At a fairly early stage of this process it was decided that Congress had meant to embody the constitutional standard as the test of discrimination under Title VI. And it was further decided that court rulings would be looked to as guides in fixing the administrative standards. But what court rulings? After 1955 the Supreme Court had left it to the lower federal courts to work out the implementing details for carrying out the rights that the Brown decisions had broadly declared. On the matter of details the final words were coming from the several U.S. Courts of Appeal - and these courts were not in all cases saying the same things.

Of the Courts of Appeal, those in the Fourth and Fifth Circuits had the bulk of the job (the Fifth, with all but one of the Deep South States, had the most difficult task of all). But the Third Circuit (with Delaware), the Sixth (with Kentucky and Tennessee), the Eighth (with Arkansas) and the Tenth (with Oklahoma) have had problems, too, and made important contributions along the way.

Differences in view among the Circuits posed real questions in attempting to frame a unified set of HEW Guidelines. In this period the Fourth Circuit was approving loosely drawn "freedom of choice" plans that commonly applied to all 12 school

grades. The Sixth and Eighth Circuits, on the other hand, were tending to require tightly drawn plans of geographic assignment that desegregated only a grade or two a year. The important Fifth Circuit was somewhere between the Fourth on the one hand and the Sixth and Eighth Circuits on the other. Gradually breaking away from the unworkable Pupil Placement systems, the Fifth in 1963 had placed New Orleans under a carefully controlled geographic attendance zone system applicable to the first two grades that year, with unitary zoning to extend to higher grades in small annual installments thereafter. Shortly after this, however, the Fifth began approving plans based on freedom of choice. Unlike the pattern in the Fourth Circuit, however, the Fifth permitted freedom of choice only under tightly drawn plans that contained a number of detailed safeguards designed to provide adequate notice and otherwise to prevent evasions of the kinds that had been brought to the Court's attention in earlier cases. Moreover, the Fifth was not insisting that the freedom of choice policy apply to all 12 grades the first year; for the forthcoming opening of schools in the fall of 1964 it had suggested that desegregation plans had to take place simultaneously from the bottom grades up and the top grades down and that desegregation of a total of at least four grades for fall 1964 was expected.

The HEW Guidelines and the Period of "Paper Compliance"

The HEW school desegregation Guidelines made their official appearance in April 1965 and their primary thrust was aimed at the school year due to commence when schools opened in the fall of 1965. Too little time had been available to apply the policy of Title VI to the 1964 school year and thus by the time Title VI became operative, the passage in April 1965 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act had vastly increased the importance of federal school aids to the financing of public schools. Spurning federal aids now would be a much harder choice and the loss of the new funds because of noncompliance with Title VI would be a crippling blow for any school system.

The Guidelines were grounded on the assumption that the discrimination prevented by Title VI embodied the constitutional standard. Since the lower courts were not always in agreement on these constitutional standards there were times that the Guidelines had been forced to make choices among the conflicting views. For the opening of schools in fall 1964 the Guidelines recognized that either freedom of choice plans or geographic assignment plans would be acceptable options, provided that the plan in the particular case met the detailed requirements which the Guidelines had drawn from the court decisions.

From the beginning the Guidelines cautioned that performance must be the test of any plan, that the Commissioner of Education reserved the right to assess the workings of any plan, and to modify the Guidelines as needed to assure adequate enforcement of the antidiscrimination policy embodied in Title VI. The original Guidelines also made it clear that teacher segregation eventually had to go (though for the 1965-1966 school year the Guidelines largely relieved districts from doing much in that direction).

The original and subsequent revisions of the Guidelines have also expressed special concern for the use of freedom of choice as a device for pupil assignment. This grows out of a recognition that freedom of choice is a means of assignment likely to avail itself of the inertial character of community custom and to make change reliant on the kinds of initiative Negroes often find difficult to take in an unfriendly atmosphere.

The largest question left unresolved by the Guidelines from the first - and still unresolved in the court decisions - is what constitutes a fully "desegregated" or fully "integrated" school system in a constitutionally acceptable sense. The original and all subsequently issued Guidelines have carefully avoided all attempts to come up with ultimate definitions here. Given the rapid changes still taking place in this difficult area, I would urge continuing such a policy of abstention for some time to come.

The original Guidelines appeared officially for the first time in April 1965 and in the next few months the major effort in HEW was to obtain what has been called "paper compliance" by as many districts as possible for the school year due to commence in fall 1965. The policy was a concession to the realities of the situation. Only limited personnel was available for the Title VI effort and much of that personnel was inexperienced. What energies and experience it had could best be put to the task of obtaining agreement from a maximum number of districts to adopt a rather tightly drawn desegregation plan that would take effect with fall 1965. How well the plan performed its function could be examined after it had been given a try.

If one's view is confined to the objective of "paper compliance," the first phase of the Title VI operation for fall 1965 was a comparative success. On June 22, 1965, a brief but sweeping indorsement of the Guidelines came from the Fifth Circuit in the Singleton case AND broke up a particularly bad log-jam that had been encountered in Mississippi and by the end of the summer fewer than ~~200~~ 80 of some

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American Foundations News

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Volume VIII, No. 6 February 15, 1960

FOUNDATION GRANTS AND ACTIVITIES

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS

Carnegie Corporation's 1959 annual report features an article entitled "The American University in World Affairs," by John W. Gardner, the Corporation's President. He notes that the academic world has responded with vigor and imagination to America's need to recognize its responsibilities in the world and is rapidly emerging as a new source of strength in the nation's international dealings.

Mr. Gardner lists as the universities' assets in this field: production of highly trained individuals, many of whom have been attracted to the field by the urgency of the problems involved; a substantial number of great university centers for research and training; and a grasp of the ways in which they can function effectively in international activities. The universities' first responsibility is with the undergraduate, to provide him with a grasp of other cultures and the issues between nations so as to "enlarge that small segment of the population which is responsive to international issues" and can therefore support a sound foreign policy and effectively criticize a bad one. And a second responsibility is to provide graduate education for academic specialists and those planning non-academic careers in the field. Overseas experience and facility in language are important at both levels.

The author points out that American university research personnel are found all over the world; and demands are made upon universities for teaching, research, technical assistance or expert advice. A number of universities have received government contracts for overseas work, a relatively new element in their international activities. Many offer extension and evening classes on international subjects and hold public conferences on world affairs. Other manifestations of university concern in international affairs are the international conference, the exchange professorship program, and the welcome extended to foreign students.

Many of the Corporation's 1958-59 grants in this area have been reviewed in earlier issues of this periodical. Among those to U. S. institutions, not previously reported, are: $12,500 to the American Council on Education to establish a committee for educational liaison with Africa; $4,214 to Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for a conference on research in international affairs; $250,000 to Cornell University for a five-year program of training and research in the Andean area of South America; $55,500 in additional support to Michigan State University's study of overseas programs and relationships of American universities (see AFN V, p. 113; VII, p. 50); grants of $50,000 and $12,500 to the Modern Language Association to enable it to strengthen its program and hold a conference on the implications for language study of the National Defense Act of 1958; $99,475 to Northwestern University for development of new courses in world history; $3,281 to the Population Council for a seminar on African population studies; and $20,000 to Vassar College for an international conference on education. The sum of $47,000 was appropriated for a study by the Corporation itself of the international content of undergraduate courses.

British Commonwealth grants made by the Corporation during 1958-59 included: $110,000 to the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas for fellowships; and $88,000 to University College, Ibadan (Nigeria), for support over a five-year period of a two-year library training course. A total of $187,302 was appropriated for travel, primarily to North America, by scholars and administrators of Commonwealth countries (except India, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom).

Early this month the Corporation made a series of grants for research on the economic and political developments of the emerging new nations: $350,000 to the University of Chicago for a program of graduate training on problems of modernization in the

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countries which have recently or will soon achieve independence; $133,000 to the University of California for a study of leadership in the Federation of the West Indies in cooperation with the University College of the West Indies, and $85,000, also to the University of California, for a study of leadership in certain countries in middle Africa; and $200,000 to Princeton University for an inter-university study of the role of education and high-level manpower in the modernization process in emerging nations.

In addition, the Corporation contributed $250,000 to the College Entrance Examination Board for a two-year international study of university admissions policies which will cover existing facilities in certan countries, demands for higher education, identification and development of talent, preparation for study, and determination and establishment of standards.

Other recent Corporation awards concerned with international matters included: $144,000 to Western Michigan University for studies of the non-Western world; $62,000 to Columbia University for an inter-university program in Russian language learning; and $45,000 to the Church Peace Union for research on religion and the state in Asia.

Grants totaling $6,951,900 to institutions in the U. S. with programs of international interest have recently been announced by the *Ford Foundation.*

Largest appropriation was a seven-year grant of $3.5 million to Stanford University for a training program keyed specifically to the problems of business and industrial growth in less-developed countries. Graduate business schools of other major American universities will participate in the program, which will provide postgraduate training for up to 60 teachers of business administration per year from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where there is an acute shortage of managerial skill. Designed to furnish training directly applicable to the realities facing enterprise in these areas, which are quite different from those in the U. S., the program will be organized around the theme of how to induce economic change. Students will spend about nine months at Stanford and three as visiting faculty associates at cooperating American business schools. The funds from the Foundation will be used for participants who need travel and subsistence aid, faculty salaries, research costs, and administrative expenses. It is anticipated that the teaching materials developed will prove useful to foreign teachers in their own classrooms as well as to teachers in American business schools.

A $3 million grant was made by the Foundation to Johns Hopkins University for its School of Advanced International Studies' 10-year development program. Funds will be used for faculty salaries, training fellowships, library development, staff travel, publications, and toward construction of a new building. The Foundation's support will make possible closer relationships between the School and academic departments of the University; involvement of both the faculty of the School and the staff of the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research in teaching and research; expansion and improvement of mid-career training programs for international service in government and private agencies; and cooperation with Brookings Institution in research programs.

Other allocations include: $135,000 to the Association for Asian Studies for a five-year series of research conferences on the modernization of Japan and its meaning to Japanese society and other countries; $100,000 and $67,500 to Harvard and Columbia Universities, respectively, towards international exchanges of faculty members with universities in the Soviet Union (AFN VIII, p. 34); and $24,400 to Duke University for a research project at the World Rule of Law Center in its School of Law. The Foundation also contributed $125,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies as additional support for CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS, a project for which the *Rockefeller Foundation* provided $25,000.

Several organizations in the U. S. with interests in the international field received support from the *William C. Whitney Foundation* during the past two years, including: the Association for the United Nations International School, $1,000; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, $1,500 for a conference of international civil servants in Switzerland; the Farm Foundation, an additional $7,000 for the 1958 conference of agricultural economists in India (AFN VI, p. 87); Institute for International Order, $2,500 for 1959 seminars (see AFN VI, p. 87); and International Planned Parenthood Federation, Western Hemisphere Region, $1,000 for a regional conference on population and planned parenthood.

The *Lilly Endowment* has donated $30,000 to the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. In support of the "Project Hope" hospital ship of the People to People Committee on Medicine and Health Professions, the *Smith Kline and French Foundation* gave $2,500.

The *Hopkins Charitable Fund* has contributed to: the American Friends Service Committee for various projects; the Community Church of New York, American Committee for Africa, for South African treason trials; the Duke Family Foundation for the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs; and the International Planned Parenthood Association of the Western Hemisphere.

The *Hopkins Donation Fund* has assisted: the American Friends Service Committee, the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, United World Federalists, and International League for the Rights of Man.

Medical and nursing schools in the Far East have been, during the past few years, the recipients of most of the appropriations of the *China Medical Board of New York.* The majority were made payable over several years. The Board does not make grants to individuals.

For construction and rehabilitation, in the Board's latest fiscal year, a total of $347,500 was distributed as follows: $300,000, supplementing an initial grant of $450,000, to Yonsei University Medical College in Seoul (Korea) for a building for the basic medical sciences; $30,000 to Keio University (Tokyo), School of Medicine, for an animal surgery laboratory; and $17,500 to the National Defense Medical Center (Taiwan) for a building to house experimental animals.

For supplies and equipment, appropriations amounted to $356,500 and included: grants totaling $64,000 to the University of Hong Kong; $44,500 to the College of Medicine of National Taiwan University, and $30,000 to National Defense Medical Center (Taiwan); $30,000 to Gadjah Mada University (Indonesia); $25,000 each to Kurume University (Japan), Siriraj Medical College (Thailand), and the University of Malaya; $20,000 to Chonnam National University (Korea); $15,000 each to Taegu Medical College of Kyung Puk University (Korea), and National University of Vietnam; $10,000 to the University of Tokyo; and $2,989 to Tohoku University (Japan). (See also AFN VII, p. 101.)

A total of $143,000 was set aside to aid libraries in medical schools in Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, and Burma, and to collect current medical journals in Europe and the U. S. for eventual distribution to schools in the Far East. For fellowships, $215,000 was allocated for schools in nearly all the countries with which the Board is concerned. A total of 41 fellowships were activated: 10 for travel, and 31 for study, 28 of the latter for work in the U. S., two in England, and one in New Zealand.

Funds totaling $78,000 were earmarked for visiting professors, principally those going from medical schools in the U. S. to Far Eastern institutions. For research projects in the basic medical sciences, the National Defense Medical Center in Taipei (Taiwan) was awarded $12,000.

Two institutions in the U. S. received grants to support conferences of visiting fellows from abroad: the

Foundation Meeting

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the National Council on Community Foundations, Inc., will be held in Hartford (Conn.) at the Statler Hilton Hotel on May 12 and 13. The program includes topics of interest not only to community foundations but also to other foundations concerned with community giving.

Speakers dealing with the broader subjects include: James A. Perkins, Vice-President, *Carnegie Corporation of New York,* "The Private Foundation and the Public Interest"; Mrs. Frank M. Barry, Secretary, Health Council, Cleveland Welfare Federation, "The Aging Population—Challenge to Our Communities"; Hon. Mary Conway Kohler, former Referee, Juvenile Court, San Francisco, and Professor Lloyd Ohlin, Director, Research Center, New York School of Social Work, "Community Approaches to Juvenile Delinquency"; Norman A. Sugarman, Attorney, Baker, Hostetler and Patterson (Cleveland), "New Requirements and Problems in Maintaining Tax Exempt Status"; Robert E. Willison, Secretary, *Richard King Mellon Foundation,* Albert B. Wolfe, President, *Keystone Fund, Inc.,* and Frank H. Woods, Jr., Secretary and Treasurer, *Woods Charitable Fund,* "Family Foundation Opportunities and Problems."

Speaking on topics of direct interest to community foundations will be: Thomas R. Carskadon, Associate Director, *The Twentieth Century Fund,* "The Annual Report—Key to Good Public Relations"; G. Harold Duling, Executive Director, *Lilly Endowment, Inc.,* "Relationships with Other Foundations"; Russell T. Foster, Director, *Hartford Foundation for Public Giving,* J. Kimball Johnson, Executive Director, *The Cleveland Foundation,* Jack Killen, Executive Director, *The Indianapolis Foundation,* John R. May, Executive Director, *The San Francisco Foundation,* "New Uses for Seed Money." Louis S. Headley, President, National Council on Community Foundations, will open the meeting with remarks on "The National Council on Community Foundations—Its Services and Program."

Interested persons may secure details concerning registration fee and hotel accommodations from the National Council on Community Foundations, 345 East 46 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

State University of Iowa, $15,000 for a third annual conference on medical education for foreign scholars; and the Bowman Gray School of Medicine (N. C.), $5,500 to support a conference attended by 27 physicians and 3 nurses from Thailand, most of whom were in the U. S. in preparation for positions on the staff of a new medical school, as well as 12 American consultants.

Hadassah-Hebrew University has received $250,000 for its $25 million Medical Center in Jerusalem from the *D. S. and R. H. Gottesman Foundation.* To expand a vocational training program, Boys Town (Jerusalem) was given $200,000 by the *Winfield Baird Foundation.* The American Society for Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Detroit branch, has announced receipt of gifts totaling more than $100,000 from Sam Brody of the *Brody Foundation* during the past few years, and a recent contribution of $10,000 from the *Edward C. Levy Foundation.*

The National Foundation for Muscular Dystrophy has awarded $64,000 to scientists at Nuffield Institute for Medical Research at Oxford University (England) for research on scrapie, a disease in sheep, which closely resembles certain types of human neuromuscular diseases.

(See also Policy and Practice—*Phelps-Stokes Fund.*)

EDUCATION

Carnegie Corporation has contributed $12,500 to the American Alumni Council for a publishing program to educate alumni about the problems of higher education; $50,000 to the University of Omaha for scholarships in college business management for college and university business officers; $37,600 to the Institute for College and University Administrators for research and training relating to college trustees; $75,000 to the Southern Regional Education Board for a training program on the education of gifted children, and $12,000 for a national conference on regional education; and $2,400 to Syracuse University for an exploratory study of state and local finances for education, followed by an appropriation of $217,000 for a three-year research project on the financing of public education.

The Corporation's January 1960 quarterly report reviews THE OPEN DOOR: A CASE STUDY, by Burton Clark, one of the Carnegie Series (AFN VIII, p. 18), which is a sociological analysis of San Jose Junior College.

The Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges reports additional support from: *Shell Companies Foundation,* $3,500; *Concora Foundation,* $2,000; and *Woods Charitable Fund,* $1,000. (See also AFN V, p. 137; VII, pp. 86, 94.)

General Support

Union Carbide Educational Fund has allocated $50,000 for distribution to 15 state associations of private colleges in areas where the company has major operations.

Smith Kline and French Foundation reports that under its employee-gift-matching plan, during 1959, it contributed a total of $38,549 to 93 universities and colleges and 41 independent secondary schools. The Foundation recently gave $2,500 to the Foundation for Independent Colleges (Pa.); and $1,000 to the United Negro College Fund.

A $250,000 trust fund for the benefit of Harvey Mudd College (Calif.) has been established by Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Thornton. The fund will eventually accrue to the endowment funds of the college. Mr. Thornton is President of the *Foundation of the Litton Industries.*

A gift of $100,000 has been made to Manhattan College by Paolino Gerli of the *P. and P. Gerli Foundation;* and $75,000 to Texas Christian University by the *T. J. Brown and C. A. Lupton Foundation.*

Adult Education

Grants tataling $60,000 from the *Fund for Adult Education* are enabling the University of Oklahoma to initiate a separate college unit known as a "Discussion Leadership Center" similar to the project at the University of Syracuse which was also supported by the Fund (AFN VII, p. 54).

Parent education programs generally acknowledged as successful and outstanding are reviewed in EDUCATION FOR CHILD REARING, a *Russell Sage Foundation* study prepared by Orville G. Brim Jr.

Advancement of Teaching

The *National Science Foundation* has announced the award of 57 grants totaling approximately $1 million for programs in research participation for teacher training during the summer of 1960. Approximately 550 teachers of science and mathematics will participate again this year — about 400 from secondary schools, the remainder from junior colleges and small colleges. Stipends of up to $75 per week plus travel and dependency allowances are provided. (See AFN VII, p. 94.) And for 16 summer conferences for college teachers of science and mathematics, the Foundation has awarded about $275,000 to colleges and universities. More than 500 participants are expected and they will receive stipends of up to $15 a day plus travel. (See AFN VII, p. 87.)

Carnegie Corporation has made a number of appropriations for the advancement of the teaching profession or to improve teaching methods. Among previously unreported allocations listed in its latest

annual report are: $37,500 to the American Association of History Professors for a history of the Association; $5,150 to the Brooklyn Public Library for a reading improvement program; $145,000 to the University of California for research on reading ability; two grants of $75,000 to Harvard University, one for a study of college and university programs for the preparation of teachers of reading, and the other for research on teaching machines; $3,100 to Columbia University for a study of reading research; $90,000 to Northwestern University for further support of its program in teaching, research, and training in educational psychology; $75,000 to the Mathematical Association of America, which is primarily concerned with improving teaching at the collegiate level; $44,000 to Princeton University for research on the learning of mathematical principles; and $20,000 to the National Education Association for conferences of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. In the last quarter of 1959 the Corporation gave $68,200 to Hollins College for an experiment in teaching foreign languages by teaching machines.

(See also Elementary and Secondary Education and International Matters.)

Wellesley College has received a $50,000 grant from the *Danforth Foundation* to provide financial assistance for seniors and graduates preparing for teaching in the liberal arts. A bequest of $7,500 for scholarships for students planning careers in teaching at Oshkosh State College (Wis.) has been accepted by the *Oshkosh Foundation,* which will invest the funds and use the income for this purpose.

A gift of $10,000 from the *American Metal Climax Foundation* to the Colorado School of Mines will be used in a faculty improvement program.

Goddard College has received a contribution from the *Hopkins Charitable Fund* for faculty advancement.

Buildings and Facilities

Anheuser-Busch Inc. (founder of the *Anheuser-Busch Charitable Trust)* has contributed $500,000 to St. Louis University's 150th Anniversary Development Program. Funds will be used for a new Student Citizenship Center which will provide student union facilities and a "Town Hall" type of meeting place for residents of the area.

Washington University (Mo.) has received a personal gift of $500,000 from Frank J. Prince, a director of the Universal Match Corporation (which has established the *Universal Match Foundation).* Of this amount, $325,000 will be used for the remodeling and permanent endowment of Liggett Hall, and the remaining $175,000 towards a new building at the School of Dentistry.

From the *James Foundation of New York,* Fordham University has received $100,000 for use in developing its new Lincoln Square campus; and Mount Holyoke College, $35,000 towards a new health center—its third in a series of gifts totaling $100,000 made by this foundation during the past five years. (See AFN V, p. 5.)

A challenge grant of $100,000 has been made to Brevard College by the *Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation* toward erection of a new science building.

The *Rosamond Gifford Charitable Corporation* has presented $50,000 to Colgate University to assist in financing completion of the University's new library building. The Music and Art Room on the first floor of the library has been designated as a permanent memorial to the late William H. Gifford.

Mount Union College has received $5,000 for its building fund from the *Raymond John Wean Foundation,* in recognition of which the physics department office will be named after the Foundation.

Geneva College's building fund has been augmented by a $5,000 gift from the *Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation,* bringing to $10,000 contributions from this foundation which are being used for this purpose.

Curriculum and Special Projects

Carnegie Corporation has contributed $50,000 to the University of California for further support of research on creativity; $23,650 to Oberlin College for summer language programs overseas; $10,000 to Laval University (Canada) for an honors program for American students at its French Summer School; $27,200 to Harvard University for a study of corporate organizations; and $24,200 to Princeton University for exploration of the uses of simulation techniques.

The *Danforth Foundation* has announced a series of seminars on higher education to provide study opportunities for college and university personnel, as follows: University of Texas, "Improvement of Instruction"; Michigan State University, "Value Perspectives in College Teaching"; Pacific School of Religion, "Theological Dimensions in College Teaching"; Syracuse University, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, "Metropolitan Research Problems"; University of Wisconsin, "The Context for Campus Christian Work: A Study of the Work and Life of American Higher Education" (for Campus Christian Workers); University of Denver, "Counseling Needs and Directions in Higher Education"; University of Michigan, "Uses of Research in Programs for Foreign Students"; and a Washington, D. C., Seminar for College and University Presidents on the national aspects of higher education. The Foundation also provides a limited number of scholarships to these seminars, for which application should be made to the seminar directors.

Scholarships

Queens College (N. Y. C.) has received a grant of $200,000 from Charles A .Dana, President of the *Charles A. Dana Foundation,* to provide scholarships over a period of five years.

A new endowed scholarship fund has been established at Union College (N.Y.) under a $25,000 gift from the *Arkell Hall Foundation.* Recipients will be selected by the College in the following order of priority—residents of Canajoharie Central School District, other parts of Montgomery County, and the general area of New York State.

Sidney Frohman, of the *Sidney Frohman Foundation,* has contributed stock worth more than $10,000 to Bowling Green State University (O.). Income from this gift will be used for scholarships. Texas Christian University's general scholarship fund has been augmented by a $1,000 donation from the *Inland Steel-Ryerson Foundation.*

Funds provided by the *Reader's Digest Foundation* will enable the United Negro College Fund to award 66 scholarships over a three-year period. The Foundation also contributed $1,000 to the College of the Ozarks for its scholarship fund.

In cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, *Swift and Company Foundation* will provide 10 four-year scholarships, beginning in the fall of 1960. Each college in which the student enrolls receives annual grants of up to $500. Preference will be given to children of employees, but if less than 10 qualify, efforts will be made to award the other scholarships to applicants from cities in which the company has branches who plan to study animal science, agronomy, chemistry, engineering, and related subjects.

Five engineering and five commerce students from eight Midwest universities have been awarded $200 scholarships by the *Maytag Company Foundation.* Recipients are selected by the colleges.

The Director of Education of American Samoa received funds for scholarships from the *Hopkins Donation Fund.*

Secondary and Elementary Education

Again this year the *National Science Foundation* is supporting secondary-school student-training programs (AFN VII, p. 112) to help those of high ability to determine their intellectual and career opportunities in science, mathematics, and engineering. Outlay for the 1960 program is estimated at approximately $1.85 million.

The Foundation has also announced continuation for a second year of grants to 15 colleges and universities for summer institutes providing specially developed courses in science and mathematics for approximately 550 elementary school supervisors and teachers. Grants for 1960 total approximately $510,000.

For programs concerned with the improvement of education at the elementary or secondary levels, *Carnegie Corporation* has made a number of appropriations during its latest fiscal year, including: $11,500 to Boston College for a summer institute to prepare secondary school teachers to give advanced placement courses; $25,000 to the College Entrance Examination Board for support of the work of the Commission on Mathematics, as well as $32,800 for an experiment in teaching mathematics in elementary grades; $35,000 to Rockefeller Institute for a program of summer courses in science for carefully selected high school graduates about to enter college; and $38,000 to Yale University for study of the motivation for academic achievement among school children.

More recently, the Corporation granted: $81,000 to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a study of certification requirements for teachers of secondary school science and mathematics; $21,850 to Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, for a study of educational and career plans of high school seniors; and $28,000 to the College Entrance Examination Board in further support (see above) of research and experimentation in elementary mathematics teaching.

Secondary schools are included in the employee gift-matching programs of the following foundations: *Chase Manhattan Bank, Deering Milliken, National Lead, New York Trap Rock Corporation, Pennsalt Chemicals, Schering,* and *Smith Kline and French Foundations;* and *Warner Brothers Company Fund.*

The recently dedicated $1 million student union building at Valley Forge Military Academy is the gift of Richard King Mellon, founder of the *Richard King Mellon Foundation.*

The *Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation* has given Shady Side Academy $350,000 to cover the purchase price and renovation of the Academy's new Middle School.

The *William C. Whitney Foundation* has contributed to educational institutions at the elementary-secondary level, providing, during the past two years: scholarship aid for the Dalton Schools and the Steiner School (N. Y. C.), in the amounts of $1,800 and $1,700, respectively; support totaling $5,402 for the natural and physical science departments of Millbrook School for Boys (N.Y.); additional assistance amounting to $5,000 for the experimental program in reading at Sidwell Friends School (D. C.) (AFN VI, p. 91); and $2,500 in general support for the Solebury School (New Hope, Pa.).

Highlander Folk School (Tenn.) has received financial support from the *Hopkins Charitable Fund.*

The Board of Education of Chagrin Falls (O.) has been given a contribution of $2,000 by the *Giles Foundation.* A portion of the funds will be used for

a public address system in the local high school; the balance, for 7th and 8th grade special reading equipment. To establish paperback book stores in four Buffalo (N.Y.) public high schools, with a view to making good literature available to students at low cost, the *Western New York Foundation* has voted a total of $1,200.

Educational Television

In addition to the various *Ford Foundation* appropriations already reported by this periodical during the past year, the Foundation has allocated $6 million, to be matched by funds from other sources, for an experiment being conducted by the Midwest Council on Airborne Television Instruction involving the relay of television signals by aircraft flying above ground stations. The experiment, based at Purdue University, will telecast courses to educational institutions in Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin during the 1960-61 academic year.

Largest single grant by the Foundation, during its last fiscal year, was made to the National Educational Television and Radio Center—$5 million for general support over five years, with a view to helping the Center develop to the point where it can be supported by fees and funds from other sources. Another $600,000 was allocated to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AFN VII, pp. 24, 89) for continuation of "Continental Classroom" courses in physics and chemistry; and $87,580 to the Massachusetts Council for Public Schools for an experiment in teaching French by television in local elementary schools.

Television studio equipment worth approximately $80,000 has been presented to Arizona State University's radio-television bureau by the *McCune Foundation.* The gift will make possible development of full-scale educational television, including programs for dissemination over local commercial stations and closed-circuit TV college courses on campus.

Toward the operating expenses of the University of Houston's educational television station, the *Hobby Foundation* has contributed $10,000, bringing to $52,000 its contributions during the past seven years.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

A *National Science Foundation* grant of $109,980 will enable the University of California (Berkeley) to prepare a series of eight half-hour films telling the story of viruses, including their possible relationships to genes and cancer. The films are planned for use in educational television programs or schools.

The Foundation has published FUNDS FOR RESEARCH IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS, 1957-58, which indicates that operating expenditures for scientific research in U. S. medical schools has risen from $17.1 million in 1948 to $105.5 million in fiscal 1958.

The December issue of *Health Information Foundation's* bulletin deals with "Acute Illness in Two Surveys"; and the January issue with "Family Spending Patterns and Health Care." The Foundation has also published "Measuring Health Levels in the United States, 1900-1958," one of its Research Series.

Hospitals

The *Charles F. Kettering Foundation* has offered to the Seventh-Day Adventists' Columbia Union Conference ownership and operation of an $8 million, 300-bed hospital to be constructed in Dayton (O.) and to be known as the Charles F. Kettering Memorial Hospital. The Foundation will build and equip the hospital and present it to the church free of debt, on condition that it be operated in perpetuity as a denominational nonprofit hospital and that the church operate a school of nursing. The hospital and school of nursing are the first elements of a medical center being planned by Eugene W. Kettering in honor of his father.

For a new pavilion, Michael Reese Hospital (Chicago) has received $1 million from Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Baumgarten of the *Joseph and Gertrude Baumgarten Foundation,* and their two sons.

The Yale-New Haven Medical Center has announced receipt of a $350,000 gift from Charles A. Dana, President of the *Charles A. Dana Foundation,* which will make possible a new 10-room operating suite in the New Haven Unit of Grace-New Haven Community Hospital.

Towards a cardiac pavilion, the *Fannie E. Rippel Foundation* has contributed $150,000 to St. Michael's Hospital (Newark, N. J.). A $60,000 gift from the *Vernon F. Taylor Foundation* will be used by the Brookville Hospital (Pa.) for construction of a convalescent wing which will provide facilities for elderly patients who require lengthy medical care. Maricopa County Hospital Development Association (Ariz.) was given $40,000 by Motorola, Inc. (donor to the *Motorola Foundation)* in memory of Paul V. Galpin, company founder.

The *Hammond Organ Foundation* has contributed $15,000 to the West Towns Hospital Association for the new $3.75 million Gottlieb Memorial Hospital now under construction at Melrose Park (Ill.); and $10,000 to Lutheran General Hospital (Park Ridge, Ill.) for equipment. From the *Amarillo Area Foundation,* Northwest Texas Hospital has received $17,372, in the form of an interest-free loan, for improvements leading to air conditioning of a new addition; and Lincoln Hospital (Durham, N. C.), $5,000 for X-ray equipment from the *Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation.*

Medical Education

For the reorganization and development program of the School of Medicine at Stanford University, the *Rockefeller Foundation* has appropriated $3 million. Two million dollars is payable over a ten-year period, principally for faculty salaries in the basic sciences; the remaining $1 million is for the clinical research building, payable when the University has received $3 million from other sources. The school is consolidating its clinical and basic science departments, erecting buildings, strengthening its faculty, and revising its curriculum.

The same foundation has awarded $400,000, available over a five-year period, to the School of Medicine of the University of Puerto Rico to assist it in relocating its teaching hospital facilities and to strengthen the clinical teaching programs and the library. A substantial part of the Foundation gift will be devoted to remodeling the former Ruiz Soler Tuberculosis Sanatorium, which will be renamed the University Community Hospital; and another portion of the grant will be used to expand library facilities and improve library services.

To the Schools of Medicine at Creighton University and the University of Southern California, the *Smith Kline and French Foundation* has contributed $6,000 and $5,000, respectively. The first grant was for use by the new dean; the second, for equipment.

The Dental School at the University of Pennsylvania has received another gift, $50,000, from the *Leon Levy Foundation* (AFN V, p. 49).

Pharmacy

The *Smith Kline and French Foundation* has recently made several grants for education and research in the field of pharmacy: $6,000 to the School of Medicine at the University of Chicago to support the program of the new head of the Department of Pharmacology; $5,000 each to the Schools of Pharmacy at Southwestern State College (Okla.) and Auburn University, for research equipment and for the new dean, respectively; $5,000 to the University of Connecticut for equipment for the Pharmacy Research Institute; $3,680 to the School of Pharmacy of the University of Florida for a study in science career counseling and participation; $3,500, $3,000, and $2,500, respectively, to the Schools of Pharmacy of the University of Arkansas, Xavier University (La.), and Ohio Northern University, for special equipment.

Medical Research

For the current year, the *Rockefeller Foundation* has appropriated $1,143,990 for its operating program in the investigation and control of virus diseases, which was initiated in 1949. (See AFN VII, p. 91.)

The National Fund for Medical Education has announced grants totaling $637,500, $7,500 each to 85 medical schools in the U. S., for use in basic research.

Four medical centers engaged in some aspect of medical research have received unrestricted grants of $100,000 each from Texaco, Inc.: Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center (N. Y. C.), Children's Memorial Hospital (Chicago), Baylor Memorial Hospital (Houston), and the Hospital of the Good Samaritan (Los Angeles).

For research, over a three-year period, with newborn infants at Jefferson Davis Hospital (Houston), the *John A. Hartford Foundation* has allocated $172,200 to Baylor University College of Medicine's departments of surgery, pediatrics, and obstetrics. Funds will be used for two projects—a transitional care unit for newborns who are undergoing difficulties, and a miniature oxygenator. Goals are the acquisition of significant new knowledge which may lead to a reduction in the percentage of deaths during the first 24 hours of life (which is reported to have remained virtually unchanged during the past 40 years), and prevention of complications that often lead to incurable handicaps.

John Mabee of the *J. E. and L. E. Mabee Foundation* has contributed $150,000 to Oklahoma's Medical Research Foundation to enable it to make the final mortgage payment on a building constructed in 1949-50.

The *Association for the Aid of Crippled Children* has recently renewed support of three projects: studies on the metabolism of bilirubin and pathogenesis of kernicterus at Northwestern University Medical School, $11,000 per year for three years (AFN VI, p. 91); a study of methodology in congenital malformation research at the Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh, $15,000 for a third year (AFN VII, p. 26); and investigation of the transplant of animal placentas, to test various theories on antibody production, at New York University College of Medicine, Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, $2,500 for six months, supplementing previous support in the amount of $5,000.

The *Smith Kline and French Foundation,* in its latest quarterly report of grants, lists: $5,000 to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University for research in the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology; $4,400 to Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania for research in the Department of Endocrinology; $3,500 to New York University-Bellevue Medical Center; $2,500 to the Osteopathic Foundation; and $2,185 to the Agriculture Experiment Station of the University of California (Davis) for equipment for the School of Veterinary Medicine.

Helen Hay Whitney Foundation research fellowships are awarded to individuals, up to age 35, holding an M.D. or Ph.D. or the equivalent, who are considering

careers in biological or medical research, preferably relating in some way to connective tissue and its diseases. Stipends are $6,000 per annum, plus $500 for each dependent, and fellowships are provided on an annual basis, subject to renewal for a period of three years.

The Foundation also selects a small number of established investigators for support over a period of five years, subject to annual review, with preference given to past and present Foundation Fellows. Stipends start at $8,000 per annum, plus $500 for each dependent, and there is an annual increment of $500.

In addition, annual contributions of $1,000 are made to the laboratories of the investigators and the fellows. Applications for 1961-62 must be received by August 15. (See also AFN V, p. 60.)

The *Charles E. Merrill Trust* has given $24,000 to the National Neurological Research Foundation in support of its fellowship program. The entire grant will go to a scientist for basic research on the entire central nervous system.

The *Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation* makes annual awards, usually three in number, of $2,500 each for medical-news reporting in newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting.

Mental Health

Recent grants by the *Smith Kline and French Foundation* include: $10,000 to the National Association of Mental Health; $2,500 to the American Psychiatric Association in support of a remotivation project; $6,000 to Emory University School of Medicine for the new head of the Department of Psychiatry; $3,000 to the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic to assist training projects; and $2,500 each to the Child Study Center of Philadelphia towards a program of systematic observation of child interaction, Oakbourne Colony Hospital (West Chester, Pa.) toward treatment facilities for emotionally disturbed children, Pennsylvania Mental Health for Blair County Mental Health Center (Altoona) towards establishment of a psychiatric team, and Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (Pittsburgh) for publication of proceedings.

For research on the social factors affecting mental health, Cornell University has received $11,266 from *Carnegie Corporation.*

For general budgetary expenses, the *William C. Whitney Foundation* has donated a total of $3,000 to Fountain House Foundation, and $2,000 to the Menninger Foundation during the past two years. The *Hopkins Charitable Fund* is a contributor to the Institute for Psycho-Analysis.

Physically Handicapped

The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults has announced 16 grants totaling $417,852—four new grants for research to aid those crippled by cleft palate, speech defects, hearing losses, brain injury and paralysis; five for studies toward improving rehabilitation centers and the design of buildings to accommodate the physically handicapped and to promote employment of the crippled; and seven to provide renewed support for projects previously assisted.

The *Boettcher Foundation* has awarded $5,000 to the Boettcher School for Crippled Children from a special $100,000 fund set up under the Will of the late Claude K. Boettcher. The gift will be used to provide for the personal needs of some of the school's needy children. Another $275,000 Foundation contribution, in addition to that reported in AFN VII, p. 23, enabled the School to double its facilities.

With financial support in the amount of $15,000 from the *New York Times Foundation,* Recording for the Blind will launch recordings of "News of the Week in Review," which will be sold on a subscription basis, far below cost, to blind persons in the U. S.

Assisted by a $10,000 gift from the *Eugene C. Eppley Foundation,* the Nebraska Foundation for the Visually Handicapped will take over a nursery school for blind children. The Foundation donation will be used for equipment in new quarters in the C. Louis Meyer Therapy Center.

A gift of $7,500 from the *Max C. Fleischmann Foundation of Nevada* will enable the Hadley School for the Blind (Winnetka, Ill.) to make available a home-study course in German for blind students all over the world. The school currently offers 77 primary through college tuition-free courses to students in the U. S. and 45 other countries.

SCIENCE

The *National Science Foundation* has announced the award of a total of $599,200 to Massachusetts Institute of Technology for an interdisciplinary study in chemical and solid state physics which is expected to yield a more complete understanding of the properties of some of the lesser-known materials.

The Foundation has also announced the availability to about 40 U. S. citizens of North Atlantic Treaty Organization Fellowships in Science which are designed to encourage further study abroad in mathematical, physical, and engineering sciences; medical and biological sciences; and certain social scienes. Stipends amount to $4,500 for the full year and $3,375 for the academic year, with limited travel and dependency allowances.

Various college and university science programs have received support from the *Smith Kline and French Foundation* during the past few months. For research in chemistry—Moravian College (Bethlehem, Pa.), $2,000. For educational uses—Bowdoin College, $3,500 for development of a new course in invertebrate zoology; Chapman College (Orange, Calif.), $2,500 to assist its biology and chemistry programs; and North Carolina State College, $5,000 as graduate fellowship aid for advanced students in experimental statistics. For equipment—Dakota Wesleyan University (S. D.), $5,000; Dickinson College, $2,000, and Valparaiso University, $4,000, for chemistry equipment; George Fox College (Newberg, Ore.), and Juniata College, $2,500 each for life sciences equipment; and Wilmington College (O.), $5,000 for physics, biology, and chemistry equipment.

Physical Sciences and Engineering

Among contributors to the $2 million Western New York Nuclear Research Center being built on the University of Buffalo campus are: *National Science Foundation,* $425,000; Bell Aircraft Corporation (founder of the *Bell Foundation),* $375,000; and the Carborundum Company (founder of the *Carborundum Charitable Foundation).*

Motorola, Inc. (founder of the *Motorola Foundation),* has given $30,000 to Arizona State University Foundation as first payment on a $150,000 pledge originally made by the late Paul V. Galvin. The funds may be used to endow a chair of graduate engineering and physical sciences or to secure the world-wide selection of scientific journals required by the proposed graduate school being developed at the University.

The *Robert A. Welch Foundation* has recently announced grants-in-aid totaling $746,500 for fundamental research in chemistry. Included are six new grants, 24 renewals, and provision for the Foundation's annual conference and lectureship program (AFN VIII, p. 76).

The Foundation has also announced the dates of a fourth conference, "Molecular Structure and Organic Reactions," to be held November 7-9, 1960. And it has published an address delivered at the third conference by Warren Weaver, Vice-President of the *Alfred P. Sloan Foundation,* "Science and the World of Scholarship."

Details of two aspects of the *Ford Foundation's* program to advance engineering education have been announced. For visiting faculty opportunities in engineering education at 12 universities, approximately $2 million of the previously reported appropriations (AFN VIII, pp. 36, 53) has been earmarked for use over the next five years. At nine institutions, individuals from other schools may participate in activities for periods ranging from a summer to a year, with a view to bettering themselves professionally. At three of these institutions, and at three others, visiting staff members from other schools and from industry may participate in various projects for educational experimentation pointed toward curriculum development.

A second phase of the new program, for which $1.1 million of the appropriations has been earmarked over the next three years, is the engineering Fellowship - Loan program established at 10 universities. Supplemental fellowships, forgivable loans, and combinations of the two will be provided so as to make possible completion of a doctorate in engineering in a shorter period than usual. The universities will make available up to a maximum of $3,000 a year plus tuition. Fellowships from Foundation funds are not to exceed $2,000. A student may borrow up to $3,000 a year in forgivable loans if additional support is required, and if he is subsequently engaged in full-time academic activities in the U. S. or Canada, this debt is cancelled at the rate of $600 per year, but if he is not so engaged, it must be repaid at the same rate.

All applications under these programs should be made to the institutions involved.

The *Armco Foundation* provides, on a competitive basis, 21 college scholarships for students who are children of company employees or reside in communities in which company plants are located and who plan to study chemistry, physics or engineering. Twenty of these scholarships are worth $650 annually for four years; the twenty-first, given to the highest ranking child of an employee, provides $1,000 for the first year and $750 annually for the three remaining years. Privately sponsored colleges selected by the winners are given $500 annually for the duration of the scholarship. (See also AFN VII, p. 103.)

Research Corporation's Award for 1959, its 24th, was presented to Dr. Melvin Calvin, Professor of Chemistry at the University of California (Berkeley) for his research on the mechanism of photosynthesis. The award includes a $2,500 honorarium. The Corporation has provided $2,000 for research in organic arsenic compounds by a professor of chemistry at Xavier University (O.) who also received $3,250 from the Petroleum Research Fund of the American Chemical Society.

Social Sciences

To assist Brookings Institution to establish a Center for Advanced Study, which will bring to bear on public problems the knowledge of scholars and the experience of government and public affairs officers, the *Rockefeller Foundation* has appropriated $500,000, payable as funds are secured for building construction. It is anticipated that the Center will become a national headquarters for scholarly activities in Washington.

Carnegie Corporation has awarded $79,200 to Brookings Institution for a study of the appointment of federal executives, and $55,000 for a Conference on the Public Service; $127,000, a three-year grant, to Columbia University for support of the Council for Atomic Age Studies which will deal with the impact of science on society and that of society on science; $5,000 to the National Academy of Sciences - National Research Council for information on persons receiving doctorates in social sciences and humanities; $75,000 to the Social Science Research Council for conferences on national security policies; and $145,500 to the University of Massachusetts for a program of intern-fellowships in state public service.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, now the chief activity of the *Fund for the Republic,* has published BROADCASTING AND GOVERNMENT REGULATION IN A FREE SOCIETY, another of its Occasional Papers about significant issues involved in the maintenance of a free society. (AFN VIII, pp. 10, 27, 36, 54.) It deals primarily with the administration of the regulatory responsibilities of the Federal Communications Commission as discussed at meetings attended by persons experienced in this field.

Encampment for Citizenship has received funds for scholarships from the *Hopkins Charitable Fund* and the *Hopkins Donation Fund.* The latter has also aided the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, and the Friends Committee on Legislation in Southern California.

The American Council of Learned Societies has awarded prizes of $10,000 each for scholarly achievement in the humanities and social sciences to 10 college and university professors. A $4,000 fellowship for continued study of 18th century political and social thought has been received by a professor at the University of Detroit from the *Relm Foundation.*

The State of Colorado, according to an announcement by its Governor, is prepared to accept historic Boettcher Mansion as a gift from the *Boettcher Foundation.* The home contains many museum pieces, and the property is estimated to be worth $500,000. It could serve as a state museum or governor's residence.

OTHER FIELDS OF INTEREST

Aesthetics and Humanities

The arts field has received the second largest percentage of funds appropriated by the *William C. Whitney Foundation* during the past two years. Allocations included: $3,000 to the American National Theatre and Academy for the North Jersey Playhouse, as well as an additional $2,000 for its theatre in education project (AFN VI, p. 89); a total of $9,740 to Cornell University for the Willard Straight Hall art program; $1,000 to the Foundation for Cultural Experiment for the Berkshire Arts Center; $1,000 to New York Pro Musica Antiqua; an additional $12,000 to Syracuse University for the Lebrun "Crucifixion" triptych, and an additional $2,500 to Washington Institute of Contemporary Arts (D. C.) (AFN VI, p. 89); and $3,500 to Theatre, Inc., for the Phoenix Theatre.

A gift of $178,000 from the *Rockefeller Foundation* will assist the American Symphony Orchestra League to continue its workshop program for conductors of American symphony orchestras through June, 1963. Summer workshops enable conductors to gain experience by rehearsing with an orchestra of professional musicians under the guidance of a master conductor, and limited numbers of more experienced conductors may attend advanced workshops held periodically. A number of scholarships are provided to enable talented college and high school musicians to attend the summer sessions.

The *Hearst Foundation* and "The New York Journal-American" have presented to Wagner College (Staten Island, N. Y.) a matched set of six rare sixteenth century Flemish Renaissance tapestries from the collection of the late William Randolph Hearst. An 18th century French tapestry, a gift to Harvard University by the Foundation, has been hung in the newly renovated dining hall of Leverett House.

The *Ford Foundation* has announced completion of its two-year program of awards, purchase prizes, and exhibitions for American painters, sculptors, and printmakers (AFN VII, pp. 13, 99), with the granting of $10,000 each to six painters and four sculptors; the award of purchase prizes totaling $16,525 to 21 painters, sculptors, and printmakers; and the selection of five painters, one sculptor, and one printmaker to participate in a series of traveling retrospective exhibitions under the sponsorship of the American Federation of Arts.

The Newark Museum (N. J.) has been given $50,000 by Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Dreyfuss of the *Alice and Leonard Dreyfuss Foundation.* Funds will be used to maintain the museum planetarium, equip and maintain an observatory, and toward support of Sunday concerts.

Arena Stage (D. C.) has received another contingent foundation grant for its new building—$50,000 from the *Twentieth Century Fund.* (See AFN VIII, p. 40.)

Yale University has established a collection of electronic tapes of major American poets reading their own works as part of the Audio-Visual Center in the University's library. For the next few years 20 to 25 long-playing records will be released each year, thus making this material available to colleges, libraries and the general public. Financial support for the project has come from the *Blue Hill Foundation.*

Communications

Syracuse University has announced that gifts from the *Samuel I. Newhouse Foundation* will make possible establishment of the Newhouse Communications Center at its School of Journalism. The $1 million previously reported (AFN VIII, p. 69) will be used for the construction of the first unit of a new building. Another $1 million from the Foundation is earmarked for instructional programs, fellowship programs for graduate work, research in mass media, and opportunities for mid-career study by practicing professionals. The University anticipates that the Center will become the largest of its kind in the world and attract students from other countries as well as the U. S. The Center will be the Foundation's major project and be given whatever funds are necessary for its completion.

The *Thomas Alva Edison Foundation* has presented its fifth annual national Mass Media awards in the fields of television, radio, films, and children's books.

Intercultural Relations

The *Roger Williams Straus Memorial Foundation* has announced three new grants in the field of human relations: $77,500 to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, for a pilot program to combat interreligious tensions, improve interreligious new communications, and continue a program at the University of Pennsylvania to determine the origins of destructive behavior; $5,000 to World Brotherhood for its world conference program; and $2,500 to Hebrew Union College for an interfaith fellowship.

The *Rosenberg Foundation* (San Francisco) has allocated $12,000 for the American Friends Service Committee's three-year pilot study in community services for Indians at Round Valley Reservation; and $3,000 for publication of a cultural study of Spanish-speaking people in Santa Clara County, by Dr. Margaret Clark.

The *William C. Whitney Foundation,* during the 1958-59 biennium, made several contributions in this area: a total of $10,000 to the Southern Regional Council; $1,000 each to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe (Mont.) for a youth recreation program, the Phelps-Stokes Fund for a South African Institute of Race Relations, and Welcome House (Doylestown, Pa.); and $500 to the Indian Rights Association (Philadelphia) for scholarship aid.

The *Hopkins Charitable Fund* has given financial assistance to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; and the *Hopkins Donation Fund* to the National Congress of American Indians, the Association of American Indian Affairs, and the Legal and Educational Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

(See also, Policy and Practice—*Phelps-Stokes Fund.*)

Law

The Wake Forest College School of Law has received two grants totaling approximately $86,000 from the *Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation.* Up to $45,000 of these funds is for use in bringing a distinguished law professor to the School each year during a three-year period; and $41,000 is for awarding annually five three-year, full-tuition scholarships worth $550 per year over a period of five years.

With financial support from the *Fund for Adult Education,* a conference on continuing legal education was held in New York City early in January. It was designed to review what had been accomplished at an earlier conference, which was also aided by the Fund in the belief that lawyers can make a special and substantial contribution to responsible leadership in public affairs. (See AFN VII, p. 54.)

Social Welfare and Social Work

The School of Social Welfare at the University of California (Berkeley) has received a $50,000 grant from *Lilly Endowment* in support of graduate training in community welfare research for a three-year period. The *William C. Whitney Foundation* has continued to provide fellowships at the New York School of Social Work, contributing a total of $4,800 for this purpose during the past two years (AFN VI, p. 92). It also donated $1,000 to Family and Children Service of Berkshire County (Pittsfield, Mass.).

For a special project to facilitate racial and economic integration, participation in broader community affairs, and acquaintance with social services, Marin Council of Community Services has been given $13,646 by the *Columbia Foundation.*

Financial assistance in the amount of $11,519 over the next three years has been provided by the *Rosamond Gifford Charitable Corporation* for an experimental and demonstration project for the rehabilitation of alcoholics of Syracuse and Onondaga County. The program is under the direction of Syracuse Brick House and the Advisory Committee to Onondaga County on Alcoholism and Rehabilitation and is known as the Half-Way House for Alcoholics, its purpose being to test the effectiveness of certain rehabilitation measures in an environment half-way between completely independent living and institutional living.

The Hopkins Charitable Fund is a contributor to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

The *Daniel and Edith Ripley Foundation* will authorize the Neighborhood Center Association (Houston, Tex.) to operate a new neighborhood house valued at approximately $250,000, an investment made possible by a Foundation grant.

A $30,000 grant from the *Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation* to the Episcopal Diocese of Washington,

D. C., will provide support for an interdenominational project at Sargent House, a former rectory converted into a community house for aging and retired men and women where visitors are offered constructive opportunities for using their leisure time. Prior to opening, special training courses were given for volunteer assistants.

POLICY AND PRACTICE

The *Fund for Adult Education* has announced that during the next 12 to 18 months it will expend approximately $6 million, the remainder of its final grant from the *Ford Foundation* (AFN VI, p. 43), and that thereafter the Education Division of the Foundation will assume responsibility for the areas of the Fund's interest.

The adoption of the Basic Issues Program by the *Fund for the Republic* and its subsequent decision to establish the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara have resulted in a shift in activities from those of a grant-making foundation to those more analgous to a "small university without students," or "the academy of ancient times." All the consultants discuss all the questions regarding the common problem of the free society, which is the Fund's concern. The Center was established to make possible enlargement of the residential group and extension of the time that non-residential members might visit and take part in the Program. At the present rate of expenditure, the Fund's original grant of $15 million (AFN III, p. 64) will be exhausted in a few years and the Fund is endeavoring to work out a plan to continue operations after that time.

In its latest report, the Fund's President, Robert M. Hutchins, writes, "No social, economic, political theory, no theory of international relations that we have at present, is yielding us an understanding of the world we live in. Our situation has changed too fast for our ideas. The object of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is to re-examine our ideas in the light of our situation." The six areas of study have been: the corporation, the trade union, religious institutions, the common defense, the mass media, and the political process.

Applications from new students for either scholarship or loan aid will no longer be accepted by the *Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation,* although students currently receiving assistance may continue to apply directly to the Foundation for renewal of such aid until graduation or severance from the institution which they are now attending. The Foundation will channel its scholarship monies through the following colleges and universities, as part of their regular student aid program: Antioch, Barnard, Bennington, and Park Colleges; Boston, Columbia, Dillard, Howard, New York, Syracuse, and Temple Universities; and Meharry Medical School.

The *Phelps-Stokes Fund* has announced that in the future, endowment income will be used mainly for carrying out research and consulting services by staff, a shift away from direct grants to individuals and other organizations. The Fund is still committed to education of Negroes in Africa and the U. S., education of American Indians, and studies of problems of low-income families in New York City.

During 1960 the Fund will devote its major attention to: (1) publication of a report summarizing a five-year cooperative effort to improve the quality of secondary school instruction in 16 Southern institutions; (2) an inquiry into business education opportunities for American Negroes; (3) continuation of an investigation into foreign service opportunities for qualified American Negroes to serve in various activities in Africa; (4) adult education conferences on public and international affairs, for Negro and white leaders; (5) an extensive program of educational cooperation with African students and scholars in the U. S., including financial assistance, and seminars and symposia; (6) cooperation with governmental agencies in planning itineraries for distinguished African visitors; and (7) a joint research project with the *Edward W. Hazen Foundation* to obtain information about African evaluations of the types of higher education which Africans regard as useful contributions to training persons for careers in self-governing societies. It is anticipated that a book will be published as a result of this study.

The *Phelps-Stokes Fund* also plans to: publish a report of a conference on design of public housing in New York, sponsored by the Citizens Housing and Planning Council; support, in May, a symposium on "Economic Development and American Indians," to be held at the University of Pittsburgh under the auspices of the Society for Applied Anthropology; and consider scholarly publications to celebrate the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

In its biennial report for 1958-1959, the *William C. Whitney Foundation* notes that while its general fields of interest remain the same, there has been a change in emphasis in a number of categories. The Foundation has become interested in the field of conservation of natural resources and expanded support of projects concerned with economic and social planning. During the two years under review, funds were allocated approximately as follows: economic and social planning, 38%; the arts, 32%; education, 23%; and medicine, 7%. For the most part, the Foundation continues to avoid commitments for more than a single budget year, and to limit grants to organizations which are either operating in a formative period or undertaking novel experiments for which support from other sources is anticipated.

FOUNDATION DATA

REVISIONS OF AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS AND THEIR FIELDS VII AND SUPPLEMENTS

INFORMATION RECENTLY OBTAINED

OKLAHOMA

TAUBMAN—HERMAN P. AND SOPHIA TAUBMAN FOUNDATION
1500 First National Building
Tulsa 3, Oklahoma
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $303,361; total expenditures, $26,521; grants out of income, $18,141; grants out of principal, $6,964.
(There is another foundation by the same name in Texas.)

CALIFORNIA

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Financial Data (year ended September 30, 1959): Total assets, $4,389,009 (market value, $4,195,953); total expenditures, $1,490,429; total grants, $55,081.

HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1959): Total assets, $419,664 (market value); major grants, $8,450.

HOPKINS DONATION FUND
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1959): Total assets, $366,174; major grants, $9,700.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
Financial Data (year ended June 30, 1959): Total assets, $63,839,163 (market value, $89,302,206); total expenditures, $2,440,432; fellowships, $81,037.
Changes in Trustees: New Trustees: Amory H. Bradford, Richard S. Perkins. Henning W. Prentis Jr., deceased October 29, 1959.

ILLINOIS

ABBOTT FOUNDATION, THE
S. DeWitt Clough, a Director, deceased January 31, 1960.

BURROUGHS FOUNDATION
(formerly in Michigan)
c/o Northern Trust Company
50 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 90, Illinois

MARYLAND

ROSENBLOOM—SOLOMON AND ANNA ROSENBLOOM FOUNDATION
410 West Lombard Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

STRAUS—AARON STRAUS AND LILLIE STRAUS FOUNDATION
2003 Druid Park Drive
Baltimore 15, Maryland

MICHIGAN

GRAND RAPIDS FOUNDATION
Chairman: Edward C. McCobb.

KELLOGG—W. K. KELLOGG FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended August 31, 1959): Total assets, $73,921,908 (market value, $215,184,419); total expenditures, $8,147,434; total payments on grants, $7,728,598.
Herbert H. Hasson has succeeded Ned C. Fahs as an Honorary Trustee.

MISSOURI

DANFORTH FOUNDATION
Merrimon Cuninggim has been named Director Designate to succeed Kenneth Irving Brown upon his retirement as Executive Director May 1, 1961. Dr. Cuninggim will join the Foundation staff July 1, 1960.

HALLMARK EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
Box 437
Kansas City 41, Missouri

MAY STORES FOUNDATION, INC., THE
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1956): Total assets, $1,772,565; total expenditures, $288,925; grants out of income, $157,129; grants out of principal, $131,571. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher education, medical education, music, social welfare, youth.

MONSANTO CHARITABLE TRUST
Donor: Monsanto Chemical Company.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1956): Total assets, $1,118,567; total expenditures, $559,718; grants out of income, $31,133; grants out of principal, $522,481. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of agriculture and rural life, democracy and citizenship, economics, educational television, engineering, government and public administration, handicapped, health, higher education, hospitals, international matters, libraries, medical care, medical education, music, physical sciences, safety, scientific research, social welfare, youth.

SPEAS—JOHN W. AND EFFIE SPEAS MEMORIAL TRUST
Box 38
Kansas City 41, Missouri

NEW JERSEY

FRELINGHUYSEN FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1956): Total assets, $533,968; total expenditures, $76,248; grants out of income, $24,600; grants out of principal, $51,648.

LADD—KATE MACY LADD FUND
Horace K. Corbin, a Director, deceased February 5, 1960.

TURRELL FUND
Executive Secretary: Clementine B. Paulsen.

NEW MEXICO

SANDIA FOUNDATION
717 Central, Northeast
Albuquerque, New Mexico
Financial Data (year ended May 31, 1958): Total assets, $30,931; total expenditures, $1,449; grants out of income, $1,000. Grants in the fields of conservation, higher education, law.

NEW YORK

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Francis A. Jamieson, a Director, deceased January 30, 1960.

BROOKS—THE WALTER BROOKS FOUNDATION (I)
Trustees: Courtland Kelsey, et al.

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
Financial Data (year ended September 30, 1959): Total assets, $201,510,025 (securities at book value, $198,801,889; at market value, $261,244,471); total expenditures (including transfers to reserves and payments totaling $100,000 on grants of previous years), $9,856,798; grants authorized during year, $8,270,210.
R. C. Leffingwell, a Trustee, has resigned.

CHINA MEDICAL BOARD OF NEW YORK, INC.
Financial Data (year ended June 30, 1959): Total assets, $40,261,969 (market value, $52,200,290); total expenditures, $968,418; grants out of income, $808,564.

RESEARCH CORPORATION
Changes in Board of Directors: New members: Conrad A. Elvehjem, Colin B. Mackay, Lloyd P. Smith, Byron K. Trippet. Edwin S. Burdell has resigned.

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, THE
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1958): Total assets, $135,594,716 (market value, $578,661,640); total appropriations, $31,592,157.
Change in Trustees: John J. McCloy has resigned.

NORTH CAROLINA

ALWINELL FOUNDATION
Donor: Henry J. Allison.
Financial Data (year ended May 31, 1957): Total assets, $66,273; total expenditures, $12,603; grants out of principal, $12,600. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of religion (Protestant), social welfare.

ASSOCIATED FOUNDATION, INC.
Financial Data (year ended September 30, 1958): Total assets, $172,346; total expenditures, $7,300; grants out of income, $7,300.

BATTLE FOUNDATION, INC.
Donors: Turner B. Bunn, R. E. Stevens, Hyman L. Battle, Kemp D. Battle, K. P. A. Taylor, Kelsey Reges.
Financial Data (year ended November 30, 1957): Total assets, $66,804; total grants, $9,725. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grant in the field of religion.

BELK FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended May 31, 1958): Total assets, $998,640; total expenditures, $37,649; grants out of income, $37,435. Grants in the fields of education, religion, social welfare.

BELLAMY—ROBERT R. BELLAMY MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 15, 1957): Total assets, $138,991; total expenditures, $7,594; total grants, $7,250.

BLUE BELL FOUNDATION
Purpose: Religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and educational.
Financial Data (year ended November 30, 1957): Total assets, $407,734; total expenditures, $35,199; grants out of income, $225; grants out of principal, $34,136. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of elementary education, higher education, hospitals, social welfare.

BROYHILL EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $653,418; total expenditures, $3,142; grants out of principal, $1,000.

CHATHAM FOUNDATION
Purpose: Religious, charitable, educational, literary, and scientific.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $525,030; total expenditures, $60,582; grants out of principal, $56,725. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher and secondary education, scholarships, hospitals, medical education, physical sciences, recreation, religion (Protestant), youth.

CONE FOUNDATION, THE
Financial Data (year ended Ocotber 31, 1957): Total assets, $493,784; total expenditures, $270,315; grants out of income, $169,315; grants out of principal, $100,000. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of secondary education, religion (all faiths), social welfare, youth.

DICKSON FOUNDATION, INC., THE
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,023,751; total expenditures, $34,304; grants out of income, $32,735.

FINCH—THOMAS AUSTIN FINCH FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $301,253; total expenditures, $89,305; grants out of income, $13,562; grants out of principal, $75,000. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher education, libraries, social welfare.

LaFAR BENEVOLENT FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $62,169; total expenditures, $1,792; grants out of income, $1,792.

LINEBERGER FOUNDATION, INC.
Incorporated in North Carolina in 1944. Incorporators: A. C. Lineberger Jr., Henry A. Lineberger, J. Harold Lineberger, Joseph W. Lineberger. Donors: Acme Spinning Company, Henry A. Lineberger, Linford Mills, Inc., Perfection Spinning Company, Rosan Cotton Mills Company, South Fork Manufacturing Company.
Purpose: Religious, educational, and charitable.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,232,464; total expenditures, $76,508; total grants, $71,600. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher education, religion (Protestant).

LOVE—MARTHA AND SPENCER LOVE FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $103,303; total expenditures, $80,138; grants out of income, $79,489.

STOWE—THE S. P. STOWE SR. FOUNDATION, INC.
Financial Data (year ended June 30, 1958): Total assets, $68,844; total expenditures, $4,023; grants out of principal, $4,023. Major grant in the field of higher education.

THOMASVILLE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION, INC.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Assets, not reported; total expenditures, $61,581; grants out of principal, $61,052.

WINSTON-SALEM FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended August 31, 1957): Total assets $7,000,557); total expenditures, $265,095; grants out of income, $175,638; grants out of principal, $68,028.

OHIO

CLEVELAND FOUNDATION
1240 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

MATHER—ELIZABETH RING MATHER AND WILLIAM GWINN MATHER FUND
President: James D. Ireland.

OKLAHOMA

DAUBE FOUNDATION, THE
Financial Data (year ended June 30, 1957): Total assets, $387,095; total expenditures, $43,066; grants out of income, $35,677.

GAYLORD PHILANTHROPIES, INC.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $410,662; total expenditures, $11,000; grants out of income, $10,325.

GUSSMAN—ROSELINE AND HERBERT GUSSMAN FOUNDATION
1714 First National Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Donors: Herbert Gussman, Roseline Gussman, Barbara Gussman.
Purpose: Broad philanthropic.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $107,487; total expenditures, $3,435; grants out of income, $546; grants out of principal, $2,889.

NOBLE—THE VIVIAN BILBY NOBLE FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $299,874; total expenditures, $16,088; grants out of income, $16,088.

OTASCO FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1956): Total assets, $203,888; total expenditures, $47,471; grants out of income, $44,754.

WARREN—THE WILLIAM K. WARREN FOUNDATION
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1956): Assets, not reported; accumulation of income at end of year, $3,940,148; total expenditures, $836,156; grants out of income, $482,267.

PENNSYLVANIA

BENEDUM—CLAUDE WORTHINGTON BENEDUM FOUNDATION
President: Paul C. Benedum.

FALK—THE MAURICE AND LAURA FALK FOUNDATION
3315 Grant Building
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

LIT BROTHERS FOUNDATION, INC.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,000,585; total expenditures, $70,664; grants out of income, $59,797.

WESTINGHOUSE AIR BRAKE FOUNDATION (I)
William P. Witherow, a Director of the Company, deceased January 7, 1960.

TEXAS

ALDENHOVER—CARL J. ALDENHOVER FOUNDATION, INC.
1201 West Seventh Street
Fort Worth 2, Texas

AMARILLO AREA FOUNDATION, INC.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1959): Total assets, $1,147,337; total expenditures, $14,727; total grants, $12,763.

BERTNER FOUNDATION
5503 Crawford Street
Houston, Texas

BIOLOGICAL HUMANICS FOUNDATION
c/o Republic National Bank of Dallas
P. O. Box 5961
Dallas 22, Texas

BRACHMANS—S. BRACHMANS FUND, INC.
7th Floor, Trans-American Life Building
Fort Worth, Texas

BRIDWELL—J. W. BRIDWELL FOUNDATION
P. O. Box 1830
Wichita Falls, Texas

BRYCE—WILLIAM BRYCE TRUST
The Fort Worth National Bank, Trustee
P. O. Box 2050
Fort Worth, Texas
Financial Data (year ended September 30, 1957): Total assets, $1,150,988; total expenditures, $79,354; grants out of income, $64,126. Major grants in the fields of children, medical care, religion (Protestant).

BUCHANAN—THE WILLIAM BUCHANAN FOUNDATION, INC.
Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,659,686; total expenditures, $21,202; grants out of income, $18,008.

CARUTH FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended October 31, 1956): Total assets, $168,800; total expenditures, $53,686; grants out of income, $52,846.

CHILDREN'S MEMORIAL FUND

640 Bedell Building
San Antonio, Texas

CHILTON FOUNDATION, THE

c/o First National Bank in Dallas
Dallas, Texas

CONSTANTIN TRUST

2807 Mercantile Bank Building
Dallas 1, Texas

COOPER FOUNDATION

Donor: Estate of Madison A. Cooper Jr.

Financial Data (year ended March 31, 1958): Total assets, $294,605; total expenditures, $76,030; grants out of income, $54,714.

COX—ED COX FOUNDATION

2100 Adolphus Tower Building
Dallas 2, Texas

DAVIDSON—THE M. N. DAVIDSON FOUNDATION

2510 Bellefontaine
Houston, Texas

FELDMAN FOUNDATION, THE

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $474,345; total expenditures, $135,306; grants out of income, $18,237; grants out of principal, $117,069. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher education, hospitals, religion and religious education (Jewish), social welfare.

FOHS FOUNDATION

1077 San Jacinto Building
Houston 2, Texas

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,026,249; total expenditures, $86,756; grants out of income, $75,226.

FOLEY BROTHERS STORE FOUNDATION

1510 Bank of the Southwest Building
Houston 2, Texas

Financial Data (year ended January 31, 1958): Total assets, $14,897,000 (net worth, $232,671 deficit); total expenditures, $1,204,041; grants out of income, $8,000. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher education, secondary education, handicapped, religion.

FONDREN FOUNDATION, THE

Chairman: Walter W. Fondren.

HAIRGROVE—THE O. P. HAIRGROVE EDUCATIONAL TRUST

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $457,771; total expenditures, $210,043; grants out of principal, $210,000. Major grants in the fields of higher education, religious education (Protestant).

HOBLITZELLE FOUNDATION

c/o Trust Department
Republic National Bank of Dallas
P. O. Box 5961
Dallas 22, Texas

Financial Data (year ended April 30, 1957): Total assets, $7,141,282; total expenditures, $1,109,593; grants out of income, $292,560; grants out of principal, $770,426.

Director: Dr. C. L. Lundell.

JONES-O'DONNELL FOUNDATION

211 North Ervay Street
Dallas, Texas

KEMPNER—HARRIS AND ELIZA KEMPNER FUND

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,437,911; total expenditures, $60,738; grants out of income, $49,983; grants out of principal, $3,609.

KLEBERG—CAESAR KLEBERG FOUNDATION FOR WILDLIFE CONSERVATION

Trustee: Robert J. Kleberg Jr.

KLEBERG—ROBERT J. KLEBERG JR. AND HELEN C. KLEBERG FOUNDATION

Robert J. Kleberg, Jr.
King Ranch
Kingsville, Texas

McMANIS MISSION FUND

(erroneously listed as McMains Mission Fund)

Fred McManis and Carolyn McManis Trust
c/o Texas National Bank, Trustee
Houston 1, Texas

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,204,384; total expenditures, $143,544; grants out of income, $52,837; grants out of principal, $80,340.

NAVARRO COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,403,922; total expenditures, $43,903; grants out of income, $27,203. Nature of grants: Local philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of hospitals, medical research, religion (Protestant), social welfare, youth.

OLDHAM LITTLE CHURCH FOUNDATION

2217 Milam Street
Houston, Texas

Financial Data (year ended September 30, 1957): Total assets, $2,964,453; total expenditures, $210,149; grants out of income, $87,018; grants out of principal, $26,702.

PEARCE—JACK AND KATHERINE PEARCE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $335,234; total expenditures, $78,804; grants out of income, $77,506.

PERKINS—THE JOE AND LOIS PERKINS FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $228,064; total expenditures, $46,962; grants out of principal, $46,962. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of children, higher education, handicapped, religion (Protestant), social welfare, youth.

RIPLEY—DANIEL AND EDITH RIPLEY FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $739,031; total expenditures, $36,973; grants out of income, $26,000; grants out of principal, $3,675.

President: John Dreaper.

TEXAS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

1000 Continental National Bank Building
Fort Worth, Texas

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $1,616,551; total expenditures, $103,299; grants out of income, $33,700.

TEXAS NATURAL RESOURCES FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended January 31, 1958): Total assets, $66,392; total expenditures, $13,187; grants out of income, $11,371.

WEINGARTEN WELFARE CORPORATION

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $142,784; total expenditures, $101,717; grants out of income, $101,584. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving in the fields of aesthetics, aged, children, education, medical research, religion, social welfare (principally Jewish), youth.

WELCH—THE ROBERT A. WELCH FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended August 31, 1959): Total assets, $37,805,489 (market value, $50,766,256); grants approved, $340,326; grants paid out, $628,853.

WEST FOUNDATION, THE

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $2,283,741; total expenditures, $220,377; grants out of income, $163,600.

WOOD—FRANK WOOD FOUNDATION

Donors: Frank M. Wood, Beatrice H. Wood, Martin Frank Wood, Martha Kay Harrison, F. W. A. Producing Company.

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Total assets, $177,250; total expenditures, $61,638; grants out of income, $2,708; grants out of principal, $58,930. Nature of grants: General philanthropic giving; major grants in the fields of higher education, religion (Protestant), social welfare.

UTAH

BAMBERGER—RUTH ELEANOR AND JOHN ERNEST BAMBERGER MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

The Donors, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Bamberger, both died in 1958.

VIRGINIA

BARRETT FOUNDATION, INC.

Robert S. Barrett, Donor, President and Treasurer, deceased February 24, 1959.

NORFOLK FOUNDATION

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1957): Active capital, $560,422; total expenditures, $42,838; grants out of income, $42,252. Nature of grants: Scholarships. More recently the Foundation has announced the addition of three trusts totaling $722,000 and active capital of $1,267,180.

WISCONSIN

REISS FOUNDATION, THE

W. A. Reiss, Sr., a donor, deceased October 24, 1959.

Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. III, NO. 3 MAY, 1962

THOUGHTS ON PHILANTHROPY AND PHILANTHROPOIDS

Warren Weaver*

Should a foundation have a program? In the early days of the Rockefeller Foundation there was an imaginative and vigorous Trustee who used to say, "Our policy should be to have no policy." And there are circumstances under which this free-wheeling and flexible notion will work, times when no policy is in fact the best policy. But there are basic differences in this regard, I think, between large and small foundations.

It seems to me that a large foundation is almost obliged to have a defined and clearly stated program. This should of course not be immutable; on the other hand, neither should it shift and change, on the occasion of each individual decision, with the flexibility which can more properly characterize a smaller foundation.

A large foundation is far more in the public eye: not only do newspapers and the general public watch and wait for its actions, but the less numerous public of grant-seekers watches too. Accordingly, where a large foundation cannot (or thinks it cannot) take up a fair number of closely related alternatives, all equally worthy of support, it is not justified in taking up just one such, unless of course there is a strong case for aiding a single "pilot project" to demonstrate the potentialities of all the other similar ones.

Put in a different way, a large foundation cannot afford to look at the vast array of all projects through a small hole in a large piece of paper—a hole through which one can observe the attraction of that single project, without seeing the competing attraction of the others. Seen in that way a proposal can seem very wonderful indeed, wholly unique, immensely attractive. And the man proposing it can seem capable of wonders. But a large foundation simply cannot approach projects in this way. It is obliged to think wholesale—to look for the other holes in that same piece of paper. How many are there? Do they represent a total field of activity that the foundation can, or should, or wants to get into? Is there any reason—strategic, social, intellectual, or moral—for preferring the opportunity seen through this one particular hole to all the others of about equal merit and urgency? Unless the large foundation is prepared to deal with more than just the one isolated instance, it must usually decline the invitation. Indeed, unless a project is evaluated by comparison with its natural alternatives, it is not objectively evaluated at all.

No foundation, of course, can work in all the possible fields where its money might be spent. No foundation is large enough to be able to afford such an attempt, and a small foundation certainly cannot even contemplate it. For the wise spending of money requires a great deal of knowledge, coupled one hopes with a reasonable amount of wisdom. The acquisition of knowledge is a costly process, both in time and in

* Vice-president, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation; formerly vice-president, Rockefeller Foundation. These remarks are summarized from an address before the Foundation Luncheon Group in New York City, 11 January 1962.

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. IV, No. 1 JANUARY, 1963

SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Donald Young*

In the American tradition foundations, like institutions of higher learning, welfare agencies, and other benevolent organizations, are administered by trustees and officers who, with few but notable exceptions, can only be described as amateurs in the accomplishment of the objectives of such organizations. Foundations of course have problems of management involving matters of law, investment, or public relations which make it highly desirable that these fields be represented on the board of directors. It is taken for granted that directors with these skills will participate fully in the consideration of all proposals. They must nevertheless be regarded as amateurs, albeit amateurs of integrity and good judgment, when decisions must be made on technical matters of health, welfare, education, or research, and need the aid of colleagues proficient in their foundations' areas of operation.

Primary dependence of foundations on trustees who are public-spirited citizens of good ability and repute has assured high purpose and a generally high level of managerial integrity. It is a pattern of management which worked especially well in the less complex days when it was established, and still can work well when a foundation operates in a relatively small community or has a comparatively simple task, such as the distribution of its income to well-known agencies for their established programs. On the other hand, the disregard of many modern broad-purpose foundations operating in our involved urban society for specificity in trustee knowledge and experience has permitted the development and persistence of excessive anti-intellectualism in concern with social affairs, dependence on superficial information in decision making, and self-imposed isolation in operation. Note that it is said that these traits are excessively prevalent, not that they are all-pervading.

Foundation Anti-Intellectualism

Anti-intellectualism may be thought too strong a term to use in referring to foundations' general practice of plunging ahead with projects and programs of social amelioration with little or no regard for preparatory research or later evaluative review. Certainly their major emphasis on education and on research in the physical and biological sciences is evidence that they are strongly pro-academic in matters concerning the material world and life itself. In contrast, attack on the problems of social living, of people getting along together in communities, in nations, and in a world made up of troubled nations, commonly is thought to require action without the delay and expense incident to rigorous study. Also, it is humanly more interesting and rewarding to deal directly with people's woes than to study their origin and nature in the hope that the resulting knowledge will lead to improved ameliorative and preventive measures.

Acceptance by foundation managers of the popular view that social questions are best answered by common sense and a warm heart encourages dependence for proposals, and advice in decision making, on like-minded individuals. Friendship

* President, Russell Sage Foundation. These remarks have been adapted from "Philanthropic Foundations, Sociology, and Human Betterment," an address before the 1962 meetings of the American Sociological Association. The full text of Dr. Young's address is expected to appear in an A.S.A. publication.

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. IV, NO. 3 MAY, 1963

FOUNDATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FUTURE

Mortimer M. Caplin*

At one time, I considered myself something of an expert on foundations. As an attorney, I have helped to organize them. I have served as a foundation consultant, and as a foundation trustee. My sympathies, then, if not any great fund of knowledge, are attuned to your problems. And my present position as Commissioner of Internal Revenue is a distinctly dual one, since the Commissioner not only administers a far-flung agency having some 60,000 employees but, just as importantly, he operates as the only non-civil servant in that agency. In this sense he represents taxpayer interests as well as those of the government—and this aspect of my job is one I personally take most seriously. I want to make sure that we are taking account of what is convenient for the taxpayer, and are refraining from overzealousness. I am striving to develop a real measure of reasonableness in our operations—in short, to stand for good sense and balance as well as for the long arm of the collector of taxes.

Congress, and the People

Congressman Patman's recent inquiries have once again turned the spotlight onto foundations and their place in our society. I need not rehearse his findings, both tentative and definite, except to indicate that, in his view, the Internal Revenue Service is not the proper agency to exercise truly effective supervisory control. This also happens to be my own view, if the kind of supervision and control exercised, for example, by the Securities and Exchange Commission over investment companies and public utility holding companies, should ever become necessary.

Public attention has, however, been directed toward foundations, with a strongly issued invitation that a long, close look be taken. How does the Revenue Service fit into this developing picture? I think it fair to say that before 1961, certainly, our audit pattern was rather heavily oriented toward the "most productive" situations—i.e., toward an examination of those tax returns where deficiencies seemed most likely. This was a rather short-sighted approach. Of the more than $99 billion collected in taxes last year, fully 97% was either voluntary or pre-collected as withholding. No country in the world can match such a record of compliance—it is truly the heart of our taxing system. Taking the longer view, I concluded, shortly after becoming Commissioner, that what was most needed, and what the Revenue Service could most usefully help to accomplish, was a further strengthening of public confidence in our taxing system. By looking into areas of abuse, and of potential abuse, we seek to build public confidence in the overall fairness of American taxation and establish in the public mind a sense of administration without favoritism, across the board.

The Internal Revenue Service

Accordingly, the Revenue Service has modified its audit pattern. We are examining much more heavily in areas which may indeed produce no deficiencies, and thus no revenue for the govern-

*Commissioner of Internal Revenue. These remarks are based upon an address before The Foundations Luncheon Group, New York City, delivered 31 January 1963.

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. IV, No. 5 SEPTEMBER, 1963

WHAT THE NEW FOUNDATION EXECUTIVE SHOULD KNOW

James A. Perkins*

I don't think it is really possible to advise a new foundation officer: he must create his own universe. I have helped to break in a good many younger officers in the Carnegie Corporation and I can remember very well what the man who hired me, Charles Dollard, said when I first arrived: "In the end every foundation officer must be his own foundation."

I do however have six things I want to say which may or may not be useful to a neophyte foundation officer. And each of these six points is, in turn, a series of propositions that must be formulated in balanced pairs. For in the end, the art of management—be it a foundation, government bureau, or business enterprise—really involves the skillful business of dealing with what seem to be antithetic, balancing, even contradictory forces.

1. Freedom and Control

A foundation has to work between two very powerful imperatives—freedom in the public interest, and public supervision in the public interest. The foundation is, under the first heading, part of the private world with which we and all free and pluralistic societies are familiar. It operates outside the direct control of government, and is frequently protected from direct or even indirect control by public authority itself. It is supposed to be spending most of its time, energy, and certainly most or all of its money on matters in the private domain. Its board is supposed to be free from outside control. Its officers, subject to board authority, are in turn supposed to operate in the private domain and, typically, to work with other philanthropic enterprises.

The other side of this coin, however, is that in most cases foundations are also agencies created by some public act, either a state charter or occasionally a federal charter, subject to the scrutiny of the state authorities who have issued the charter and subject to the scrutiny of those who have a responsibility for seeing that the tax exemption enjoyed by these private agencies is being justified by their activities. At one and the same time, therefore, we have an agency dedicated to the concept that it is important to have free institutions preoccupying themselves with the public welfare, but an agency in a sense publicly regulated and continually to be supervised in terms of its actual devotion to the public interest.

Foundations have been through a series of public discussions as to what this appropriate balance is and I would say to the new foundation officer that he should become intimately acquainted with the Congressional investigations of the 1950's, the first headed by Representative Cox of Georgia, the next by Congressman Reece, and the current one by Congressman Patman. There is also the increased interest of federal agencies, particularly the Internal Revenue Service. These are very important investigations, in good part because they

*President, Cornell University; formerly Vice-President, Carnegie Corporation of New York. Mr. Perkins' remarks are adapted from an address before New York University's Sixth Biennial Conference on Charitable Foundations; a full text will be published, later this year, in the Conference *Proceedings*.

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. IV, No. 6 NOVEMBER, 1963

GENESIS OF A COMPANY-SPONSORED FOUNDATION

D. W. Bennett*

In the manner of some would-be tycoons, I have taken the liberty of constructing a mammoth financial empire, using as my ingredients paper, imagination, guts, and foolishness. Unlike my predecessors, who found it necessary to flee to Brazil when their empires collapsed, I intend to unveil my masterpiece and then, when it has served its purpose, I propose to dissolve it.

My fictitious firm was incorporated 77 years ago. It has no name but it does manufacture products and it has been able to sell them at a profit most of its life. For the most part it has benefited from good management though, as we shall see, management's philosophy has not been consistent.

If you had asked our company's first president about corporate giving he would have stated that the company is not giving an inch and that he doesn't believe in the union movement anyway. In those days our company, like most others, was made up very simply of laborers and white collar workers. None of the former and very few of the latter were college graduates. Our president of course had an engineering degree. His interest was in keeping wages down, prices up, and profits handsome. His successors have similar interests but their ways of achieving them are different.

In the Beginning

Our company's second president (1902–1920) carried on most of his forerunner's policies. I mention him in this brief history only because he authored the company's very first gift to education and thus established a precedent that still makes its weight felt today. In 1911, at the insistence of his youngest son, he bought in the company's name and with company funds (properly voted) a half page advertisement in the commencement program of the local high school. His pioneering contribution set the following standards:

(1) If the company is forced into giving, it should give locally.

(2) If it must give, it should give where it will help employees, relatives, friends, or those in a position to help the company.

This gift also gave growth to another pair of precedents, neither particularly healthy. First, favor the president's favorite charities, and secondly, you-give-to-my-charity-I'll-give-to-yours. This is also called the same-country-club-approach. It grew to mighty proportions in the late forties and still persists to a less virulent degree.

So much for our second president.

President No. 3

President number three was a great man, a big brute of a man who first took the company over the $100 million mark in sales. He was educated in the best sense of the word. He started the company's research department and he had a terrific knack for getting along with the scientists in the lab. He loved music and the arts. He loved the sounds of the factory and he liked the town where the factory was located. He sold the board and the stockholders on the idea of doing some

* Assistant Executive Director, Corning Glass Works Foundation.

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. V, NO. 1 JANUARY, 1964

A CASE FOR REPORTING BY COMPANY-SPONSORED FOUNDATIONS

Frederick H. Osborn, Jr.*

One of the great mysteries in the world of philanthropy is why so few company-sponsored foundations publish annual reports. The great majority of the some 1,700 company-sponsored foundations do a wonderful job for the community. Why more than 1,650 of the 1,700 feel constrained to hide their light under a bushel, to render their actions suspect with a cloak of secrecy, and to neglect this time-saving way of communicating with the public is difficult to understand. Although a company-sponsored foundation's funds belong to the foundation and can be used at the discretion of the trustees, they come from several sources to which the foundation trustees owe an accounting. First of these are the company's stockholders, for the funds are taken out of profits. Second are the employees, who have an interest because the foundation's money could have been paid in wages or bonuses. Last, but not least, is the government, or if you will, the general public, which has an interest because it pays its share by according tax exemption to the foundation. Because of this threefold obligation, company-sponsored foundation funds are OPM—Other People's Money.

For Reporting

The argument for publishing a report starts with the premise that when you handle other people's money you should tell the other people how that money is spent. The government is the only one of the three interested parties requiring a regular report—the 990-A Form which must be filled out for the Internal Revenue Service. But this report is not very accessible to the public, and is incomplete in some respects.

While responsibility indicates an obligation to publish a report, reason points out a number of possible practical advantages. A report is likely to produce good will. It might reduce correspondence by clarifying the foundation's areas of interest to prospective applicants. There might be advantages in having a public report in the event the Revenue Service should decide to investigate what the foundation is doing, or in the event that a congressional committee should conduct an investigation. A report certainly will force whoever is preparing it to do some constructive thinking about the purposes and operations of the foundation. It will serve as a readily available record. It will make possible constructive criticism from outsiders who, uninformed, might remain mute.

The Negative View

Arguments for not reporting are legion. There is the fear that stockholders will complain (after all, the foundation is giving their money away—don't rub it in). The report will open a Pandora's box of requests. The multitude of turndowns will alienate more people than the grants befriend. The 990-A Form is a report—why produce another?—it will just invite the government to investigate. Put your cards on the table and some-

* Executive Secretary, Smith Kline & French Foundation

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. V, NO. 2 MARCH, 1964

Foundations "General"

PHILANTHROPY AS A SOCIAL INVESTMENT

Everett Case*

Among the basic freedoms which we claim as American citizens, the freedom to give is seldom, if ever, mentioned. Nevertheless, it is a freedom which, as citizens, we will doubtless be exercising this year to the tune of some $10 billions. Its exercise is subject, moreover, to none of the artificial limitations which still hedge, in varying degree, the general enjoyment of certain other civil rights. And the figure I cite refers to private philanthropy only. Whether or not this is sharply distinguished from government largesse, either at home or abroad, it is small wonder that American philanthropy has come to be regarded as one of the distinctive and, indeed, creative contributions of our culture.

Ten billion dollars, to be sure, is hardly more than 2 per cent of the total personal income of the American people, and it is only about 10 per cent of our current federal budget. Its strategic importance, however, is not to be measured in arithmetic terms, for the elimination of our private philanthropy would leave an economic, social, and moral vacuum of very large dimensions.

True, government revenues would doubtless rise somewhat if the tax benefits attached to certain kinds of gifts were also eliminated, but if government set out to fill the vacuum itself, the rise in costs would be disproportionately sharp. Besides, there are constitutional barriers to government support of churches, for example, which now rank first among the several beneficiaries of voluntary giving. With respect to schools, colleges, and hospitals, moreover, you would likewise resist as a citizen any abrogation of your freedom to direct your gift dollars, for example, to "the college of your choice." Indeed, this freedom which we take so much for granted turns out, upon examination, to be pretty close to basic, and it would be a curious sort of free society that attempted to deny it.

Fortunately, the encouragement of private philanthropy is today an integral part of public policy as reflected in our tax laws, federal and state. Evidently an overwhelming majority of our legislative representatives firmly believe that, in our philanthropic as well as in our business and political concerns, there is virtue in the diffusion rather than the concentration of the decision-making power. This is in notable and obvious contrast to the organization of Soviet society, where the social surplus, if any, is allocated by governmental fiat. I suggest it is one of many contrasts in which we, as Americans, can take pride. If this particular contrast ever becomes less vivid, let it be because of a change in Soviet rather than American policy, even though the latter appears in the guise of tax "reform." . . .

Problems of Growth

Looking at the foundations, one realizes that their proliferation has been a phenomenon of recent times; according to the Foundation Library Center, they now number somewhat more than 15,000, with estimated total assets of some $14 billions. To be sure, the growth in their resources over the years has hardly exceeded the expansion

* President, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Mr. Case's remarks are adapted from an address before the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation, 29 October 1963.

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Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. V, NO. 3 MAY, 1964

NEW IDEAS FOR CITIES AS LEARNED FROM FOUNDATION GRANTS

Paul N. Ylvisaker*

I am often asked whether all the millions foundations have spent under the label of improving urban community life have yielded important results. In answer, I would say the accomplishments of foundations have been considerable.

Former Pittsburgh mayor, David Lawrence, and his successors in City Hall, could tell you what part the Falk and Buhl Foundations, and the several Mellon funds, have played in that city's renaissance. Mayor Naftalin could tell you about Louis W. and Maud Hill Family Foundation in the life of Minneapolis-St. Paul and the Northwest. Mayors Clark, Dilworth, and Tate could tell you what it has meant to have Samuel S. Fels Fund providing research, training, and consultant help in Philadelphia. New York still owes much to Russell Sage Foundation, which was the financial name behind the New York Regional Plan in the 1920's—the "granddaddy" and model for the regional planning movement in the United States. And no listing would be complete without including the many examples of enlightened corporate and community foundations.

But I am also frank to say I do not think the potential of philanthropy in contributing to the solution of community problems—especially urban community problems—has been more than barely realized. There are a number of reasons.

One is social lag. Just as generals too often find themselves fighting the last war, foundation trustees frequently find themselves engaged with yesterday's problems. The community archaeology is retraced in each successive round of annual giving. Hostages are given to concerns of the past until the foundation's annual report and so-called free funds freeze into ancient history. For a mayor to get risk money from such a foundation for work on new problems would mean fighting a David and Goliath battle with the past. I wouldn't blame him if in many cases he decided the battle wasn't worth the effort.

Another reason is hidden in the first. The areas where mayors and communities most need foundation help are also likely to be the hottest spots in the municipal kitchen. Our cities could use some help breaking through obsolete building codes; finding paths through the political minefields of tax policy; experimenting with new patterns in race and labor relations; developing cures and preventive medicines for municipal corruption; devising new approaches in local-state-federal relations; improving living environments and transportation systems; exploring alternatives to the present systems of welfare and relief; etc., etc. But these are tough issues, and whoever tackles them has got to be ready to live with controversy and uncertainty every step along the way. Not strange that many a foundation would choose some easier or more familiar fields in which to work—not strange, but given the potential and purpose of philanthropy, most regrettable.

A third reason—again related to the others—is that foundations and municipalities have tended to live in separate worlds. The former dwell mostly in the world of education, research, charity, and the "long run;" the latter in the world of action,

* Director, Public Affairs Program, Ford Foundation. This material is adapted from an address before the American Municipal Congress in Houston, Texas, 12 August 1963

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. V, No. 4 JULY, 1964

HOW FOUNDATIONS EVALUATE REQUESTS

Yorke Allen, Jr.*

For those who have asked foundations for grants, it may be of interest to gain some idea of the questions which arise in the mind of a foundation executive as he gazes at the pile of requests stacked on his desk in front of him. Here, as briefly as possible, are seven steps which may be taken in a foundation before an affirmative decision is reached concerning a proposal.

Step 1—Judging Significance

The first step in the evaluation process is to analyze the proposal and ascertain its essential significance. Foundation executives are obliged to review many and varied appeals in the course of a day. Hence, fund raisers are right in suggesting that the initial written request or covering letter should be short—one or two pages—describing the proposition accurately and completely. It is also helpful when the organization making an appeal attaches to its request a balance sheet, income statement, and budgetary estimates setting forth its own financial position.

If a college president sends a letter asking, let us say, for a grant of $500,000 with which to build a dormitory, there is not much difficulty analyzing such an appeal. But the evaluation of proposals involving specialized research or brand new projects in the field of human values is not so easy. If these projects have never previously been attempted, all of the important aspects and consequences of their operations must be accurately conceptualized. Occasionally, it is not even a simple matter to evaluate the work of a well established and highly regarded agency. In the case of one agency in the field of social relations, I talked with three of its officials over a period of six months but was unable to obtain from them what was for me a sufficiently clear impression of the factors which made that organization "tick." Recently the agency's director stopped by our office for the first time, and as a result of his account of his day-to-day activities it finally became clear to me why this organization is so successful in its work.

The foundation executive must distinguish on the one hand between projects which are plausible and articulately described but lack substance, and those proposals on the other hand which seem to have some real or potential merit but also suffer important defects. In this sorting out process, it is curious how an agency's financial statements will disclose not only its fiscal position but also its administrative efficiency: a complex financial statement frequently reflects on obsolete organizational structure, or overlapping and ineffective operating procedures; whereas a simple, straightforward format often indicates efficient management.

As a means of judging the degree to which a requesting organization is committed to its proposal, a foundation executive will check to see if the request has been sent by the head of that organization or by one of its subordinate officials. In the latter case, the subordinate may be the only person interested in the appeal. But even when the request is signed by the president, executive director, or general secretary, the signature may merely indicate their concurrence

* Associate, Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This material is adapted from an address at the "Conference on Voluntary Giving for American Christian Institutions," 13 February 1964

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Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. V, NO. 5 SEPTEMBER, 1964

THE ECONOMIC FUNCTION OF FOUNDATIONS

Philip S. Broughton*

No institutions have ever developed into mature effectiveness without suffering a good many slings and arrows. If foundations have been uncomfortable since the successive inquiries of Cox and Reece and Patman, and the IRS, they now have a better understanding of how others may see them, —others, that is, who are not wholly entranced.

The foundation officer in the beginning was a benign doer of good. He was the giver of scholarships in a society which did not regard universal unlimited education either as a natural right or an economic and military necessity. He was fighting external enemies—the boll weevil, pellagra, malaria, infant mortality—accepted as the common enemies of all. To *do good* was to sequester the poor and the orphan, not to examine the causes and cure of poverty or broken homes.

As philanthropic practice turned from palliatives to inquiry into underlying causes, the new focus carried an implicit criticism of society and its arrangements. It is small wonder that foundations came under attack. There is no obsolescent structure—social, economic, institutional, or politic—but someone has a vested interest in it. The makers of buggy whips were not in the vanguard of the fight for better automobile roads. The voters, heavily overrepresented in a rural gerrymander, take unkindly to a scholarly study of legislative apportionment. Criticism came from many sources. And, as is usual in democratic society, a series of analytical commentaries in defense of foundations have come from officers and trustees. A new mood of self-examination is with us. Let us identify three main lines of criticism.

* Secretary, The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust

The first has to do with integrity and propriety. With more than 15,000 foundations of record, there must be some so ill-staffed, so small in resources, so responsive to personal whim, so contrived for mere tax avoidance, so without demonstrated public service program, that they are deplorable. There would be some sour apples in any business with 15,000 units. Certainly, it would be helpful to the reputation of all legitimate foundations if legal quackeries masquerading as foundations were eliminated.

The second group of criticisms has to do with policy and management procedure, the nature and quality of foundation programs. Do foundations give too much to health, too much to education, too much to research? Do they give too little for endowment, buildings, general operations, or too much? Are they timorous? Are they too obsessed with the experimental? Are they bureaucratic? These are policy and management issues of the kind that plague every business and every public institution. Constant scrutiny of operations is the price of productivity in any field.

The third is an attack upon the economic function of foundations in our economy: a denial or implied denial that they contribute to the dynamics of the management of public service institutions, institutions which have a singular tendency to become lethargic, bureaucratic, non-innovative. In this third area of attack, the fork has a public and a private prong.

Prong One: Let government do it all. As put by one of Leo Szilard's dolphins, he "was puzzled why money which would otherwise be taxed away . . . should be permitted to go to foundations when obviously foundations never did anything worth-

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Foundation News

Bulletin of THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

VOL. V, No. 6 NOVEMBER, 1964

WHEN COLLEGES APPROACH FOUNDATIONS

Thomas Broce*

Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the techniques employed by the growing number of college development officers in their relationships with foundations. These questions are asked frequently: 1) At what administrative level should the college or university conduct negotiations with foundations? 2) What should be the relative position of exposure and responsibility of the development officer in these negotiations? 3) How deeply must the development officer be immersed in the thinking of his institution to serve effectively in this area? 4) When should the institution have a representative call on a foundation? 5) What should happen when that person comes face to face with the foundation official? These questions require answers if college and university relations with foundations are to be maintained on a high professional level with mutually satisfactory results.

How to be Unprofessional

Most persons associated with fund-raising for higher education are familiar with the college president who wanders into a foundation office, announces that his college is planning great things, then concludes by saying, "We need your help." This illustration of a nonprofessional approach to foundation relations is akin to the example of the college trustee who approaches a friend of a friend who is a foundation trustee to "make sure that his school's request gets favorable consideration by the foundation."

A third nonprofessional approach criticized often by foundations is the random "door knocking" technique. In this case, the college administrator makes little or no attempt to identify and match the programs of his institution with the interests of the foundations, but relies on telling foundation officials about the virtues of his institution and asking for money. This abuse is heightened when the college official is aware that the foundation has long had a policy of supporting a particular interest, yet continues to ask for unrelated support.

The Professionals

Fortunately, a growing number of institutions are attempting to conduct foundation programs in a professional manner (though the frequent wry remarks of foundation officials would indicate the number is as yet far too small). What comprises this increasing professionalism? Careful background research and preparation before any attempt at liaison. In these instances, it is the responsibility of the development officer to identify those foundations most likely to have an interest in supporting the institution or its particular program.

This sorting out is accomplished by: 1) referring to reliable directories for the basic information; 2) careful screening of the many sources available which periodically report current foundation grants and programs; 3) reading foundations' most recent annual reports to determine if their interests and objectives match those of the institution's projects; 4) exacting review of the new Forms 990-A filed by foundations with the Internal Revenue Service and made available in the libraries of The Foundation Library Center.

It is in this latter area (surveillance of 990-As) that development officers leave a good deal to be desired. Too few are willing to put in the time and

* Foundation and Governmental Liaison Officer, Duke University

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Answered phone Sept 29, '53

Miller & Rhoads
INCORPORATED
RICHMOND 17, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
SEP 28
Southern Regional Council

September 25, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

First, I want you to know that I have not forgotten your request, that came just before I went on vacation, for a contribution from Miller & Rhoads. I intend to discuss it with Webster Rhoads just as soon as he returns to the store from an illness. Secondly, I have a bit of advice that I would like to get from you in my capacity as president of the Richmond Area Community Council. I have a feeling that you can be more helpful than most anybody else in the country.

Here is our problem. For a number of years, the Community Chest contributed to the Richmond Interracial Commission which was a branch of the Virginia Interracial Commission. A Community Council study of last year discovered that the Richmond Interracial Commission had become inoperative and that the Chest funds were merely going to the State organization for its general purposes which were primarily in the field of migratory labor.

The committee that suggested that this interracial contribution be dropped also suggested that the Richmond Urban League be given the overall responsibility for the coordination of racial matters in Richmond. I had served on the board of the Richmond League some years ago and it did not seem to me that they were capable of doing an efficient job in this connection. This was primarily because they have a Negro secretariat. I discussed this phase of it with their Executive Secretary and some of their officers and they agreed with this thinking.

At the moment, we believe that it might be wise to set up a committee or commission within the Community Council framework to serve as the overall coordinating agency on racial matters. I am fair to tell you that we have in mind being ready for whatever decision the Supreme Court may make in the school segregation question before it.

Can you give us suggestions as to how this coordination of racial matters is handled in other communities and if we should attempt to set up a Council Committee, what might be its best methods of procedure? Anything else that you would care to throw into the hopper, we would be most interested in knowing.

Certainly hope you and yours are well and happy and would love to see you the next time you come this way.

With kindest personal regards,

Cordially,

Bill

William Ellyson, Jr.
Director of Public Relations

WEJr/ow

August 30, 1963

Miss Eleanor Nissley
Publications
Russell Sage Foundation
230 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Nissley:

Thank you for your letter of August 25 re Edition 2 of The Foundation Directory. Enclosed is our check in the amount of $10.00 for the Directory when it is released. If this amount does not cover the full cost, please let us know and we will issue a check covering the unpaid balance. On the other hand, if our check exceeds the full cost, I'm sure your office will make the adjustment.

Received 1/7/64 MMJ

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

230 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Tel. 212-689-6622

ELEANOR NISSLEY
Publications

26 August 1963

MJ

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Edition 2 of The Foundation Directory is still in preparation with no completion date set, but we hope to have copies by November.

We shall be glad to send you an announcement when it is ready.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Nissley
Publications

N:n

P.S. ~~No definite price for Edition 2 has~~ yet been set, but it is quite likely that it will not exceed $10. If you wish, an advance order may be placed.

Good. Shall I have this ordered?

MJ

August 20, 1963

The Russell Sage Foundation
505 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

Gentlemen:

We have in our library the 1960 edition of The Foundation Directory, Ed. 1, but it would be helpful for our purposes here to have a later edition if one is now available. Would you, therefore, be kind enough to quote the price of any later printing which you might have released. On the other hand, if nothing later than the copy which we now have has been printed, would you let us know of any plans which you may have for releasing an up-dated edition?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

January 18, 1954

Mr. John D. Rust
The John Rust Foundation
508 Simmons Building
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Rust:

Thank you for your nice letter. I am sorry they have made you carry your matter on up. Is it to go to the U. S. Supreme Court or to the Alabama Supreme Court?

I will write you again later in the year when we will all hope that everything will have been decided in your favor.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

May 19, 1955

The Raymond Rich Association
860 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

The Russell Sage people referred a friend of ours to you some months back as having in process then a helpful publication on foundations.

Will you let me know what it is and what it costs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 16, 1955

MAY 19 1955

Dear George:

I promised to send you the name and address of the organization that Russell Sage referred me to for information on foundations. Here it is:

Raymond Rich Association
860 Broadway
New York, N. Y. Algonquin 4-9980

They had a publication on foundations in process when I talked with them and it was to have been published, as I recall it, last fall.

Warm regards,

Josephine Wilkins

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

GC 70

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

330 WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET • NEW YORK 36 • N. Y.

CAROL KIER
Book Manufacturing and Sales

October 28, 1955

NOV 3 1955

GUIDEPOSTS FOR THE FUTURE

AMERICA'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES: A NEW SURVEY has been hailed by the New York Times in a page one book review as "even more than its predecessor, a basic source book on the American economy."

Here are guideposts to the future, with facts you need for your own business planning. Here is a startling analysis of the progress of the recent past (a workman today in a 40-hour week produces as much as an 1850 workman laboring three weeks 70 hours a week!), a look at what is ahead in technology, and projections for the economy as a whole into 1960.

This book was prepared by J. Frederic Dewhurst, executive director of the Twentieth Century Fund, assisted by a distinguished group of experts in various fields. Its 1148 double-column pages with 352 tables and 105 charts are, said Benjamin Masse in America, "a monumental achievement . . . the richest source of information about the American economy available in a single volume anywhere. Technically, it is a superb job; the graphs and tables alone are worth the book's price."

AMERICA'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES makes essential reading for today and will guide your planning for many years to come. It is available at $10 and will be sent on approval, if you wish. An order form is enclosed for your convenience.

Very truly yours,

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

AMERICA'S NEEDS & RESOURCES

A NEW SURVEY

A BOOK THAT documents the full power and promise of the American economic system. . . .

". . . the most detailed, comprehensive, and authoritative description of the American postwar economy so far produced, or likely to be," said the *Saturday Review*, and ". . . a research study that will influence planning in many companies" *(Dun's Review & Modern Industry)*.

This new comprehensive survey brings up to date the vast panorama of our achievements; assesses our present strength; and provides an informed look at our future potential to 1960.

With a major focus on the postwar boom, the long-range upsurge of the economy, and the significance of our expanding economy for the future well-being of our nation, this volume gives extensive attention to such factors as technological advances, new products and techniques, welfare, and their effects on American productivity and the economy as a whole.

Its pages spotlight the great changes of the recent past. Consider the swing to chemical fibres, illustrated by women's hosiery: in 1939 shipments were 88 per cent silk, 6 per cent rayon, 6 per cent cotton,

File Foreign Donors General

This is old but can be helpful, possibly

FOUNDATIONS CULTIVATED
AS PER THE ATTACHED LTR
FROM FRANK LOESCHER

Mailed August 21, 1956
Mailed August 22, 1956

B. and J. Association
177 North State Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Louis D. Beaumont Foundation
820 National City Bank Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

The S. Brachmans Fund, Inc.
706 Commercial Standard Building
Fort Worth, Texas

W. C. and Sarah H. Bradley Foundation
1017 Front Avenue
P. O. Box 140
Columbus, Georgia

Burroughs Foundation
6071 Second Avenue
Detroit 32, Michigan

Godfrey L. Cabot Charitable Trust
77 Franklin Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Cabot-Saltonstall Charitable Trust
140 Federal Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Colt Foundation
Empire State Building
Suite 8024
New York 1, New York

The Division Fund
134 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Farfield Foundation, Inc.
133 East Fortieth Street
Suite 205
New York 16, New York

~~The Fickb Foundation, Inc.~~

The Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Ittleson Family Foundation
1 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Irving D. and Janet S. Karpas
Foundation, Inc.
c/o Irving D. Karpas
39 Broadway
New York 6, New York

The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

The Louis B. Mayer Foundation
9885 Charleville Boulevard
Beverly Hills, California

Old Dominion Foundation, Inc.
140 East 62nd Street
New York 21, New York

Olin Industries, Inc., Charitable Trust
St. Louis Union Trust Company
323 North Broadway
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Payne Fund, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Sam Spatt Foundation, Inc.
514 West 49th Street
New York 19, New York

Standard Oil Foundation, Inc.
910 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Aaron Straus and Lillie Straus
Foundation, Inc.
1 South Howard Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

1. Each to receive 1 yr. subscription to N.S. Beginning August, '56

2. Each sent packet of materials as shown on individual carbons

3. Tickler for September, '56 in re sending each a quarterly report.

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Fellowships

United States of America

1956

Fund for the Republic - General ok

March 6, 1957

Mrs. Sue Mills
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sue:

I am sending under separate cover twenty copies each of two items on S.R.C. They are:

"The Southern Regional Council, A Brief Account of Its Origin and Aims" and

"The South of Promise."

The first is more historical in nature; the latter is our best and most recent statement as to how we are set up and operate. For rather specialized purposes we have available a mimeographed sheet giving short "biographies" of each of the staff members (one is enclosed) and a staff organization chart (one enclosed).

We find that it is still not clear to many friends and interested persons that we have affiliated organizations in eleven Southern states. These are known as (name of state) Council on Human Relations.

Thanks for all good words and transmission of information regarding S.R.C. Let us know if anything else would be useful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

Foundations - General

November 1, 1957

Mr. Willis T. Spivey, Director
Community Service Foundation
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida

Dear Mr. Spivey:

For several years the Community Service Foundation has given to the Southern Regional Council an annual contribution of $100. The funds have been a substantial help to us. No less important, however, is the vote of confidence for our work and aims from fellow Southerners of good will.

At this crucial point, when emotions are fed by intemperate and irresponsible leadership, we feel there is more need than ever for our program. We continue to bring together constructive leaders of the two races and three faiths to seek ways of practicing and demonstrating broader democracy.

Dr. Mitchell, as you know, now resides in Scotland where he is enjoying a well deserved retirement. We continue the work which he so ably directed. Accordingly, we earnestly hope you will feel that we merit your support again this year.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

January 2, 1957

Mr. Willis T. Spivey
Director
Community Service Foundation
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida

Dear Mr. Spivey:

You warm my heart!

We respect Koinonia, grieve about its plight, speak well of it, and urge people to help it. I expect, though, that South Georgia will sqush it. But every week of life helps.

I want you and Mrs. Spivey to come to see me in Scotland. I will be needing your technical help on how to enlarge my cottage, and how to farm my croft.

Appreciatively and cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

PHONE LARGO 51-4382

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION

RESEARCH AND ADVISORY SERVICE
IN COMMUNITY COOPERATION FOR

BETTER EDUCATION . HEALTH . FOOD . HOMES
AND OTHER NEEDS OF UNDERPRIVILEGED PEOPLE

125 HARBOR BLUFF DRIVE - LARGO, FLORIDA

RECEIVED DEC 29 1956

28 December 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Thank you for your letter, and I wish you all success in your work in the new year. While our contribution is a small one we expect to continue it this year.

As you may know, we have been helping the group at Koinonia in their very difficult period of survival. And I hope very much that you know about this and that you are in position to help them in some way through your many contacts.

We have been in close contact with these people for a number of years and we know what a solid substantial group of Christian people they are. Contrary to the belief of their neighbors, there is not a "crackpot" in the whole lot. If these people are submerged by intolerance, it would be a calamity.

Sincerely,

Willis T. Spivey

Willis T. Spivey, Director.

September 27, 1956

Mr. Willis T. Spivey
Director
Community Service Foundation
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida

Dear Mr. Spivey:

I know you said I shouldn't thank you, but I do thank you. And we badly needed the help.

These are touchy times hereabouts, but I still think people in this part of the world will straighten out and behave.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl. SRC Official Receipt $100

PHONE LARGO 51-4382

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION

RESEARCH AND ADVISORY SERVICE
IN COMMUNITY COOPERATION FOR

BETTER EDUCATION . HEALTH . FOOD . HOMES
AND OTHER NEEDS OF UNDERPRIVILEGED PEOPLE

125 HARBOR BLUFF DRIVE - LARGO, FLORIDA

RECEIVED SEP 20 1956

18 September 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional
Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

We are asking our treasurer to send you a check in the amount of $100.00 as our annual contribution to your fine work. Please do not thank us for this.

Again I want to thank you for your personal leadership in these trying times. We greatly need more people who have the courage that you have shown.

We are sorry that we have not been able to move any faster in the formation of a Human Relations Council. The good people of Pinellas County are being very, very cautious. However we will never stop trying.

Sincerely,

Willis T. Spivey

Willis T. Spivey, Director

P.S. You probably know about the troubles of Clarence Jordan and his consecrated Christian group at Koinonia Farm near Americus. Because we have been helping these people for a considerable time, we know the situation thoroughly, and we assure you that this is one of the finest approaches to Christian justice I have ever known. I do not know what you can do but hope you will be in position to help them some way to fight against the rabble-rousers around them.

RECEIVED NOV 8 1957

CLEARWATER, 51-4382

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION

RESEARCH AND ADVISORY SERVICE
IN COMMUNITY COOPERATION FOR

BETTER EDUCATION - HEALTH - HOMES
AND OTHER NEEDS OF UNDERPRIVILEGED PEOPLE

125 HARBOR BLUFF DRIVE - HARBOR BLUFFS P. O. LARGO, FLA.

7 November 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgie

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Your letter dated 1 November arrived during the absence Mr. Spivey.

We regret to have to write you that because of budget committments made for this fiscal year it will not be possible for us to make a contribution now as we have done in the past.

Your letter will be called to Mr. Spivey's attention on his return.

Sincerely,

Ellen Happe

Ellen Happe
Assistant to Willis T. Spivey, Director.

Foundations

Big Charities Hit As Tax Holdouts

Atl Journal - Const 7/22/62

WASHINGTON, July 21 (UPI)—Rep. Wright Patman charged Saturday that many tax-exempt foundations are violating federal income tax laws and that the Internal Revenue Service has been lax and irresponsible in enforcing the laws.

The Texas Democrat, chairman of the House Small Business Committee, said the situation is so serious the Treasury Department should stop ganting tax exemptions until Congress has completed a major overhaul of the rules governing them.

Internal revenue officials had no immediate comment.

Patman said the foundations today bear a "frightening resemblance to the bank-holding companies that were invented by the champions of monopoly and combinations in the early 1900's."

* * *

HIS SWEEPING indictment of both the foundations and the IRS were made in a speech prepared for delivery on the House floor Monday.

He said the speech was based on a searching, nine-months committee study of 522 of the nation's estimated 45,124 tax-exempt foundations.

Patman said the inquiry was aimed at discovering whether the foundations were "being used as a cloak and a vehicle for crippling competition and accelerating concentration of economic power?"

He said he also hoped to learn if the name of charity was not being used "to attain ends never intended by the people or Congress—ends such as taking control of commercial enterprises?"

* * *

HIGHLIGHTS from Patman's speech:

—Foundations are big business. Total income for the 522 foundations investigated was more than $1 billion in 1960. Income for the taxable years 1951 through 1960 was more than $7 billion.

—At least 78 of the 522 foundations failed to give IRS information required by law and regulation.

—Seventeen, including five connected with members of the Ford family, refused to produce requested documents until the committee issued subpoenas.

Patman also suggested the foundations may have played a big role in the recent stock market break.

the threat that Russia would quit as a co-chairman of the peace-keeping conference unless the West agreed to it.

British Foreign Secretary R. A. Butler flew to Moscow for talks with Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other Soviet officials. Presumably they will discuss Laos. Another possible topic is Malaysia, the new British-supported federation that Indonesia has vowed to "crush" as a "front for British imperialism." Indonesia has been promised Soviet arms.

* * *

Racial violence subsided in Rochester, N.Y., after National Guardsmen were sent in Sunday night. New York Gov. Rockefeller visited the city yesterday to inspect damage and talk with police. New York City's Harlem and Brooklyn remained quiet. Martin Luther King, the Negro leader, flew to New York for talks with Mayor Robert Wagner.

The murder of police and judges was called for by a Negro leader at the height of last week's riots, a detective testified. The detective told a state supreme court hearing on an anti-riot injunction that he had infiltrated a secret meeting of the Harlem Defense Council and heard its leader, William Epton, say, "We're going to have to kill cops and judges."

* * *

Senators defeated a proposed rule that would have required them and their top employes to disclose major financial interests in stock [illegible]

Fund-Raising Firms Score Big Successes, Enjoy Rapid Growth

Foundations

Hospitals, Colleges Discover Professionals Can Extract More Money for Less Cost

By NEIL ULMAN 7-28-64

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Several years ago Montgomery Hospital in Norristown, Pa., set out to raise money through charity appeals to local residents. After two years, however, the hospital had collected only $250,000, far less than had been sought. So, in a last-ditch effort, it called in a professional fund-raising company. Result: Additional contributions of more than $600,000.

The case helps explain the dramatic growth of a little-noticed, highly profitable segment of the nation's business community: Professional fund-raising concerns. The National Society of Fund Raisers, formed only three years ago and based in New York City, already boasts 450 members, 150 more than just last year, and is still growing rapidly, according to its chairman, Abel Hanson.

"It's a burgeoning profession," says Mr. Hanson, adding that the society's aim is "to develop professional standards and keep the crooks and novices out."

High praise for fund-raising companies comes from many institutions that recently have used their services. "Without these professionals, you flub around and can't get organized," says A. William Olsen, Jr., headmaster of Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn., which has just raised over $6 million with professional help. "They save you so much time because they've been through it all before."

Raising $15 Million

Daniel W. Earle, an administrator at Brown University, Providence, R.I., says: "It's less expensive to hire a fund-raising company than to increase your own staff." Using Marts & Lundy, Inc., a New York City fund-raiser, Brown was able recently to raise $15 million.

Most fund-raising firms work for a fee fixed before a charity drive gets under way, rather than for a percentage of the money raised. The normal fee ranges from $3,500 to $4,500 a month, according to the president of one large fund-raising company. In addition, the client often pays the expenses of a "resident director" who actually lives at the institution during the campaign.

One New York City fund-raising concern—not at all untypical—collects about $2.5 million a year in fees. A fund-raising "counselor" starting out with this firm gets a salary of roughly $650 a month, and may earn as much as $1,700 monthly after five years.

A glance at the manner in which Montgomery Hospital's charity drive was salvaged illustrates the way fund-raising companies often operate.

Harold Prentzel, administrator of the hospital, called in John F. Rich & Co., a Philadelphia fund-raiser. Rich first ran a survey of Norristown residents to determine what further support could be expected. "We found we couldn't possibly raise more than another $250,000 unless we could change a negative community attitude," says John Rich, president of the company. "But we agreed to tackle the job if we were allowed 10 weeks of high-pressure public relations."

Tours and Letters

The company assigned a resident director who arranged "come-and-see" tours of the hospital. Local businessmen, particularly, were invited. In addition, letters were sent to community leaders, emphasizing different aspects of the hospital's services and stressing the need to improve and expand them. On top of that, the resident director organized a task force of local volunteers to help him contact more prospective contributors.

Mr. Hanson, who teaches a course in fund-raising at Columbia University's Teachers College in addition to his duties at the National Society of Fund Raisers, reports that he received more than 500 requests last year for trained fund-raisers from colleges and other institutions. Such interest, according to Mr. Hanson, indicates that "the characteristic American spirit of giving is being organized and stimulated." Philanthropic giving in the U.S. last year reached a record $10,025,000,000, a full $725 million higher than the previous year and about twice as high as the total a decade ago.

Mr. Hanson's concern that the charity business can become a target for "crooks and novices" is not without reason. The National Information Bureau, a non-profit agency that investigates charities, "finds it necessary to criticize severely more than 40 organizations that solicit contributions" each year, reports D. Paul Reed, the bureau's executive director.

These reprimands are often for "exaggerated or misleading fund-raising claims," Mr. Reed says. For instance, he recalls, one soliciting organization recently implied it was providing full care for hundreds of orphans, when in many cases it was providing only about $6 a month.

File

With our Foundation's comparatively modest resources we have found it necessary to keep our gifts within certain definitely determined channels. The funds available in this area are already fully committed. We regret that we are unable to fulfill your request.

Sincerely yours,

Sterling W. Fisher

Sterling W. Fisher
Executive Director

THE READER'S DIGEST FOUNDATION • PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.

The

READER'S DIGEST

FOUNDATION

WE USE THIS POSTAL REPORT FORM AS THE SIMPLEST METHOD OF SUPPLYING INFORMATION SPEEDILY

Rec'd 10/28/64

Mr. L W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Recd 11/25/64

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

551 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 17 • N. Y.

November 23, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Brailsford Reese Brazeal has applied for a Guggenheim Fellowship and has referred us to you.

We shall welcome your candid appraisal of his previous accomplishments, the merits of the present proposal, and his promise of future achievement.

As always, you may be sure that whatever you write will be held in the strictest confidence.

With many thanks for your assistance to the Foundation, I am

Sincerely yours,

James F. Mathias

James F. Mathias
Secretary

JFM:mg

Recd 11/11/65

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
551 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 17 • N • Y •

I beg to acknowledge, with the thanks of the Foundation, the receipt of your confidential statement concerning
Mr. Brailsford Reese Brazeal

Many thanks

James F. Mathias
Secretary

GORDON N. RAY
President

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Fellowships
United States of America and Canada

1965

March 30, 1965

Miss Mary Brucker
Program Assistant
The Danforth Foundation
607 North Grand Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Dear Miss Brucker:

We are pleased to mail you today the requested two copies of the 1964 report on the Southern Teaching Program. There are no costs.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

THE DANFORTH FOUNDATION

607 NORTH GRAND BOULEVARD
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63103

MA - please at once

March 24, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would it be possible to secure two additional copies of the report for 1964 on the Southern Teaching Program? We shall be pleased to care for any costs that are involved.

no cost

You recently sent us one copy at the request of Dr. Charles Hounshell of Emory University, and several members of our staff have expressed interest in the Report.

With appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

Mary Brucker

Mary Brucker
Program Assistant

MB/esb

Rec'd 6/10/65 File Foundations - gen.

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Fellowships

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA

1966

We are pleased to announce the appointment of

Mr. Henry Saltzman

file - Foundations (Gen. Corresp)

Rec'd 6/28/65

as the first Executive Director of

The Bernard Van Leer Foundation

Office:
Koningin Gracht 65
The Hague
The Netherlands

Residence:
Koningin Emmalaan 5
Voorschoten
The Netherlands

The activities of the Foundation will be concentrated in the field of education with particular emphasis on helping culturally, economically and socially disadvantaged youth.

The Foundation will conduct its activities in selected countries in Europe, Africa, South America, the Near East and in the Caribbean region.

Office:
Koningin Gracht 65
The Hague
The Netherlands

Residence:
Koningin Emmalaan 5
Voorschoten
The Netherlands

J.C.
Dixon

Woodrow Wilson Foundation
1422 W. Peachtree N.W.
Atlanta 30309

Report

Paul Gaston

Yale Program

mailed
2/1/66

Foundations "General"

MEMORANDUM March 18, 1966

To: PA

From: MMJ

Re: Possible money sources.

NEW-LAND FOUNDATION

&&& In 1957 Harold Fleming was put in touch with this foundation by Edwin J. Lukas. He went up to talk with a Mr. Herzberg and Mr. Solomon Sklar (now deceased) to make our initial contact. Since them we have received fairly substantial contributions from them. In 1963, when Les took the helm, he submitted a proposal to them which yielded $500.00 for three years; 1963, 1964 and 1965. (SEE ATTACHED FILE)

Would you think well of trying them again? You could, if you wish, write to Mr. Robert Wolf, Secretary to feel him out on our submitting a proposal.

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION

They have not given us money for general support since 1959. But in 1964 they contributed $2,500 to our Economic Counselling and Study Project. In July last year, Mr. Clareman, Secretary, was so impressed with our ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE that he ordered 5 copies to be distributed to his Board. (This is a good sign) (NOTE: It seems that Christopher Reynolds prefers
t to give to initial projects rather than to commit itself to continued support -- if you can think up a good project i.e., distribution of our ~~papar~~ paperbacks or something of the kind, they might give us a little money.

Les, in a letter to Mr. Clareman of July 16, 1965 indirectly introduced you to Clareman -- it might not hurt to try to see him on one of your next New York trips. (SEE attached file)

AARON NORMAN FUND

I don't quite know what arrangements you've already made with NORMAN, since you've been seeing Mrs. Cole on some of your recent trips. However, they gave us $2,500 for general support last year and it appears from glancing through the file that ~~&&&&&&&&&&~~ we submitted a proposal during the spring. If that's really the case and they've not already invited you to do so, would you want to submit something to them pretty soon? As I have said -- you may already have something in the works ~~&&&~~ with them.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Rural Advancement Project Funds

REGARDING

Memo from Mmj to PG of 3/30/66 informing him of Foundations which had ~~sp~~ supported the RAP.

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

RAP file - 1966

File Foundations

MEMORANDUM December 12, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: MMJohnson

Re: Financial Outlook - 1967

Hopkins Fund - ~~Submit before Oct. 1,~~ 1967

CURRIER AND COMPANY (or Taconic)

(What about $15,000 due on Emory Via's project for 1966?) This was a 2-year grant of $30,000 beginning in 1965 -- we ~~aaaaaa~~ netted $15,534.07 in 1965 as a result of the sale of 281 shares of Gulf Oil stock. Do we need to bring to Taconic's attention that the 1966 portion of that grant has not been received yet?

DIVISION FUND ~~&aaaaaaaa~~ (Pala Alto, Calif.)

In June 1966 Division Fund gave us $2,000. Do we want to begin early in the New Year prodding for suppoert in 1967?

FIELD FOUNDATION

We have in hand the last installment of a 3-year grant in support of State Councils on Human Relations ($25,000 - 1967). We will need to submit again during 1967 for further support for state Councils.

Paul, Les said in a letter recently to Joan Titus that he would have the bank send the $8,000 check for her special project (research and ~~aaaa~~ writing of Lillian Smith's biography.) We have not yet received that grant -- that was in November. Do you want to check with him on this?

FORD FOUNDATION

Though they owe us no money, we still must remember soon to work out the details of their recent letter and submit forms and/or materials for their tax purposes. I suppose the same details would be necessary for the $300,000 grant in support of the state Councils, too.

HOCHSCHILD FUND

See letter of May 25, 1966 from Mr. Hochschild.

Maybe we need to check on them again this month to see if the 1966 support will be granted.

NEW LAND

Why not try for a grant in 1967? I brought this to your attention earlier this year, but somehow nothing happened. They gave us $500 in 1965 -- they just might increase in 1967. (general support)

NEW WORLD

We've got a 2-year $60,000 grant with New World. We just got the 1st $30,000 instalment in September. Do you need to remind them of their 1967 commitment. They usually don't transmit until late fall, so you might just want to keep this one on the docket until later in the year.

CONTINGENCY FUNDS - NEW WORLD

#1 Educational purposes: We received $10,000 on November 1, 1965. Do we need to make an accounting the first of the year so that this fund can be replenished?

#2 Youth Groups: We received $10,000 on Nov. 1, 1965 for this fund also. Does this need replenishing? If so, maybe an accounting of these funds are now due also.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT - NEW WORLD

Although New World has just sent us, November 1966, $20,000 for RAP -- I wonder if this is to be considered it's 1966 instalment under its &&&& 3-year grant which began in January 1965, and are we free now to apply for the 1967 $20,000 portion of that grant. What with Pratt not renewing to RAP and Hochschild still to be heard from (and at this late date it's likely that they will not renew), we'll need the 1967 portion of the New World Foundation grant. Is it too soon to approach them early in 1967 about this dilemma?

NEW YORK FOUNDATION

A proposal was submitted to them on May 2, 1966. They responded June 21st announcing a $5,000 grant for 1966. Do you want to bring ~~this before them in January~~ before them another proposal for 1967 support in January or do you want to hold off until May ~~as~~ we did last year?

AARON E. NORMAN FUND

We received $2,500 on July 29, 1966 for general support. Want to apply early for 1967 support?

OTTINGER FOUNDATIONA

We've received, October 28, 1966, $2,000 for 1966. You might keep this one in mind for August or early September to be brought up during the Foundation's late fall board meeting.

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND

We have in hand $25,000 for 1967 for general support. This was received in June 1964 under a 3-year grant which began in 1965. (1967 is the last year of this 3-year grant) ~~and~~ You might want to, during the year, approach them again for further support for general operations.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - Rock. Bros.

We have $100,000 2-year grant (1966-1967) for VEP. We need to requisition the 1967 portion ($50,000) Freeman's letter states: "The balance of $50,000 will be paid in 1967 on requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Council."

TACONIC FOUNDATION

We received on July 25, 1966 a 1-year grant of $25,000 (contingent on a report of ~~expen~~ how the funds were spent due in January). We will need to ask them again in 1967 for general support; hopefully, Mr. Currier will again come through.

STATE COUNCILS - Taconic

We have a 3-year $75,000 grant from Taconic, $50,000 of which was paid in 1965 and 1966. We need to ask for 1967 support early, I guess.

PA

Pls have order

THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

"To collect, organize, and make available to the public reports and information about foundations."

FROM THE CHARTER

TRUSTEES

JAMES A. PERKINS
Chairman

VERNON MUNROE, JR.
Vice Chairman

F. EMERSON ANDREWS
Director

JOHN D. WILSON
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ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND

WALTER M. UPCHURCH, JR.

DONALD YOUNG

STAFF

F. EMERSON ANDREWS
Director

ANN D. WALTON
Executive Secretary

THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

588 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE FOUNDATION LIBRARY CENTER

THE LEADING FOUNDATIONS have long accepted the principle that they should make full disclosure of their finances and activities. More than one hundred foundations voluntarily issue full annual reports, and all organizations of this type are required to file certain financial and other data in the office of their local director of internal revenue. Studies of foundations have appeared. But nowhere has this varied material been centrally collected and made freely accessible.

The Foundation Library Center was incorporated in 1956 as an educational institution under authority of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York. It is an independent agency under its own board of trustees, men knowledgeable about foundations, but representing the public interest. With an initial grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, it is charged with the tasks of gathering comprehensive information about foundations, stimulating adequate reporting where such does not yet exist, and making its collections freely and generally available.

The Center's collections are already extensive. It received, as gift or depository loan, the related books, reports, and files that Russell Sage Foundation has been accumulating since 1915. It has secured photographic transcripts of financial and other data on some seven thousand organizations of the foundation type. It is currently accumulating information from individual foundations. This material has been catalogued and filed, and is available for use at the Center's headquarters. Future plans include assembling of recent financial data from the office of the Internal Revenue Service and preparation of a directory.

Initially the Center

will provide a convenient place where any person, on a public or private mission, may find accurate information about foundations

will make available to foundations some systematic knowledge about developments in their field

will endeavor to stimulate and aid adequate public reporting by foundations

will maintain a full collection of foundation reports and a small library on philanthropy, particularly as related to foundation interest

will offer annually one "internship in philanthropy" to a person nominated by a foundation which presently employs him, or expects to do so

Certain limitations are necessary. The Center

will not act as a clearing house for foundation projects

will not advise potential applicants as to which foundation might be a likely source of funds, nor arrange introductions to foundation officials

will not act as a spokesman for foundations

will not serve as an employment agency

Ford, Rockefeller Foundations Adjusting to Changing World

PA

NYT 1/30/67

By HOWARD TAUBMAN

Without fanfare, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the biggest and most influential in the United States, have been revising their philosophies and policies to cope with a changing world.

The most important changes derive from a realization that many of the needs and challenges of this shrinking planet are interrelated. Dr. J. George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, described the new approach as "human ecology." Thus, he extends to man and his society the biological discipline that studies the relations between organisms and their environment.

McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, declared that the most pressing domestic concern for the United States was full equality for all American Negroes. In a complex city like New York, he insisted, the unsolved problems of the Negroes have a direct bearing on a multitude of other problems.

"The struggle for full opportunity for all Negroes is in a larger sense th estruggle of all of us for the viability of the American city and the society at large," Mr. Bundy said.

The Rockefeller Foundation, also deeply concerned with the need for equal opportunity for all, particularly Negroes and other minority groups, recently granted $62,500 to the Free Southern Theater, an integrated company, for free public performances and workshops in culture-poor districts of the South.

Dr. Harrar spoke of this as a grant with artistic and social objectives.

"If I had to weigh them," he

Continued on Page 34, Column 5

MS - file - foundations gen.

Ford and Rockefeller Funds Gear to New Times

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

said, "the scales would be heavier on the social side."

Mr. Bundy spoke of the Ford Foundation's initiative, with a $10-million grant, to demonstrate "the power of a national educational television service."

Why was he so eager for such a service?

"To improve the quality of life," he replied. To this aim all Ford Foundation largess could be connected.

The awareness of the relationships in seemingly disparate programs has been growing on the Rockefeller Foundation with deepening force in recent years, according to Dr. Harrar.

Fought Yellow Fever

"Many years ago," he said, "in this foundation departments like medicine and agriculture looked after their own fields and paid little or no heed to their neighbors. They were doing important things that needed to be done. The drive to find a vaccine against yellow fever, in which our foundation played a large part, was important and required all-out dedication. Finally it succeeded.

"But it was not good enough to cure a man of yellow fever and then to let him die of starvation. That meant paying attention to nutrition. We concentrated on help to improve the yield and quality of crops. But what happened when men began to multiply so rapidly that an improved and increased food supply remained insufficient? We saw that we had an acute population problem. The problems, in short, are interrelated and must be viewed as a whole."

Mr. Bundy disclosed that the Ford Foundation had revised its table of organization in the last few months. The purpose of the streamlining was to be in a better position to meet the new challenges.

Instead of 14 separate divisions, there are now only 5 education and research, national affairs, humanities and the arts, international and administration. The section for policy and planning has been eliminated on the ground that every division must be charged with these duties. The section on science and engineering has also been dropped.

Fabian Bachrach

Dr. J. George Harrar, head of Rockefeller Foundation.

direct supervision of the division of national affairs. This division is the only one without its own vice president. Grouped under it are sections devoted to urban and metropolitan development, resources and environment, social development and government and law.

Assisting Disadavantaged

It is through these sections that the foundation expects to make its principal attack on the interrelated problems of "equal opportunity for members of minority groups in education, economic well-being and housing" and to carry out "a program of breadth and quality in research, leadership, communication and legal rights as they affect American Negroes and the disadvantaged in other groups."

The division of education and research will also be active in this area. The foundation intends to make a special effort to help colleges and universities where Negroes predominate. It is also determined to help universities that "contribute directly to the solution of urban problems generally and to community needs in neighboring depressed areas in particular." Recently, it allocated $10-million to aid Columbia University in such a program.

The likelihood is that the Ford Foundation completed its program of challenge grants to sciences, physical sciences, life sciences and engineering in a creative program of inquiry and exchange, adapted to the pattern of interdisciplinary teaching and research . . ."

The Ford Foundation illustrated its desire to explore new interrelationships of a complex society with a recent $166,000 grant for a pilot program in the New Jersey schools. The aim was to use the processes and materials of industry to teach elementary-school pupils concepts in social studies, science, language, arts and mathematics.

The tendency has been to deal with the processes and material of industry largely in vocational schools. But an attempt is being made to connect academic subjects with practical experiments in electricity, refrigeration, paper-making, printing, newspapers, books, the development of maps and models and the design and fabrication of products ranging from jump-ropes to a full-size, sail-powered "land yacht."

Philosophical Leaders

In 1963, the Rockefeller Foundation, after extensive self-analysis, projected a future based on five major priorities: provision of an adequate food supply for all, population stabilization, training of individuals and development of institutions in areas where lack of leadership retards progress, equality of opportunity for all and contributions to man's cultural development.

While it sees no need to change these priorities, it is integrating another into its program. In the words of Dr. Harrar, "We cannot neglect problems of environment — to do what we can about the unclean air, the polluted waters and the other factors that affect the physical world we live in. Here is another aspect of human ecology."

Of the fewer than 300 general-purpose foundations among the thousands in the United States, the Ford and Rockefeller are leaders philosophically because of their ecology as well as the size and scope of their programs.

At the end of the 1966 fiscal year Ford's net worth was $2.5-billion at book value. In the same fiscal year, it committed $315.9-million for grants and administrative expenses, though its income was $15.4-million. The Rockefeller Foundation, which has assets of over $700-million, spent more than $40-million last year, about $10-million in excess of income.

More than ever, both foundations consider themselves compelled to correlate their programs to deal with the increasingly complicated needs of a subtly interrelated world full of vivid contrasts with its new affluence and old poverty, its new educational requirements and its traditional institutions, its new leisure and its old cultures, its new audiences and new art forms that express a smaller, more volatile planet seeking to solve a host of difficult, painful problems even as it reaches out to touch the stars.

Nothing less than the total society will be encompassed in the new foundation approach to human ecology. Like the enlightened physician who considers the total man in a diagnosis of a specific ailment, the foundations are learning to function out of a belief that social, scientific, cultural and educational needs are indivisibly interrelated.

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Mr. Bundy disclosed that the Ford Foundation had revised its table of organization in the last few months. The purpose of the streamlining was to be in a better position to meet the new challenges.

Instead of 14 separate divisions, there are now only 5 education and research, national affairs, humanities and the arts, international and administration. The section for policy and planning has been eliminated on the ground that every division must be charged with these duties. The section on science and engineering has also been dropped.

Competitors' Areas

Mr. Bundy explained that other foundations like the Sloan were strongly active in this field. The Federal Government, he went on, has been pouring huge sums into this area, through such agencies as the National Science Foundation, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Health Institute.

The Ford Foundation, he suggested, would not ignore any major project that could not be provided for elsewhere, but in all its activities it must take into account the increasing role of the Government.

Even with the several hundred million dollars annually at its disposal, the Ford Foundation has nothing like the Government's resources, Mr. Bundy said. With a smile, he mentioned the "Gardner, Howe, Weaver, Shriver and Webb Foundations."

He was alluding to the billions allocated for programs administered by John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Harold Howe 2d, United States Commissioner of Education; Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Sargent E. Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and James E. Webb, head of NASA.

"There remains an enormous amount for us to do," Mr. Bundy asserted. "We can apply our funds and energies to the cutting edges where change is needed and where it may be difficult for the Government to venture."

Not Afraid of Uncle Sam

Mr. Bundy, who served the Government for more than five years as a close adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, is not fearful of Government intrusion. He even takes a calm view of the attacks made by some members of Congress on foundations. His attitude is that most of these men are amenable to discussion.

He and Dr. Harrar left no doubt, however, that their foundations were obligated to take risks and to support programs that might not be popular everywhere. Dr. Harrar recalled that when the Rockefeller Foundation undertook vigorous new programs in population control it ran into severe criticism here and abroad on religious grounds.

"Where Roman Catholicism was dominant," he said, "the situation was delicate. But we went ahead. Of course, we make it a point to encourage a country's own nationals to take the lead and do the work. Thus, we urge native physicians and biologists in other lands to set up the clinics and provide advice."

In addition to his duties as president of the Ford Foundation, Mr. Bundy has undertaken

Fabian Bachrach

Dr. J. George Harrar, head of Rockefeller Foundation.

direct supervision of the division of national affairs. This division is the only one without its own vice president. Grouped under it are sections devoted to urban and metropolitan development, resources and environment, social development and government and law.

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The division of education and research will also be active in this area. The foundation intends to make a special effort to help colleges and universities where Negroes predominate. It is also determined to help universities that "contribute directly to the solution of urban problems generally and to community needs in neighboring depressed areas in particular." Recently, it allocated $10-million to aid Columbia University in such a program.

The likelihood is that the Ford Foundation completed its program of challenge grants to colleges and universities with last year's offer of matching funds of $25-million to Columbia and $2.5-million to its affiliates, Barnard and Teachers Colleges. From 1960 to 1966, the foundation granted $346.5-million to 16 universities and 67 colleges to further their overall development as regional and national centers of excellence. With matching funds, the grants are expected to result in new support of $1.3-billion.

More Education Aid

The closing out of challenge grants will not end generous and important contributions to education. Mr. Bundy indicated that a broad, new program in graduate education was being studied. He suggested that a new series of questions relating to learning needed examination. Among them are the following:

¶Is the mounting cost of tuition becoming a grave problem?

¶What can be done about it?

¶Are there superior ways to invest endowment funds to earn larger returns?

¶Shouldn't more be done in the social sciences?

¶Is the American university, as it is being shaped by the changing world's pressures, going to remain viable?

¶Is there a danger that only a few, the most solid, will be able to persist?

Mr. Bundy, who has been in active command of the foundation less than a year, gave the impression of a man swiftly orienting himself in every area. Although he indicated satisfaction with the way the division of humanities and the arts is being handled under the vice presidency of W. McNeil Lowry, he clearly has a strong personal interest. After all, he was once a Harvard dean of arts and science.

Recognizing Problem

All the activities involving the humanities and the arts have been made the responsibility of this division. In the past programs touching on artists and arts institutions abroad have been handled by the division of international affairs.

Both foundations recognize what is described by the Rockefeller Foundation as "a serious contemporary problem inherent in reconciling recent far-reaching technological developments with our more slowly evolving cultural environment."

The Rockefeller Foundation's 1966 report to be released soon, illustrates the concern in this way:

"An important grant was made by the foundation this year to the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, in support of a program designed to give students a constructive understanding of the interrelationships of science, technology and society. The Institute will bring together leaders in the fields of the humanities, social

with the processes and material of industry largely in vocational schools. But an attempt is being made to connect academic subjects with practical experiments in electricity, refrigeration, paper-making, printing, newspapers, books, the development of maps and models and the design and fabrication of products ranging from jump-ropes to a full-size, sail-powered "land yacht."

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See Foundations - Gen. 1967

MEMORANDUM September 15, 1967

To: PAnthony

From: MJohnson

Paul,

I've gone right down the list in the Money Book and considered each money source in an alphabetical order. This way you should get some idea of how we stand with each, but where immediate attention is necessary I've so indicated with an asterisk.

ASCOLI FUND - Gen. Support

The Fund gave us $1,000 in March 1967. Are there prospects here again you think and would a request be in order?

BABCOCK FOUNDATION - VEP

$25,000 of a $50,000 grant was received in June. Would you want to ask them again for VEP support in 1968? It may be too soon to approach them since we have not yet received the second instalment of its present grant. However, this foundation may be kept in mind during the early pt. of the new year should you decide that additional support is likely. ~~might be asked for.~~

DeCONINGH FOUNDATION (Gen. Support)

The Council was given a one-year, unsolicited grant for 1967 of $3,000 from DeConingh. Would you want to make a solicitation in 1968?

DIVISION FUND (Gen. Support)

The Fund gave us $2,000 which we received in May of this year. This was an unrestricted grant and the Fund indicated that new support would be contingent on progress made by us "to secure funds from new sources." This latter point, it seems to me, can be substantiated by the BABCOCK grant.

FIELD FOUNDATION (Gen. Support)

We already have on hand $25,000 for gen. support for 1968. HOWEVER, 1968 IS THE LAST YEAR OF THIS 3-YEAR GRANT which began Jan. 1, 1966. Sometime during 1968

discussions ought to be started with Les about continuing support.

FIELD FOUNDATION -(State Councils)*

I gather from Les's request of last Friday that further support from Field for the state councils ~~&&&~~ is possible and likely. However, in the midst of all the furor about Ed's position paper I'm not clear as to what will happen. However, this year (1967) is the last year of Field's 3-year grant to the state councils which began Jan. 1, 1965.

FIELD FOUNDATION - (VEP)

As you know, we've already petitioned Field for its $50,000 supplemental grant to VEP as of Friday, September 8th. All to be done on this one is to wait to get it.

HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND

We submitted a request to Hopkins on August 16, 1967. Again, we wait for board action in October.

NEW LAND FOUNDATION - (Gen. Support) *

Some time ago I brought up the matter of going back to New-Land which gave us a measly $500 in 1966. I just have a feeling, however, that new support and even larger support can be gotten from New-Land. You suggested bringing this matter up in October . Do you want to do something about this soon?

NEW WORLD (Gen. Support)*

This is the last year of a 2-year grant for general support from New World of $60,000. We're expecting the second and final instalment of $30,000 either this month or next. However, during the first of the year negotiations should begin with New World for further support.

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION -(R.A.P.)

We've petitioned New World for an additional $20,000 for the Rural Advancement Project. We can only wait and see.

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION (Contingency Funds)*

Near the end of the year or perhaps the first of the new year an accounting should be made to New World on the status of the two Contingency Funds. (RHA and I got together some data for you some time ago for this purpose -- I think you still have it, or perhaps its filed away). There may be new items to be added to those we've already listed by the time you make a report.

NEW YORK FOUNDATION - (Gen. Support)*

In July we received $5,000 from New York Foundation. This, of course, is always a one-year grant, which means that some approach should be made to them in the new year for further support for 1968.

NEW YORK FOUNDATION -(V.E.P.)*

A $10,000 grant was made to VEP of which $5,000 was transmitted to us on July 7, 1967. The "remaining $5,000 is to be paid as needed," according to John Heyman's letter of June 20, 1967. So you and Vernon should keep this point in mind that the remaining $5,000 will have to be requisitioned when there is a need for it.

NEW YORK FOUNDATION (Southern Cooperative - Mt. Beulah, Edwards, Miss.)*

A $15,000 grant was made of which $5,000 was transmitted to us on July 7, 1967. The same condition applies here as with the VEP grant -- the remaining $10,000 will have to be requisitioned as the need occurs.

NORMAN FUND (Gen. Support)*

$2,500 was given us for gen. support and received August 8th. Again, this is always a one-year grant and if new support for 1968 is to be had negotiations with Deborah Cole should start early in the New Year.

OTTINGER FOUNDATION (Gen. Support)

We submitted a request to the Foundation on August 8, 1967. We can only wait word from it on our request.

~~ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND (Gen. Support)~~

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND (Gen. Support)*

This is the last year of a 3-year grant of $75,000 for that period. We have the money already on hand. However, negotiations for new support should begin, I should think, the first of the new year.

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND (V.E.P.)*

The Foundation's commitment to VEP has already been fulfilled. We received the last instalment of a 2-year grant of $100,000 on March 2, 1967. Will you ask again for VEP support from Rock. Brows in 1968?

STERN FAMILY FUND*(Gen-Support)

As you know, we've just acquired the $10,000 grant made to us in 1965 - Received June 29th). You may or may not think it feasible to go back to Stern. If so, first of year?

TACONIC FOUNDATION - (Gen. Support)*

The Foundation only gave us a one-year grant of $25,000 for 1967, which we received on June 16. If more is to come from Taconic it would seem that a proposal ought to go to John Simon the first of the year.

TACONIC FOUNDATION (State Councils)*

We received on May 3rd the final instalment of $25,000 on Taconic's grant to state councils. Again, if more support is foreseeable, negotiations should begin soon - first of year?

LABOR

AFL-CIO - (Gen. Support)

Al Kehrer was in here yesterday and left the following message:

"It's that time of year again when you are to make an appeal to AFL-CIO for funds."
NOTE: AFL-CIO gave us $5,000 in December, 1966.

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
Akron, Ohio

This is the only other labor group which has given us funds as of lately. We received $100 from the Akron URW's on August 1, 1967. I don't know how this was squeezed out of them - probably through Emory. Is it an important enough contribution to write a letter to Mr. Peter Bommarito, the president?

NOTE: United Auto Workers

The UAW has not made a substantial contribution to SRCsince 1957 ($1,000). In light of Mr. Reuther's pitch and apparent commitment to the goals of the Urban Coalition, would it be an appropriate time to ask them for some money?

SUPPLEMENT

What about Hochschild and Compton for funds for the Rural Advancement Project? Do you plan to try to get more funds from these two sources?

Paul,

In checking the money book it struck my attention that Field Foundation gave SRC $6,050 to be used in conjunction with a joint study between SRC and the Mississippi Council on tax supported, predominantly Negro colleges in Mississippi. We got this money in July, 1966 (See LWD's corresp. to Ken Dean attached). Does SRC have any responsibility in reporting to the Foundation on what has happened with this study?

File Foundations, Gen.

FUND RAISING EFFORTS - 1967

Important grants came from the following:

1. Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation ($50,000) to VEP

2. New York Foundation ($10,000) to VEP

3. Stern Family Fund ($10,000 matching grant from 1965 received on the strength of the Mary Reynold Babcock Fd. to VEP)

Lesser ~~&&&&&~~ funds raised during the year:

1. DeConingh Foundation
   Cleveland, Ohio
   ($3,000 - unsolicited - gen. support)

2. Irwin-Sweeney-Miller Foundation
   Columbus, Indiana
   ($3,000) for general support

3. Division Fund ($2,000) Gen. Support

4. Compton Trust ($2,000) to RAP

5. Hochschild ($1,000) to RAP

6. Aaron E. Norman ($2,500) Gen.

File - Foundations Gen.

ONE-YEAR CONTRIBUTORS DURING 1967

March:

Marion R. Ascoli -(General Support)
($1,000 received unsolicited after receipt of program report of 1966.)

APRIL:

**Mary Reynolds Babcock - (V.E.P.)
($50,000)

*Compton Trust - (R.A.P.)
($2,000)

Rec'd apr. 1, 1968 (without a request)

*Hochschild Fund - (R.A.P.)
($1,000)

**New World - (V.E.P.)
($25,000)

Taconic - (General Support)
($25,000)

MAY:

deConingh Foundation - (General Support)
($3,000 unsolicited grant; received in May.

Division Fund -(General Support)
($2,000)

New York Foundation - (General Support)
($5,000)

**New York Foundation 00 (V.E.P.)
($10,000)

JULY:

Aaron E. Norman - (General Support)
($2,500 - no formal request made; grant sent automatically or through personal arrangements by Executive Director.)

AUGUST:

Hopkins Charitable Fund - (General Support)
(Request for 1967 denied; you may wish to try again.)

Ottinger Foundation - (General Support)
($2,000)

DECEMBER:

New-Land Foundation - (General Support)
($500.00 - no request made; sent automatically.)

***You wrote in a letter of April 1967 that we would not ask again for funds in support of the R.A.P.**

****Since V.E.P. is likely to become self-sustaining by virtue of the Ford Grant, couldn't these foundations be persuaded to either convert these funds to general operations or to support one or both of our unfunded projects - Crime and Corrections and/or Urban Planning?**

NOTE: THE months listed are the months during which the ~~&&&&&&&&&~~ requests were submitted, if not otherwise indicated.

STATUS OF MULTIPLE-YEAR CONTRIBUTORS

FIELD FOUNDATION - (General Support)

(3-year grant of $25,000 a year ends this year, 1968)

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION - (General Support)

*1968 is last year the Council receives a $50,000 instalment; 1969 diminishes to $40,000;
1970 " " $35,000;
1971 " " $25,000

*1968 instalment must be requisitioned.

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND -
1967 ended a 3-year grant of $25,000 a year for GENERAL SUPPORT and a 2-year grant of $50,000 for V.E.P.
(Could Rock Bros. also be persuaded to convert its funds to increased general support or to Crime and/or Urban Planning?)

TACONIC FOUNDATION - (State Councils)
1967 ended a three-year grant of $25,000 a year.
(I only list this for information. I think it is not to be renewed.)

One-Year Contributors During 1967

Mar.

Marion R. Cercoli – Gen. Support
($1,000 Received unsolicited after receipt of Annual Program Report of 1966)

April:

** Mary Reynolds Babcock – U.E.P.
($50,000)

* Compton Trust – R.A.P.
($2,000)

* Hochschild – R.A.P.
($1,000)

** New World – U.E.P.
($25,000)

Joanie – Gen Support
($25,000)

May:

VdeConingh Foundation – Gen. Support
($3,000 unsolicited grant)

Division Fund – Gen Support
($2,000)

New York Foundation – Gen. Support
($5,000)

** New York Foundation – U.E.P
($10,000)

July:
Aaron E. Norman - Gen. Support
($2,500 - no formal request made; grant sent automatically or thru personal arrangements)

August:
Hopkins Charitable Fund - Gen. Support
(Request for 1967 denied; You may wish to try again)

Ottinger Foundation - Gen. Support
($2,000)

December:
New Land - Gen. Support
($500.00 - no request made; sent automatically)

* You wrote in a ltr of April, 1967 that we would not ask again for funds in support of R.A.P.

** Since U.E.P. is likely to become self-sustaining by virtue of the Ford Grant, couldn't these foundations be persuaded to either convert these grants to Gen. operations or support one or both unfunded progs - Crime & Urban Planning?

. . . .

Status of Multiple-Year Contributors

Field Foundation + Gen. Support
(3 year grant of $25,000 a year ends this year - 1968)

Rockefeller Foundation: - Gen. Support
#1968 is last year the Council receives a $50,000 installment;
1969 diminishes to $40,000;
1970 " " $35,000;
1971 " " 25,000.
* 1968 instalment <u>must be</u> requisitioned

Rockefeller Bros. Fund:
1967 ended 3 yr. grant of $25,000 a yr for <u>Gen. Support</u> + 2-yr. grant of $50,000 a yr for U.E.P.
(Could Rock Bros. Also be persuaded to convert its U.E.P. funds to either increased gen. support or to Crime &/or Urban Planning.)

Taconic - State Councils
1967 ended 3-yr. grant of $25,000 a yr.
(I only list this for info. I think it is not to be renewed.)

File
Income Patterns -
General

May 3, 1968

FUNDS FOR GENERAL SUPPORT THAT OUGHT TO BE TAPPED IN 1968:

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
(Received $5,000 in 1967)

OTTINGER FOUNDATION
(Received $2,000 in 1967)

DECONINGH FOUNDATION
(Received $3,000 in 1967 - unsolicited)

DIVISION FUND
(Received $2,000 in 1967)

IRWIN-SWEENEY-MILLER FOUNDATION
(This is a three-year grant of $1,000 a year. WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED THE 1968 INSTALMENT - You might ought to requisition it.)

NEW LAND FOUNDATION
(Received $500 in 1967)

STERN FAMILY FUND
(You may not want to commit the Council to another binding matching grant, which is probably what Stern would want to do. However, it wouldn't hurt to feel the Fund out for a more lenient arrangement.)

HOPKINS FUND
(They've refused us for two years now - 1966 and 1967 - but they might come around in 1968)

NOTE: In thinking about a fund-raising effort with LABOR, you might want to try something of the same nature with the national religious bodies who used to give us substantial amounts of money, but which have in recent years sort of dwindled. Religion's conscience is pricked too, right now, and it might get great comfort in salving its conscience by making tangible contributions -- money-wise and otherwise. It wouldn't hurt to try.

MLM

Paul Anthony

David S. Broder

Voluntary Groups Cautioned About Joining Poverty War

SOON AFTER President Nixon returns from Europe, his Administration will reveal its plans for enlisting the private, voluntary organizations in the war on poverty and other urban problems. The private, voluntary organizations had best beware.

The effort to harness the formidable human energy of churches, lodges, fraternal and civic groups, youth organizations and business associations for an assault on the Nation's most serious human problems is so appealing one hates to raise a warning flag against it. Housing and Urban Development as the coordinator Romney, who has been designated as the coordinator of of this effort, is a man of overpowering sincerity and zeal for the good of his country.

Nevertheless, the private organizations should be wary. What the private philanthropic foundations have been going through on Capitol Hill ought to warn them that the embrace of the Federal Government, however well-intentioned, can be suffocating. To put it plainly, if the voluntary associations enter into partnership with the Government, they better be very sure they do not lose their freedom in the process.

THE FOUNDATIONS, whose presidents were summoned before the House Ways and Means Committee last week to justify their organizations' activities, enjoy somewhat the same kind of tax exemptions and special legal status that Congress has accorded to other private nonprofit groups. The hearings last week contained ominous implications that the price for those privileges may be conformity to governmental standards of behavior.

Rep. Wright Patman of Texas, who has made the foundations his specialty, obviously has the idea that they ought to shape up to his standards or be prepared to pay the price of losing their favored tax position.

To a non-expert, Patman appears to have made a strong prima facie case that some foundations have been used as tax dodges by their organizers to relieve their businesses of taxes which their competitors bear. But Patman is not content to rest his case there. He criticized other foundations solely on the grounds that their charities did not jibe with his personal priorities.

In his testimony to the Ways and Means Committee, for example, he ridiculed the Bollingen Foundation for financing "such esoteric research subjects as phenomology of Ianian religious consciousness.

While Congress and the Administration searched feverishly for funds to finance essential urban rebuilding programs," Patman said indignantly, "the Richard King Mellon Foundation sent $50,000 to Ireland for 'the preservation of historic buildings.' "

HE CRITICIZED the Commonwealth Fund for subsidizing medical education in Canada while there is a doctor shortage in the United States, and—with a fine disregard for logic—found fault with the Ford Foundation for subsidizing school decentralization experiments in New York and endowing study-and-travel years for young American political leaders. "Does the Ford Foundation have a grandiose design to bring vast political, economic and social changes to the Nation in the 1970's?" he asked.

It is the Patman attitude — anti-intellectual, chauvinistic and intolerant — that ought to make the voluntary associations cautious in their forthcoming negotiations with Government.

Some of their leaders have begun to realize that unless they are careful, they may find themselves becoming, as one of them put it, "glorified Gray Ladies carrying out assigned tasks from bureaucrats and politicians, but deprived of their right to innovate, to disagree, to criticize, to make trouble, "to design vast changes," or even, if you please, to follow their own eccentric interests.

THERE IS, obviously, no need for the private associations to reject the Nixon Administration's invitation to cooperate on social programs, or to block the proposal for a White House Conference on Voluntary Activity, which Romney is promoting.

But they have every reason to insist that the cooperation proceed on terms that protect their individualism and right to self-determination. Without this caution, a well-meaning effort to strengthen the role of the private groups could have the unintended effect of weakening their independence. And that would be a tragedy.

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file

Foundation Officials Alarmed by Proposals for Federal Curbs

By M. A. FARBERC

Key Federal proposals for reforming foundations, including the imposition of a tax on investment income and restrictions on such "political activities" as voter registration, have alarmed and dismayed many foundation, civil rights and educational leaders.

The officials contend that enactment of the proposals could take away tens of millions of dollars in potential grants; virtually end large-scale efforts to enroll new voters, especially among Negroes and Mexican-Americans, and restrain foundations from significantly aiding many groups involved in public issues from foreign policy to welfare needs.

They also maintain that the proposals — some by the Administration, others by Congressmen—could destroy such individual study-grant programs as the Guggenheim Fellowships.

J. George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, said yesterday the restrictions could have "a chilling effect on foundation innovativeness" and management.

Fears Have Intensified

Fears of increased Government intervention have intensified among foundation executives since the submission of omnibus Administration proposals, and the start of closed Congressional deliberations, in late April.

The Nixon Administration, in a move to straighten out what it regards as widespread misinterpretation of its stand on foundation and "political activities," released a statement of "clarification" through the Treasury Department yesterday.

But foundation officials who reviewed the statement said that it raised more questions than it answered and was still too harsh.

A Congressional suggestion that a 5 per cent tax be placed on foundations' income from investments — a proposal that foundation leaders thought until last week had been dropped—was said by Alan Fifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to "lack a clear rationale."

Mr. Pifer declared in an interview that the tax would "set a precedent for invasion of the entire tax-exempt field" and would "erode a basic principle of pluralism in American life."

The Administration's proposal on "political activities" was seen as "a completely unenforceable thing" by Robert N. Kreidler, executive vice president of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. "Where is the end of this kind of thing?" he asked.

Criticism Voiced

Another foundation director, who did not want to be identified, called this proposal "a know-nothing attack by small people who are going after foundations that are trying to get close to the fundamental problems of the country."

In the last year, foundations have been widely criticized—within and outside the Government—for allegedly abusing their tax-exemptions and for fostering "social revolution."

In February, Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat of Brooklyn, charged that Frederick W. Richmond had used a tax-exempt foundation set up by Mr. Richmond to help his attempt to unseat Mr. Rooney in a 1968 primary. Mr. Richmond, who lost, denied the claim.

Some Congressman have also expressed concern about a Ford Foundation grant to CORE in Cleveland in 1967 for voter registration and other youth and educational activities. The application of the $150,000 grant—most of which was not used for voter registration—is said to have helped elect Carl B. Stokes as the first Negro mayor of a major American city.

'Public Interest' Cited

Kingman Brewster Jr., president of Yale University, told the Economic Club of Chicago Thursday that any attempt by the Government to regulate the conduct of foundations through taxation or reduction of general privileges was against "the public interest."

And Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said Wednesday in a telegram to President Nixon that limits on foundations' freedom to support nonpartisan voter registration drives "would strongly weaken our argument that ballots are better than bullets."

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the President's chief urban affairs adviser, has tried to clear up what he regards as misinterpretation of the Administration's position on foundations.

And yesterday, at the urging of the White House, the Treasury Department issued a statement of "clarification" in re-

The department asserted that the Administration favored a far narrower ban on "political activities" by foundations than was understood by many officials who read the Administration's April 22 proposal to Congress.

Treasury Statement

According to the statement, the department recommended that private foundations "be prohibited from engaging in any activity intended to affect directly or indirectly a political campaign. This would include sponsoring voter registration drives, educational campaigns as to the issues in a political campaign or panel discussions between the candidates."

It said that the Administration proposal "would not prohibit or affect voter registration drives or other such political activities by charitable or educational organizations other than private foundations."

"Furthermore," it said, "a private foundation would be free to make a grant, without responsibility for accountability, to a publicly supported charitable or educational organization which, as part of its activities" legally sponsors voter registration drives.

Under current law, the department has said, foundations as well as other charitable bodies are allowed to "engage in educational activities which present a full and fair exposition of the facts and in activities which defend civil rights secured by law, even though such activities may have an effect upon political campaigns."

At the same time, these organizations are prohibited from "participating or intervening in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

Reaction: Confusion

The initial reaction of foundation leaders who examined the Treasury Department's statement yesterday was one of confusion and disappointment.

David F. Freeman, president of the Council on Foundations, echoed the sentiment of several foundation officials when he said that he could not "interpret the language successfully."

Vernon Eagle, president of the New World Foundation, termed the statement "nonsense" and said that it amounted to "a weaselly interpretation" of what was "still a very dangerous proposal that could be dynamite."

"Let's face it, this whole thing is racist," he continued. "It's discrimination against the blacks. And what's more, educational campaigns could mean anything, from assisting the Foreign Policy Association to helping with high school social studies books."

Some foundation leaders observed that relatively few, if any, foundations conducted voter registration efforts themselves or were operationally involved in political affairs.

Heavy Dependence

But, they said, charitable and educational groups that have been involved often depend heavily on foundation backing.

For example, the Southern Regional Council, which oversees the most extensive voter registration drive in the South, receives 95 per cent of its funds from foundations.

Thus, the officials concluded, a crucial factor would be the Government's definition of what constituted a "publicly supported" organization and the extent to which foundations would be permitted to aid those groups.

This question, and all other Administration proposals regarding the foundations, are now before the House Ways and Means Committee, which is studying over-all tax reforms.

House Panels' Plan

Last week, the committee went beyond the Administration recommendations and tentatively agreed not to allow the foundations to remain fully tax-exempt.

It also indicated a desire to have an institution such as a university interposed between a foundation and an individual recipient of a grant. The "middle' 'agency would presumably be more than a conduit or fiscal monitor and would have some control over who received grants.

Manning M. Pattillo Jr., president of the Foundation Center, seemed to reflect the thinking of many foundation officers when he said that taxing the foundations "is a little like taxing Macy's—it will be passed on to the customer." Mr. Pattillo estimated that 5 per cent taxation now on foundations' investment income would produce about $65-million.

Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education, estimated that the taxation on foundations would cost colleges about $25-million a year. Mr. Wilson, who warned that state governments might "take a cue" from such a Federal move, said the taxation "does not make any sense."

Gordon N. Ray, the president of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, said that the plan for placing an intermediary between a foundation and an individual in all cases would be "calamitous for American science, art and scholarship"—and for the Guggenheim program of fellowships.

Other foundation officials deplored an Administration proposal that would establish civil penalties against errant foundation managers and trustees. Mr. Harrar, of the Rockefeller Foundation, cautioned that enactment of this recommendation would result in "excessive conservatism" in the foundations.

File Foundations, General

FOUNDATION DOPE

NEW LAND FOUNDATION
(Mr. Robert Wolf, Secretary)

Even though they gave us a very modest grant of $500 in December 1964, and though this was earmarked for our Economic Counselling Project, it might be worth your while to try to see Mr. Wolf with an eye toward striking up a friendship with him. They have given us as much as $2,500 at a time (1957) for general support.

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
(Mr. Vernon Eagle, Dir.)

475 Riverside Drive
749-4171

Of course you know Vernon Eagle, and they don't owe us any money, except you've got a proposal before them for a Special Fund for Youth Projects. My guess is you'd still want to make a visit to the office if more important appointmenets won't keep you from doing so. We have received a 1965 gen. operations grant from them of $30,000, and a $20,000 grant in January to RAP.

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
(Mr. D. John Heyman, Secy.)

N. Y. Foundation has given us an annual grant of $5,000 since 1958; we're now paid through 1965. Our contact is John Heyman or Sol Markoff (of course, Markoff, as I recall will be leaving soon - he applied to LWDunbar for a consultant job with Field.

AARON E. NORMAN FUND
(Mrs. Deborah Cole, Exec. Secy.)

575 Madison Ave
PL 8-0059

Our contact is Mrs. Cole. Their grants to us for gen operations have fluctuated from $500 in 1958 up to as high as $5,000 in 1961. This year (1965) they gave us a grant of $2,500 - received in September. They have been a source of help in supporting such groups as Southern Consumers Co-Op, SSOC, State Councils, Committee for the Improvement of Education, and Partners for Progress. GUESS YOU'D BETTER GO SEE SISTER COLE!

OTTINGER FOUNDATION
(David Freeman serves as their consultant, and we submit our proposals through him)

We have received regular annual grants from them since 1959, the highest of which has been $2,000 both in 1960 and in 1964; they also gave us $2,000 in 1963 for VEP.

We now have a proposal before them, submitted August 16, 1965 -- a note from Freeman to Les indicates they will consider our proposal at their annual meeting in late fall.

FOUNDATION DOPE - cont.

Rockefeller Foundation 111 W. 50th St., 42nd Fl.,
Dr. Leland DeVinney, Deputy Director CO 5-8100

All I know here is that this year is the last year of their grants to us of $50,000 a year since 1961. We received the 1965 grant in May. I doubt it, but a visit to Dr. DeVinney might be in order -- incidentally, note letters (attached) dated May 7 and May 25 from J. Kellum Smith and John Greenfieldt respectively, regarding reporting on receipts and expenditures of 1965 grant by and no later than December 31, 1965.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund 30 Rockefeller Plaza CI 7-8135 ~~CI 7-0225~~
(David Freeman)

Want to see David Freeman on this trip? They've granted us, and we've already received $75,000 (June 19, 1964) for the years 1965-1967. A friendly visit might be good.

Taconic 666 Fifth Ave PL 7-5920 or PL 7-6579

Guess you'll see Currier and Jane Lee Eddy on this trip. Their 1965 grant to us for general operations amounted to $39,361.02. They have supported Operation Opportunity, $15,000; VEP for 2 years (1962-1963) $250,000 and a supplemental grant to VEP in 1964 totaling $89,000.

Milton Rector - Nat'l Comm on Crime & Delinquency NYC

NOTE:

I don't know whether you want to try for another grant from the MARION-R. ASCOLI FUND -- you remember they gave us a 5-year grant beginning in 1960 of $1,000 a year. We did submitted a renewal request on March 20, 1964, but have received no response.

ADELE LEVAY LEVY - who at the same time as Ascoli gave us a 5-year grant of $1,000 a year, has said emphatically that they will not renew.

M

Ford — 477 Madison Ave
PL 1-2900
Jane Hirschcoffe PL 1-6450

200,000

Jacobi	25,000	Rockefeller	50,000
New World	25,000	small funds	10,000
RBF	25,000	individuals	10,000
Ford	25,000	office related	10,000
	100,000	o'hd-other pgs	10,000
Field	25,000		90,000
	125,000		

"More often than not our staff comes properly paid – though there are notable exceptions. But the new art of being selected, & thereafter learning & performing well places your staff at a premium. To this must be added the opportunities we allow for imaginative excellence. To a degree not often found, our staff is free to prove how good they can be. This freedom & opportunity is the great staff benefit we can offer – & can offer almost exclusively. This too, however insures that our best will be constantly tempted.

Robt. Dennis -

~~Jane Hirschcliffe 477 Madison Pl 1-2900~~

Jay Bennett 9:30 Wed -

~~Deborah Cale - Norman Fried - 575 Madison~~

~~Mr~~ 2:00 pm. 5450

RB 7 - Dan Freeman - 30 Rockefeller Plaza

Vernon Eagle - 475 1908 Park Ave - 4 pm 120

Leland Devenney - 111 W 10 Th - St 42 - 2h.

Paul Pressler - 10 AM Wed

~~David Hunter - Stern 21240~~

532-0617

Mrs Ann Summers -

John Wheeler - Lucy - Heele -

MAYER, FRIEDLICH, SPIESS, TIERNEY, BROWN & PLATT
231 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60604

EUROPEAN OFFICE
4 PLACE DE LA CONCORDE
PARIS 8E
ANJOU 45-23

STATE 2-0600
CABLES
LEMAY, CHICAGO
LEMAYLAW, PARIS

RECEIVED
JUN 9 - 1969

June 6, 1969

Mr. Vernon Jordan
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

To follow up on our telephone conversation, I am delighted that you will be joining us at the next Commission meeting on June 27-28, 1969. I am attaching for your information a copy of the press release announcing the formation of the Commission -- it will give you further information about it.

You are scheduled for the Commission on Saturday morning, June 28. The meeting will be held at the Sheraton-O'Hare Hotel, which is right near O'Hare Airport. Would you please advise Miss Gerry Taylor, secretary to Mr. Peter G. Peterson, Bell & Howell Co., 7100 McCormick Road, Chicago, Illinois 60645, whether you will require room reservations for Friday night, June 27.

The Saturday morning session will be devoted particularly to a panel discussion referring to controversial activities by foundations. The plan will be for three or four people like yourself to make a brief presentation (about 15 minutes) and then to proceed with a panel discussion. We contemplate that there will be spokesmen contending that foundations should be activist in nature, even though the activities result in controversy. We also expect that other people will contend that foundations have enough to do in the non-controversial areas and should avoid controversy.

As I mentioned on the phone, we would hope that you would present views from the point of view of a foundation recipient in controversial areas. We also hope that you would be able to give your views on the so-called

"political activities" of foundations. One significant point here may be how the line is drawn between partisan activities which foreseeably directly favor one candidate or another -- as distinguished from political activities in a broader sense.

If you want to chat about any of these matters, I will of course be glad to hear from you. Again, let me say that I am delighted that you are coming and I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Everett L. Hollis

ELH/mk

Attachment

For Immediate Release

CHICAGO -- A commission of private citizens will make an independent and objective study of foundations and private philanthropy, it was announced today by Peter G. Peterson, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Bell & Howell Company here.

A private, non-governmental study group, "Commission on Foundations and Private Philanthropy," is now in the process of formation. Its members include prominent Americans representing a wide spectrum of experience and viewpoints.

Peterson, as Chairman of the Commission, announced those that have already agreed to serve on the Commission and indicated that several additional members may be added. In announcing the basis of their selection, Peterson said "our commission members must be unencumbered by any affiliations or strong predispositions that would make objective judgment difficult. Further than that, since the subject is a broad and complex one, it calls for men and women of proven capacities, experience and sensitivity in a number of convergent fields -- government, business, law, the arts and humanities and the physical and social sciences."

Mr. J. Paul Austin
President & Chief Executive Officer
The Coca-Cola Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Prof. Daniel Bell
Professor of Sociology
Columbia University
New York, New York
Chairman, Commission on the
Year 2000 of the American
Academy of Arts & Sciences

April 23, 1969

Daniel P. Bryant
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Bekins Moving & Storage Company
Los Angeles, California
Past President of Los Angeles area
Chamber of Commerce, and Los Angeles
Merchants & Manufacturers Association

Mr. James Chambers, President
Times Herald Printing Company
Publisher, Dallas Times Herald
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Sheldon S. Cohen
Cohen & Uretz
Washington, D.C.
Commissioner of Internal Revenue
1965-69

Mr. Thomas B. Curtis, Partner
Biggs, Hensley, Curtis & Biggs
St. Louis, Missouri
Member of the United States
House of Representatives 1950-1969;
Member of Ways and Means Committee,
Joint Economic Committee

Mr. Paul Freund
The Carl M. Loeb University Professor
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
President, American Academy of
Arts & Sciences, 1964-1967

Mr. Martin Friedman
Director of the Walker Art Center
Minneapolis, Minnesota
Commissioner, Smithsonian Commission
National Collection of Fine Arts

Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris
Professor of Law
Howard University
Washington, D.C.
United States Ambassador to
Luxembourg 1965-1967

Hon. A. Leon Higginbotham Jr.
Judge, United States District
Court for the Eastern District
of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Vice Chairman, National Commission
on Causes and Prevention of
Violence

Mr. Lane Kirkland
Executive Assistant to the
President, AFL-CIO
Washington, D.C.
President of the Institute of
Collective Bargaining and
Group Relations

Mr. Edward Levi, President
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois
Member, The White House Task
Force on Education, 1966-7

Mr. A. S. Mike Monroney
Washington, D.C.
Member of the United States
House of Representatives 1938-1950,
United States Senator, Oklahoma
1950-69

Peterson provided this background on formation of this Commission.

"Some time ago, John D. Rockefeller III, after consulting with others involved in philanthropy, asked if I would consider heading such a project, in light of recent reappraisals of the role of foundations in American society.

"Because of his long involvement in philanthropy, he suggested that I set up an independent commission to study the problem and to make concrete proposals for possible changes and improvements. One reason I was asked to assume the chairmanship is my lack of previous identification or affiliation with foundations."

The initial proposal for such a commission, Peterson noted, was advanced last year by Mr. Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, in an address to the Council on Foundations in Kansas City.

Since the subject of the study is not only one of major public policy, but also involves important legislative and regulatory aspects, Peterson said consultations were held with leaders in the Legislative and Executive branches of Federal and State governments.

"I was encouraged to find a broad consensus among them that such a commission could make a timely and productive contribution to this growing area of public concern and involvement. Thus, in deciding to accept this task," Peterson said, "I agreed that this was a commission whose time had come."

further conversations with the heads of several foundations disclosed the same view that an objective, independent study is needed to explore the role of philanthropy in a free society.

"What came out of these talks," Peterson continued, "was the widespread feeling that new kinds of questions need to be asked about the emerging and rapidly changing roles of individuals, foundations and the government, both in philanthropic and welfare efforts.

"In short, there are some urgent and short-term tax and abuse questions which should be studied and resolved, but there are the longer range and much harder and very important public policy issues of how private philanthropy and foundations might best focus their individual initiatives and resources to bear upon our rapidly changing and free society."

In addition to the choice of commission members, three general areas of activity have been mapped out. These are: financing, staff, and agenda. Peterson touched briefly on each of these areas:

"First, it is obvious that an objective study must be funded by financial support from a variety of sources. To this end, Mr. Hermon Dunlap Smith, Chairman Finance Committee, Marsh & McLennan, Inc., Chicago, has accepted the appointment as Finance Chairman, and will invite broadly based support from individuals, companies, labor unions, churches and educational institutions. It is our hope that we will be able to raise the needed funds from sources other than foundations.

"Second, anyone with experience on private commissions will agree that the quality of the staff adds immensely to the value of the final result. We have been most fortunate to acquire the services of Mr. Everett L. Hollis as executive director of the staff. Mr. Hollis is a partner in the Chicago law firm of Mayer, Friedlich, Spiess, Tierney, Brown & Platt, and was formerly general counsel to the Atomic Energy Commission. Other staff members include Walter Blum, Professor of Law, University of Chicago, and noted tax expert, and Fritz Heimann, associate corporate counsel, General Electric Company, New York. In addition, consultants will be obtained with expertise in a variety of fields in which philanthropy is involved.

"And, third, the usefulness of the answers from such a commission depends heavily on the quality of the questions. One of the important first functions of the commission and the staff is to formulate the right questions. While it would be premature and presumptuous to set out a formal agenda at this time, it may be suggested that there are at least several general areas for exploration. These are:

1. An appraisal of any abuses in foundation activities, and the proposal of fair and workable remedies.

2. The broader question of whether foundations continue to merit the basic tax exemptions they now enjoy, in their present form.

3. Going beyond the tax and abuse aspects, the much longer-range public policy issues relating to philanthropy and foundations. Such issues might include:

   a. New roles for private philanthropy and foundations as the government invests unprecedented amounts in traditional areas of welfare and philanthropy such as education, health and scientific research.

   b. Guidelines to help determine the proper role of private philanthropy with respect to controversial public policy issues and the political process.

   c. The degree and methods of public accountability the foundations should be responsible for, and how much of this accountability should involve government regulation, at both the federal and state levels.

Peterson indicated that current plans are to issue at least a preliminary report to the public within the present year. He added that the commission would seek the advice and suggestions of a broad cross-section of interested private citizens, with the public at large invited to express its views.

Peterson, 42, born in Kearney, Nebraska, has spent most of his adult life in the Chicago area. He received his undergraduate degree from Northwestern University, and his MBA from the University of Chicago.

He has been with Bell & Howell since 1958, progressing through various offices to his present post as chief executive officer in 1963. He serves as a trustee of the University of Chicago, Brookings Institution, and the Committee for Economic Development.

In 1955, he was designated "Outstanding Young Man of Chicago" by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and one of "The Nation's Ten Outstanding Young Men" in 1961. He lives with his wife and four children in Winnetka, Illinois.

* * * * *

For further information call:

Robert H. Moulton

A/C 312 - 673-3368

or

A/C 312-835-3693

Sohn Rust Foundation
508 Simmons Bldg
Pine Bluff, Ark.
Sep. 2

January 8, '53

Mr. John Rust
Pine Bluff, Ark.

Dear Mr. Rust,

I give you some report of the Council's year.

We began with the police-education program still the most active thing. By mid-year committees of church women had visited about 175 sheriffs or chiefs of police, taking them Race and Law Enforcement, and urging that they run their offices by the rules in the little blue book. Doesn't sound like a lot, but the women who went are an important part of local public opinion, and their interests will have been aroused in the future work of the sheriffs, and the law-enforcement officials quite understand that such a visit means a lively pressure for improvement. The booklet was sent, from with each State, to all the sheriffs and chiefs in the South, with the sole exception, I believe, of Florida.

By May we were trying to plan an educational campaign that would prepare the South ahead of time for whatever might ultimately come from the Surpeme Court on Schools. We got our key from a Negro Y. W. C. A. secertary in Charleston, who wrote in to say that she had a local interracial discussion group going on that subject, and what could we send her that would be helpful? Fortunately we had a good deal in print. And we could see that if we could get such local discussion groups going in many places across the South much would have been doing toward getting a more informed and tolerant public opinion. So we did Questions and Answers, the Schools and the Courts. Got it out in September, and it has gone with a rush ever since. Our links with various helpful groups are good, and when we wrote them about the booklet the orders that began to come in were heartening:

Virginia Council of Churches	200	
Am. Frds. Ser. Comm, G'boro, N.C.	100	
Miss. State Dept. of Edctn	1000	Q and A
	1000	Check List
Am. Frds. Ser. Comm, Phil. and Wash.	350	
Miss. Dvsn, S.R.C.	200	
Ga. State Tchrs and Edtn Assn.	1000	Q and A
	1,500	Check list

Supt. of Schools, Suffolk Co., Va.	7	
Atlanta YWCA Pub. Affairs Forum	16	
Board of Edctn, Meth. Ch.	255	Q and A
(to every Di. Supt)	255	Check List
Presbyterian Ch. in U.S. (Southern)	5000	
(to every minister)		
Ntn. Student Cncl, Y.W.C.A., Atlanta	25	
Rev Stephen Mackey, Charleston, S.C.	100	
Disciples of Christ	1000	
Ky. State Teachers Assn	400	
P. E. Diocese of Va	40	
P. E. Diocese of Atlanta	50	
Am. Jewish Committee	200	
Prof. Barnett, So. Bap. Theo. Sem.	36	
Chrstn. Life Commsn, So. Bap. Conv.	250	
A. F. of L., Wash., D.C.	1000	
C.I.O., Wash., D.C.	700	
N.C. Dvsn., SRC (to all schl bd chmn)	250	
Womens Cncl. Interr. Coop, Norfolk, Va.	100	
Ntnl. Cncl, P. E. Church	200	
Catholic Comm. of the South	60	
Bishp.S. L. Greene, AME Ch.	50	

And so on, to a total number of 28,000 so far, and it still goes out in quantities. We did a few weeks later a check list for local schools, to find out quickly the present differences between the two sets of schools, with a view to enabling any community to see what it would cost to equalize as against opening up. Idea was that after a group had used Q and A to develop the issues it would go on to work out the local facts with the Check List. We have no means of knowing how many actual discussion groups have used either or both of the booklets, but we do know of some scores of such local meetings, and we suppose that it High School and College debates, in local church meetings, and in labor groups, as well as in teachers meetings, the two things have been widely useful. I do not think it unfair to give to this small effort a goodish slice of the credit for the comparative calm with which the South has thus far approached the changes sure to follow on the Court's decision.

We've used New South, month by month, to hammer in the growing body of calming facts, We reviewed the growth of the Negro Vote, and its usefulness and acceptance; the South Carolina squabble over the school amendment; Arkansas' remedy on legislative reapportionment; remaining problems of unsegregating interstate travel; the whole issue of the schools as set out by Guy Johnson (a most popular job); the Court's questions at the end of the '52-53 Term; Negro and white income, State by State; and the status of the argument after the November hearings. We've had our usual fairly good experience with having editors pick up this or that point for local discussion, and we think what we've had to say, inconspicuous though New South is, has gotten into the stream of Southern controversy,

In November we had a chance to try out a promising device. The National Council of the Churches of Christ lent us a man (a Methodist minister on their staff) with all expenses paid for two weeks, to travel in any area we might agree on, to promote local discussion groups on the Schools question. We picked central Kentucky. The man's experience was extremely valuable. Everywhere he brought the issue to the doorstep of people who had known they had a duty, but hadn't bothered yet. And he got a good many local bodies together during his stay, and had promises of many more to follow afterwards. The National Council liked it, as we did, and they have given us another man, this time a Mississippian, to travel for two weeks in South Carolina. He's on the road now. If this one works there is prospect of the same arrangement being considerably multiplied, so that we could get good aseks of the South worked in this way. The thing our Council lacks is field people, to get things done systematically, and this promises a helpful way of gettingx s similar result.

Usual speechmaking, to College, Church, and other groups, netting in honoraria (at ten and twenty-five dollars a crack, mostly) a thousand dollars for the Council's treasury. Usual, and perhaps more than usual, amount of coaching reporters and magazine writers and letter-writers on thags Southern; to the point of tedium, but it does good.

Mrs. Tilly gathered in Atlanta in October fifty-odd leading Church women, of all denominations, from all over the South, white and Negro, and coached them in building a proper public opinion on the matter of the Schools.

I have myself met with citizen groups in Charleston, Knoxville, and Greensboro, and worked out with them systematic campaigns for getting open schools without friction.

We have seen that a fundamental next step is Negro members of local, and State, school boards, and we will put much emphasis on that in this present 1954.

I taught for a week at the A. F. of L. Southern labor school at Oklahoma City - really Civil Rights, but they called it Special Problems of Organizing Southern Labor. Did a C.I.O. one at Talladega, and the Kentucky Labor School, A. F. of L, and a one-day stand at Charleston to launch workers education in the South Carolina Industrial Union Council-CIO.

The Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law, to which you so kindly contributed a thousand dollars last year, has now its needed total of 4000 in the bank, and we have begun to pick the members of the commission, and to work out with four law schools the needed research. I think it can get really under way this year.

On funds in general, we are waiting in these particular days for the 1953 audit, and it will be sent you soon. It will be a better picture than in any recent year, with a carryover of debt of about a thousand dollars (all in the printer's bill), whereas we have lately had deficits of three or even six thousand dollars. We still don't know what happens to our major application to the Fund for the Republic, and have a hard time keeping together while they spin out their decision. But in any case, they are much the more favorable for every dollar of aid we get from within the South. And we are in squeezing need in these weeks. So do, Mr. Rust, see how your affairs go, and try to send us for 1954 a goodish lump sum. It would be for the general budget, which is what needs it most.

I'll try my best to get out this year the series of proposals on a program for farm tenants. Lewis Jones, at Tuskegee, has agreed to do the reqrite job it needs.

War regards to you and Mrs. Rust. I am grateful to you both for much kind hospitality to me. And here is a home at Atlanta, at 906 Lullwater Road, N.E., that's yours for the stopping!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

October 22, 1953

Mr Emil Rieve, Chairman
Philip Murray Foundation
99 University Place
New York 3, N Y

Dear Mr Rieve:

I am most grateful for your letter saying that the Council's request for a grant of one thousand dollars from the Philip Murray Foundation is to be considered at the next meeting of the Board.

We are in real distress for funds and I do greatly hope that the Board will find it possible to come to our aid. I have got through this far by many miracles; and I need another along about now!

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October 5

Revivie ltr of 8/26/54 to Walter Heacock - Dupont Foundation.

August 26, 1954

Dictated August 24

Dr. Walter Heacock
Du Pont Foundation
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Dr. Heacock:

Nat Welch at Opelika, Alabama, has very kindly sent me a copy of his letter to you of August 20. If your travel takes you into the South, I do hope you will stop by our office here in Atlanta. We claim to be knowledgeable about the South and have been useful to a good many people on the facts and problems of this region.

I have some links with Delaware and Delaware College and would enjoy talking with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mr. Nat Welch

August 20, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 27 19
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Walter Heacock
Du Pont Foundation
Wilmington, Del.

Dear Walter:

Congratulations on your appointment as Director of the Du Pont Foundation. This certainly is a most important position, and I wish you the best of success in your new undertaking.

The only thing Gloria and I have heard is that you have a "mansion on Brandywine Creek", and have been commissioned to spend your first year traveling around the world deciding where to spend a few Du Pont dollars. Would like to hear more details.

May I make a personal request that you look into one project? I am on the board of directors of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Conference. This organization was formed in 1945 to improve race relations in the South. They have done an excellent job with shoestring financing. The director, Dr. George S. Mitchell, is a man who has my unqualified support. He is a man of great principle and integrity, a Rhodes scholar and able social scientist with horse sense. I am taking the liberty of writing Dr. Mitchell, and having him give you further information about the Southern Regional Council.

Ralph Hammond is now married. I was best man at his wedding in June, at Arab when he and Myra Leak Porter took the vows. Ralph is to be press director for the new Folsom administration.

Evans Johnson spent the evening with us this week. He is teaching history at Stetson University, and asked that he be remembered to you. Both Gloria and I would like to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Nat Welch
Vice President, Sales

NW/gsw
cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

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LETTER TELEGRAM	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	COLLECT			

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

400 Prospect

Mailed copy of November 4 & 5 & summary this date

12/22/54

MR PAUL BRAISTED
THE HAZEN FOUNDATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

INFO AS OF NOVEMBER '54, AIRMAILED TO YOU GIVING BREAKDOWN BY TYPE OF COLLEGES FOR 150 IN SOUTH AND BORDER STATES NOW INTEGRATED. GUY JOHNSON AT CHAPEL HILL HAS FORTHCOMING UNC PRESS BOOK. RELATED PARTICULARLY TO PUBLIC SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS. SUMMARY CHAPTER IN ASHMORE'S THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS REVIEWS JOHNSON'S FINDINGS.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

SENDER IS AWAITING A SPEEDY **answer**

PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE

WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

54 DEC 22 AM 10 29

SYMBOLS

DL	Day Letter
NL	Night Letter
LT	Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT	Int'l Victory Ltr.

letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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TH ATLANTA

B.NVB035 PD=NEW HAVEN CONN 22 958AME=

GEORGE MITCHELL=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLA= 400 Prospect Ave

CAN YOU PROVIDE OR DIRECT US TO A BRIEF SUMMARY OF DATA ON CURRENT PRACTICES RELATIVE TO INTEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION STOP CLASSIFICATION OF DATA AS PUBLIC PRIVATE OR CHURCH RELATED AND IF POSSIBLE BY STATES WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR INFORMAL EXPLORATORY AND OFF RECORD MEETING STOP PLEASE REPLY BY COLLECT TELEGRAM AND IF POSSIBLE SEND SUMMARY AIR MAIL=

:PAUL J BRAISTED PRES HAZEN FOUNDATION==

ERVICE

February 8, 1955

Dictated February 7th

Mr. William Ellyson, Jr.
Director of Public Relations
Miller and Rhoads, Inc.
Richmond 17, Virginia

Dear Bill:

How very kind indeed that was of Miller and Rhoads to send us the $200.

I have thought of Miller and Rhoads kind willingness to help as something we might ask for in desperate plights. And last year as a matter of fact we weren't strained to meet our week to week expenses. But this year we are going to be rather hard put to it to fetch enough to match what we are required to match. So the $200 makes a good resounding plunk as it goes into the pot. We are having to raise a little over $40,000, which is more than we have done before.

Last April our long efforts to interest the Fund for the Republic in a substantial grant to the Council succeeded. They sent us $240,000 as the first of three annual contributions (sharply diminishing!) to enable us to get going in each of a dozen Southern states race relations agencies with paid staff. We have got them going in most of the states and should bring in the last few, Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia, in the next few weeks. I met with a group of Virginia people on February 1st, and shall be back again February 22nd.

Most of the states are making sound and praiseworthy plans. We are not supposing that the job we have to do is easy, but we do find surprising numbers of people of good will about.

I will come to see you and Louise the next time I can be up there with a car.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Miller & Rhoads

INCORPORATED

RICHMOND 17, VIRGINIA

February 2, 1955

FEB 4 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

In closing our fiscal year, we were chagrined to realize that we had planned to give you $200 in the year just closing and that so far as I could tell, no request had come to us for it. I am, therefore, enclosing our check. CR rna

Louise and I were distressed to miss you recently when you dropped by the house but we did appreciate your thoughtfulness.

With all good wishes to you and yours.

As ever,

Bill

William Ellyson, Jr.
Director of Public Relations

WEJr/ow

March 17, 1955

Miss Charlotte von Stein
Executive Secretary
Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc.
164 Lexington Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Stein:

Thank you for sending us the copies of How to Organize a Freedom Agenda Project, which I have mailed to the state organizations affiliated with SRC.

// mailed 3/16/55 eab

Dr. Mitchell is again out of the city, but I am sure he would want me to express his personal appreciation for your cooperation in sending the Freedom Agenda pamphlets to the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

eab/

March 24, 1955

Mr. Louis Aronstam
834 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Aronstam:

How very kind indeed that is of you to send us on through Leonard Haas the contribution from the Rita H. Aronstam Charitable and Educational Foundation.

We remember with appreciation Mrs. Aronstam's correspondance with Mr. Zellerbach.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official Receipt $50.00

cc: Leonard Haas

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
LAIRD W. SHULL

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

March 23, 1955

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

MAR 24 1955

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed please find contribution from Rita H. Aronstam Charitable and Educational Foundation in the amount of $50.00.

Acknowledgment should be made to Mr. Louis Aronstam at 834 Lullwater Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM
ENC.

June 10, 1955

NOTE:

While the letter which this list accompanies says that the list reaches back approximately a year, as a matter of fact this covers only the period January 1, 1955 to date.

FOREIGN VISITORS

	NAME	OCCUPATION	COUNTRY
1.	Daniel Roth	Journalist	Switzerland
2.	Michael Stewart	Labor M.P.	England
3.	John Hall	Conservation M.P.	England
4.	Ernst S. Schlange-Schoeningen	Agricultural Secretary	Germany
5.	Theodore Lefevre	Chamber of Deputies	Belgium
6.	Djuka Julius	Journalist	Jugoslavia
7.	Madhav Kamath	Journalist	India
8.	Hendrik Vos	Dutch Labor Party	Netherlands
9.	Sastrowardojo Surjono	Delegate to United Nations	Indonesia
10.	Frits Kaestner	Ministerial Director	Germany
11.	Mr. and Mrs. David Ginsburg	Labor Party, Research Division	England
12.	B. Rajaram	Manager, Textile Mills	India
13.	N. Bose	Engl. Supervisor, Labor Union	India
14.	H. R. Kolte	Gen. Sec. Tex. Labor Union	India
15.	R. H. Patel	Sec. Textile Labor Union	India
16.	S. K. Chatterjee	Ass't Gen. Man. Labor Union	India
17.	Akira Iwai	Dir. Planning Dept. Labor Union	Japan
18.	Yojiro Kurokawa	Labor Union Executive	Japan
19.	Jinsuke Mitsumura	" " "	Japan
20.	Manjiro Mokumoto	" " "	Japan
21.	Gensaku Sugiyama	" " "	Japan
22.	Michael Adams	Journalist (BBC)	England
23.	Clyde Sanger	British Army	England
24.	Andrew Bonar-Law	British Army	England
25.	S. Tas	Journalist	France
26.	Nicholas Chatelain	Journalist	France
27.	Olaf Radkie	Attorney, Labor Union	Germany
28.	Werner Meyer	Editor, Fraenkische Presse	Germany
29.	Wilhelm Riepekohl	Editor, Fraenkische Tagespost	Germany
30.	R. H. Hafferkorn	Foreign Service Officer	Germany
31.	Mrs. Hedwig Meerman	Com. Social Democratic Women	Germany
32.	Miss Bernadette Faure	Association of Manufacturers	France
33.	Jean Bertrand	Department of Labor	France
34.	Michel Cordeviola	Reg. Insp. Enf. of Soc. Laws in Agriculture	France
35.	Remy Moreau	Labor Union member	France
36.	Andre Lienard	Labor Union member	France
37.	Herbert Kreter	Prof. of English Studies	Germany

38. A party of eight foreign students. Sponsored by the Association for World Travel Exchange.

39.	Felix V. Makasiar	Dist. Judge, Prof. of Law and Dir. Foreign Affairs Association of Philippines	Philippine Islands
40.	Stig Lundgren	Soc. Dem. Labor Party	Sweden
41.	Jaipaul	Pub. Rel. Off. Congress Party	India
42.	Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm Kaeber	Schleswig-Holstein Social Democratic Party	Germany
43.	John Kernan	Missionary	South Africa
44.	Kenneth Lamb	Lecturer	England
45.	O. F. Raum	Professor	South Africa
46.	K. B. Anderson	Folk School Principal	Denmark
47.	John S. Grant	Forest Ranger	Scotland
48.	Rolf Gutbrod	Professor of Architecture	Germany
49.	D'Arco Silvio Avalle	Professor	Italy

June 10, 1955

Mr. Philip Weltner
Oglethorpe University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Weltner:

This is a request to the Woodruff Foundation for a grant of $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council for a particular project.

The last few years have seen the formalization of and a steady increase in the flow of officially sponsored foreign visitors to this country and to Atlanta. The greater part of those who come to Atlanta choose this city because they think of it as a center from which they can get some understanding of "the South," and one of their major interests in the South is to catch into the change of race relations in the region. At a rate which varies but which frequently runs to four, five, or six in a week, these foreign visitors come to the office of the Southern Regional Council and ask to be briefed on socio-economic matters in the South.

The list attached gives those who have come to us for aid of this kind since we began to keep a record of these visitors about a year ago. For a couple of years before we began to keep a list we had about an equivalent flow of such visitors.

They come to us directly sponsored by the State Department or by the U. S. Labor Department. Some are guided about by the Institute of International Education. Others are brought in with special assistance from the Carnegie Corporation or other foundations. Some few are here on their own. The various agencies which sponsor and make arrangements for these visitors are in constant communication with the Southern Regional Council lining up time with us in advance. As to quite a number of visitors -- I would say a dozen a year at least -- we are asked to provide the full service of arranging the schedule of the visitor while in this city, making appointments for him here and there with various persons to be interviewed, and arranging transportation to points of interest. This is time consuming with a vengeance. Even the visitor whose program is tolerably mapped ahead of time takes many hours of the time of staff people in this office.

They come hungry for an impartial and well-informed discussion of the present stage in the South. I drop what I am doing, for the greater part of the visitors and spend several hours with them. Frequently it is the case that I am not available and one of the assistant directors of the Southern Regional Council takes over and holds a similar discussion. Word has got about on whatever is the grapevine managed for and by visitors that this Southern Regional Council is obliging and informed and judicious, and most of the foreign visitors who reach Atlanta come at one time or another to our office for aid.

We are glad to provide this service. In common courtesy we could not do otherwise. And as the visitor has only limited time in the city his needs must take precedence over the work on hand in this office.

We are extremely busy with organizing and leading twelve newly established state-wide agencies in race relations throughout the South, with the proceeds of a substantial grant from the Fund for the Republic and with other resources. That is our first and most important job. And yet we must constantly interrupt it in order to do this work with the visitors.

What we would like would be a grant from the Woodruff Foundation which would cover a goodish part of the professional staff time involved. It is not a matter of adding personnel to our office to handle foreign visitors; they must be served by the active staff members whose fingers are into our general program all the time.

I grant the difficulty of calculating exactly the staff time involved. All I can say is that this matter probably takes a fifth of my time and a fifth of the time of some three other leading members of our staff. Thus calculated it amounts to four-fifths of a single salary of say $8,500. We would be pleased if $5,000 of that amount could be covered. Included within a grant of $5,000 we would like to have as much as $400 earmarked as available for incidental out-of-pocket expenses in connection solely with foreign visitors. There is a good deal of taking people out to lunch and having a cab come for a man to be taken here or yonder.

The service the Southern Regional Council provides in this connection is important to the South, to the United States, and to comity within the free world. Ours is an honest but a constructive point of view on the particular problems of the South. The foreign visitor arriving is nine times out of ten disposed to be quite critical of the institutional arrangements prevalent in the South. We can and do get them to understand the matter and to be aware of the very great improvements actively underway. We have no means of making a post-audit of the minds of our instructed visitors, but as the various governmental agencies concerned continue to send the visitors to us, we suppose that the information we have supplied has been thought helpful in government circles.

The Southern Regional Council is tax-exempt under the terms of the enclosed Treasury letter.

We would be happy to supply further information if it would be helpful to the Woodruff trustees.

We ask for the grant for a single year and would only propose renewing our request in another year if the volume of visitors held as heretofore and if reports to the Woodruff trustees lead them to have a continuing approval of the aid that would be given.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl: List of Foreign Visitors
Treasury Letter of Tax-Exemption

cc: KS

THE EDWARD W. HAZEN FOUNDATION
400 PROSPECT STREET
NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT

February 1, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I expect to be in Atlanta next week from midafternoon on Tuesday until midday on Thursday. If you are there I would welcome an opportunity to get your thought about some aspects of integration in higher education. I'll telephone soon after my arrival to see whether there would be an opportunity sometime on Wednesday or at a relatively early hour on Thursday morning.

Sincerely yours,

Paul J. Braisted

Paul J. Braisted
President

PJB:dkm

Under separate cover:
New South, April-June, '56
Grey Leaflet
Changing Patterns
What the Supreme Court Said
Mimeographed History of the SRC
Publications List
Three Views of the Segregation Decision

August 21, 1956

Farfield Foundation, Inc.
133 East Fortieth Street
Suite 205
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Farfield Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

We are fact-gatherers about the Southern situation; and would be glad to be serviceable to you if at any time you think we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:

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August 21, 1956

The S. Brachmans Fund, Inc.
706 Commercial Standard Building
Fort Worth, Texas

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the S. Brachmans Fund, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:

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August 21, 1956

W. C. and Sarah H. Bradley Foundation
1017 Front Avenue
P. O. Box 140
Columbus, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the W. C. and Sarah H. Bradley Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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August 21, 1956

PA: note

The Division Fund
134 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Division Fund in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 21, 1956

Colt Foundation
Empire State Building
Suite 8024
New York 1, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Colt Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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August 21, 1956

Burroughs Foundation
6071 Second Avenue
Detroit 32, Michigan

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Burroughs Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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August 21, 1956

Godfrey L. Cabot Charitable Trust
77 Franklin Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Godfrey L. Cabot Charitable Trust in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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August 21, 1956

Cabot-Saltonstall Charitable Trust
140 Federal Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Cabot-Saltonstall Charitable Trust in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 21, 1956

Louis D. Beaumont Foundation
820 National City Bank Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Louis D. Beaumont Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 21, 1956

B. and J. Association
177 North State Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the B. and J. Association in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 22, 1956

The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Henry Luce Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Executive Director

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August 22, 1956

The Louis B. Mayer Foundation
9885 Charleville Boulevard
Beverly Hills, California

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Louis B. Mayer Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 22, 1956

Old Dominion Foundation, Inc.
140 East Sixty-Second Street
New York 21, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Old Dominion Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 22, 1956

Olin Industries, Inc.,
Charitable Trust
St. Louis Union Trust Company
323 North Broadway
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Olin Industries, Inc., Charitable Trust in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 22, 1956

Payne Fund, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Payne Fund, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 22, 1956

Standard Oil Foundation, Inc.
910 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Standard Oil Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under Separate Cover:

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August 22, 1956

Sam Spatt Foundation, Inc.
514 West Forty-Ninth Street
New York 19, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Sam Spatt Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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August 22, 1956

Aaron Straus and Lillie Straus Foundation, Inc.
One South Howard Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Aaron Straus and Lillie Straus Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

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George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under Separate Cover:
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August 22, 1956

Irving D. and Janet S. Karpas Foundation, Inc.
c/o Irving D. Karpas
39 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Karpas:

We note the interest of the Irving D. and Janet S. Karpas Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

We are fact-gatherers about the Southern situation; and would be glad to be serviceable to you if at any time you think we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

9/4/56

Frances:

Please take the Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation off the SRC mailing lists.

Address: 60 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N. Y.

THE LOUIS J. AND MARY E. HOROWITZ FOUNDATION, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

RECEIVED AUG 29 1956

p.c. attached
(ER)

August 27, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In response to your letter of August 21st, I regret to advise you that all of our resources have been allocated for the benefit of organizations and institutions which have been receiving our support for many years, and we are therefore not in a position to act favorably on any new requests for grants or contributions.

In these circumstances, the material enclosed with your letter is being returned to you under separate cover.

does this mean that we should take this name off our mailing list for N.S.?
(ER)

Very truly yours,

George R. Schmidt

George R. Schmidt
Secretary

GRS:fm

Yes
ER

Under separate cover:
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August 21, 1956

The Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, Inc. in intercultural relations.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Next Steps

Publicity
What the Supreme Court Said
Toward The South of The Future
Three Views of the Desegregation Decision
the South of The future
audit - ~~oct~~ - 55 to Nov. 56
New South, Sept, Oct. June '56

O. Fredman

November 5, 1956

Mr. Fred Lazarus, Jr.
Federated Department Stores
707 Race Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mr. Lazarus:

One day last week a Mr. Charles Shaw of Houston, Texas, and I called on Mr. Max Levine and Mr. Maurice Lazarus at Foley's, and made bold to ask them for a modest contribution from their store to the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Levine explained the policy on limiting gifts from any individual store to local causes and laid this down as stemming from Federated Department Stores. The policy is wise, and we can only praise it. I concluded that if we in the Southern Regional Council as a Southwide agency desired aid we could approach you.

I should not be at all surprised but what Mr. Levine and Mr. Lazarus in Houston will make some personal contribution themselves. Mr. Charles Shaw is President of the Watchtower Life Insurance Company, with home offices in Houston. This is a Texas-wide business, insuring for the most part Negro residents, and outstandingly successful. A long and respectable career in Houston has earned for Mr. Shaw noteworthy respect from the business community of that city. Mr. Shaw is also a Board member of our Southern Regional Council; hence his interest.

The Council is a stable, truthful, and non-propagandist body working in the field of race relations in the Southern states. Our Board members are exclusively persons resident in the South. They are perhaps evenly divided between Negro and white membership. We go back in history to the origination of the Old Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1919 which was democratically transformed into the Southern Regional Council in 1944.

We have had remarkably generous support from various foundations and an occasional business firm, from some few of the trade unions, from most of the churches, and from a large number of interested individual persons. Mr. Edwin Lukas of the American Jewish Committee has worked closely with us and would speak well of us. I have known personally for many years Marshall Bragdon there in your own Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee in Cincinnati.

I send a recent audit of the Council, and a copy of our letter establishing tax-exemption. I ask for no great sum, but we would be extremely appreciative if Federated Department Stores could consider us for a grant on the order of $500.

Thalhimer's in Richmond has helped us occasionally and so have Miller and Rhoads.

A brief history of the Council comes up with this, and separately some copies of various of our recent publications.

Too long to go into how we work. Perhaps somebody will call Marshall Bragdon who knows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eat
Encls.

cc: Mr. Marshall Bragdon

FARFIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
SUITE 1206
37 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

JULIUS FLEISCHMANN, PRESIDENT
ROBERT K. STRAUS, SEC'Y-TREAS.

RECEIVED NOV 26 1956

Copy to the foundation
cultivated 8/21-22/56
GSM

November 21, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 8 enclosing a copy of a recent quarterly report from the Southern Regional Council to its own Board, as well as for the material about the work of the Council enclosed with your letter of August 21.

It is very kind of you to keep us informed of the progress of the various programs of the Council. With best wishes for the success of your present endeavours,

Sincerely yours,

John Thompson
V.M.

John Thompson
Executive Director

JT:vm

Eastman Family Fund

February 5, 1957

Mrs. Lucius R. Eastman
121 Marmaroneck Road
Scarsdale, New York

Dear Mrs. Eastman:

You have been an understanding and generous friend of the Southern Regional Council. As 1957 gets underway and we plan increased activity -- diminished as we are by George Mitchell's retirement! -- we face a special and immediate need. If you can assist the Council again at this time, we shall be deeply grateful and the work of the Council will be benefitted out of all proportion.

In this, the third and last year of assistance to our state-organization effort from the Fund for the Republic, the allocation for our central activities is drastically reduced. Accordingly, we are faced with a greatly enlarged fund-raising task at precisely the time when we are undertaking expansion of our efforts to meet the mounting demands for an organization of this kind in the South.

We have tried to convey in the enclosed report some idea of the various efforts which we expect to carry on this year on an expanded and more effective scale. I hope it conveys, too, some sense of the eagerness and resolve with which our Board and staff approach opportunities that the Council, almost uniquely, is equipped to meet.

On a personal note, I might add that I have been vastly encouraged, on assuming a position of formidable responsibility, by the spirit of dedication which both the staff members and lay leadership of the Council have shown.

With appreciation and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

by MAW

(Note: This letter dictated to EAB/via long-distance phone on February 20, 1957)

From: ltr dtd 2/19/57 from Reed Sarratt to MAW.

"You ask about the Babcock and other foundations. Charles H. Babcock is the greatest influence in the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. If I am not mistaken, the Foundation has about thirty million dollars at its disposal. I do not know Mr. Babcock's attitude on civil rights. I know him, but I would not want to approach him for you. I suggest that the best approach would be a direct one. Simply write him and tell him what you want. If you wish, you may approach him through Leon Rice, who is Secretary of the Foundation and an attorney associated with the firm of Wample, Carlyle, Sandridge and Rice.

There are two other major foundations in Winston Salem. One is the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation. Richard J. Reynolds is the most important individual involved with the distribution of funds from this foundation. Spratton Coyner of Winston Salem handles most of Mr. Reynolds local affairs.

The other foundation is known as the Winston Salem Foundation. It is composed of a collection of trusts set up for administration through the Trust Department of the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company. Carlyle Bethel is the head of this department. Gilbert Hine, I believe, is the Secretary of the foundation.

If you want to inquire as to the possibility of obtaining funds through any of these foundations, I should appreciate your not using my name."

cc: FBR
PA

February 20, 1957

Mr. Herbert A. Tripp, Jr.
Federated Department Stores, Inc.
Federated Building
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Mr. Tripp:

We were indeed sorry to learn that your contributions committee was unable to approve a contribution to the Southern Regional Council at this time.

We feel that the Council is in a unique position to make a positive contribution to Southern progress in a time of great difficulty. I hope that it may be possible for your company to consider further the possibility of financial assistance to the Council at a later time.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

FEDERATED DEPARTMENT STORES, INC.
FEDERATED BUILDING
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

February 12, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 14 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your recent letter addressed to Mr. Fred Lazarus, Jr., president of our company, written on behalf of the Sourthern Regional Council, Inc.

This request has had the careful consideration of our contributions committee. We regret, however, that we are not able to make a corporate contribution at this time.

Cordially yours,

Herbert A. Tripp, Jr.

Herbert A. Tripp, Jr.

HAT/mhk

ABRAHAM & STRAUS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
BLOOMINGDALE'S, NEW YORK, NEW YORK
BOSTON STORE, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
BURDINE'S, MIAMI, FLORIDA
FILENE'S, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
FOLEY'S, HOUSTON, TEXAS
FEDWAY STORES
LAZARUS, COLUMBUS, OHIO
SANGER'S, DALLAS, TEXAS
SHILLITO'S, CINCINNATI, OHIO

Suspend to Apr 1 '57

Separate cover:
February, '57 N.S.
September '56 N.S.
Integration, N & S
Public Affairs Pamphlet
Changing Patterns
Koinonia Release
21 cities release (Jan. issue N.S.)
Thermo-fax copy of NYT article on resistance groups 12/2/56

March 1, 1957

The Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

Yesterday I had an opportunity to discuss the activities of the Southern Regional Council with Mr. Roger Baldwin and he suggested that I write you promptly.

I very much hope that in planning its future program the Robert Marshall Trust will provide for inquiry into the work of the Council and consideration of assistance to us. As preliminary background, I am enclosing some material which briefly describes the Council's program and am sending separately several publications which illustrate its approach.

We will, of course, submit more detailed information as soon as it is convenient for the Trust to entertain a formal request.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Encl. "The South of Promise"
"Toward the South of the Future"
Mimeographed history of SRC

Dictated by phone/

Robert Marshall Trust —
Executive's name, if possible —
If not, "Dear Sirs:"

Yesterday I had an opportunity to discuss the activities of the Southern Regional Council with Mr. Roger Baldwin and he suggested that I write you promptly.

I very much hope that in planning its future program the Robert Marshall Trust will provide for inquiry into the work of the Council and consideration of assistance to us. As preliminary background I am enclosing some material which briefly describes the Council's program and am sending separately several publications which illustrate its approach.

We will, of course, submit more detailed information as soon as it is convenient for the Trust to entertain a formal request.

Enclosures: The South of Promise
Toward the South of the Future
Mimeographed history of SRC

Send separately: latest issue, New South
September, 1956, issue of New South
Integration, North and South
Public Affairs pamphlet
Changing Patterns
Koinonia Release
21 Cities Release — Jan issues M.S
Special report
Reprint of NY Times (Paul is to take care of this. It's connected, ~~I think~~, with the special report)

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

March 29, 1957

Dear Sam:

I tried to telephone you about Harold Fleming seeing of the excellent Southern Regional Council. Both you and the Marshall Fund might be interested in him and what he says.

As ever,

Norman Thomas

This, obviously, is an introduction!

Enclosure:
History of SRC

April 22, 1957

Mr. Nathan Levin
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Levin:

When I was in New York a few weeks ago Ed Lukas was kind enough to call your office to see if it would be possible for you to talk with me about the Southern Regional Council. I am sorry it wasn't possible to arrange an appointment on that short notice, and I am taking this second best means to ask your advice.

As you may know the Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization of some years standing, devoted to improving race relations in the region. It was founded in 1944 as the successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. At its founding and for several years thereafter, the Council's principal support came from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Indeed it is not too much to say that the Council might never have been formed had it not been for the interest and support of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Since the Supreme Court's school segregation decision in 1954, the serious problems of adjustment in the South have led to increasingly heavy demands on the Southern Regional Council. In order to expand our activities in proportion to the need for them, we are having to seek new sources of financial support. It has occured to us that Mr. Lessing Rosenwald and Mr. William Rosenwald might be interested in the work of the Council. Both Mrs. Ascoli and Mrs. Levy are familiar with the Council and contribute to it, and Mr. Edgar Stern has been a friend and supporter of the Council since it was organized.

Would it be convenient for me to explore this possibility further with you, or would it be more appropriate for me to write directly to Mr. Lessing and Mr. William Rosenwald? I shall greatly appreciate your consideration and advice.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

July 23, 1957

Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald
511 Meetinghouse Road
Jenkentown, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Rosenwald:

This is to ask your consideration of a contribution to the work of The Southern Regional Council.

As you may know, the Council is an interracial organization working in twelve Southern states for improved race relations and the elimination of discrimination and segregation. It was founded in 1944 by such distinguished Southerners as Dr. Howard Odum, Dr. Will Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, and others of like stature, as the successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. During its early years, the Council's main support came from the Julius Rosenwald Fund; indeed, it may be said that the establishment of the Council was due to the generosity of the Fund.

We believe that the role of the Southern Regional Council since -- particularly at the crucial period in the South today -- testifies to the wisdom of that initial investment. The aftermath of the Supreme Court's school segregation decision has posed enormous problems of interracial adjustment and public policy, vital to the nation as well as the South. The Southern Regional Council and its state affiliates represent, uniquely, a body of responsible white and Negro Southerners working for orderly compliance with the decision. As an established organization, with reputation and experience, the Council has an unmatched opportunity to make a decisive contribution at this critical time in Southern development. Rather than extend this letter unduly, I am enclosing materials which describe the history, make-up, and current activities of the Council.

Needless to say, the situation demands greatly expanded efforts of us. And these demands come at a time when fear and tensions make it harder than ever to raise funds in the South for work of this kind. We must look for support to those persons, irrespective of region, who recognize the importance of organized effort by Southerners to achieve interracial progress.

The greater part of our budget for 1957 has been raised, but the Council must have approximately $16,000 from new sources in order to complete the year. This is written in the hope that you will consider a contribution of $2,500 toward this need.

Mrs. Ascoli, Mrs. David Levy, and Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Stern are acquainted with the Council's work and have contributed generously to it. Thus they would be in position to give an informed opinion as to the worthiness of this request.

In addition to the materials mentioned above, I am enclosing our official U. S. Treasury letter of tax-exemption. If further information would assist your consideration, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Ltr. of Tax-Exemption
List of Board Members
1957 Budget
"South of Promise"
"Brief History of SRC"

RECEIVED AUG 19 1957

WILLIAM ROSENWALD
122 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

August 15, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of July 23 with regard to the Southern Regional Council, Inc..

Undoubtedly, the Southern Regional Council meets a great need in the South and I only wish it were possible for me to contribute to all the worthwhile causes which are brought to my attention. Unfortunately, my budget is heavily overcommitted at this time and precludes my taking on any new commitments.

With all best wishes for your work, I am

Cordially,

William Rosenwald

July 23, 1957

Mr. William Rosenwald
122 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenwald:

Some time ago, Mrs. Max Ascoli was kind enough to offer to speak to you about the work of the Southern Regional Council and to ask you to grant me an interview. Unfortunately, my brief visits to New York since then have found you unavilable; therefore, I am taking the liberty of writing you instead.

As you may know, the Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization working in twelve Southern states for improved race relations and the elimination of discrimination and segregation. It was founded in 1944 by such distinguished Southerners as Dr. Howard Odum, Dr. Will Alexander, Dr. Charles Johnson, and others of like stature, as the successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. During its early years, the Council's main support came from the Julius Rosenwald Fund; indeed, it may be said that the establishment of the Council was due to the generosity of the Fund.

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In addition to the materials mentioned above, I am enclosing our official U. S. Treasury letter of tax-exemption. If further information would assist your consideration, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Ltr. of Tax-Exemption
List of Board Members
1957 Budget
"South of Promise"
"Brief History of SRC"

Encls: Congressional Record Reprint - Douglas' Speech
South of Promise
New South - Oct. 1957
New South - Voting Survey

November 25, 1957

Mrs. Abraham L. Freedman
1014 West Hortter Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Freedman:

Frank Loescher has told me of his conversation with you about the work of the Southern Regional Council and the possibility of aid from the Sunstein Foundation. ——— file

As I am sure you understand, resistance to desegregation in the South has greatly increased the demands on the Council. At the same time, it has become more difficult than ever before to get financial support in the South.

I very much hope that the Sunstein Foundation may find the work of the Council sufficiently important to warrant its interest and support. If you feel that the trustees would be willing to consider a request from us, we should like to submit one before the next board meeting.

Enclosed are materials describing the origin, aims, and activities of the Council, and I am taking the liberty of adding your name to the mailing list of our monthly publication, New South. If further information on any point would be helpful, please let me know.

I am grateful for your interest and will appreciate any advice you may give me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures.

November 2, 1962

Mr. David M. Heyman
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

I read in the New York Times about your recent honoring in recognition of your twenty-five year service as president of the Foundation, fifty years as a trustee. I know that you must be overburdened with congratulations at this time, but I would like, on behalf of the Council, to add ours.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Foundations
"Cultivation"

August 27, 1963

Mr. Richard P. Windisch
Secretary-Treasurer
Lucius and Eva Eastman Fund, Inc.
11 Wall Street, 21st Floor
New York 5, New York

Dear Mr. Windisch:

This is to place before the Lucius and Eva Eastman Fund a proposal for support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's work in behalf of better human relations in the South has had your long and valued interest and we hope that you may be able to give this request your consideration.

The Council is confronted this year with a financial problem that has stricken many other institutions as well. We have received generous -- sometimes even unsolicited -- grants for special projects. The basic structure of the Council, which supports these projects, with program as well as with administration, is, however, inadequately financed.

As you may note, for example, from page 3 of our 1963 budget (enclosed), our Voter Education Project alone has more funds than has our central operations; I might add that the size of the Voter Education Project is now substantially larger even than the budgeted figure. Three-fourths or more of these funds go directly to the support of the voter registration efforts of Negro organizarions, and all the funds aid these efforts.

To all of its programs, the Council brings skilled staff and a reservoir of experience built through years of work in the South. This has yielded the public confidence which makes possible the effectiveness that our special projects and our general programs now have. In the present climactic days of the southern civil rights struggle, these assets are needed more than ever.

Our general operations budget supports this base, as well as -- with rare exceptions -- all our publications, our research and information services, and our field consultation services.

Our prospects for 1963 are that income for general operations will be $15,000 - $20,000 below the budgeted requirement of $178,481. The Lucius and Eva Eastman Fund has in the past contributed to the Council, most recently, I believe, in 1954. We are hoping that you may be in a position to assist us this year in meeting this deficit.

We are enclosing several exhibits. If you should require additional information in order to reach a decision, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

file

THE SAM WYLY FOUNDATION
P. O. Box 45440
DALLAS, TEXAS 75235

April 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks for your letter of April 10, offering your assistance to us. Although I have no present plans to be in Atlanta soon, I am sure that within the next four months or so, I will be. Prior to the visit, I will contact you concerning a time to meet.

You are correct that enlightened and concerned philanthrophy is much needed today, especially in the South.

Thanks for your offer, and I look forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,

Alan Steelman

Alan W. Steelman
PROJECTS DIRECTOR

AWS:pmh

Make file
Sam Wyly Fd.

April 10, 1969

Mr. Alan Steelman
Executive Director
Sam Wyly Foundation
P. O. Box 45440
Dallas, Texas 75235

Dear Mr. Steelman:

Several weeks ago Vernon Eagle suggested to me that it might be to our mutual advantage for us to get together. This is merely to express my hope that we can do so.

While, quite obviously, we have our own money needs we have too, I believe, a very wholesome relationship with a number of foundations. This is to indicate to you that if we here can be of any assistance to you in developing your program, we would be more than happy to do so without considering that we were being encouraged to think that any cooperation was an overture on your part toward support of us.

I feel very strongly the needdfor more enlightened and concerned philanthrophy for the innumerable unmet needs of the country. I would be, therefore, delighted if there is any way in which we could assist the Wyly Foundation toward that end.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Bring up May 12

April 21, 1969

Mr. John H. Chandler
Vice President
The Danforth Foundation
222 South Central Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Dear Mr. Chandler:

While I have not yet made my travel plans, I shall plan to be in your office at 3:00 p.m. on May 15th. I, too, look forward to meeting with you.

While I don't want to add to the paper on your desk, you may have an opportunity to glance at the enclosed report of our work during 1968.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE DANFORTH FOUNDATION

222 SOUTH CENTRAL AVENUE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63105
AREA CODE 314 862-6200

April 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The afternoon of May 15 sounds good. When you know your schedule in more detail, please drop me a note and let me know the hour that would be most convenient for you. Meanwhile, I will set aside three o'clock but will try to keep some flexibility so that we can shift things around if this turns out not to be good for you. In any case, why don't you plan to come to the Foundation office. It will be good to meet you.

Cordially,

John H. Chandler
Vice President

mp

May 20, 1969

Mr. John H. Chandler
Vice President
The Danforth Foundation
222 South Central Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Dear John:

It was a real pleasure to talk with you on Thursday.

Enclosed is a copy of last year's Program Report. Under separate cover, we are sending you several other publications.

I would be pleased to come to St. Louis and talk with Dr. Danforth and others should you feel that desirable after looking over the material. And, again, I do hope you will have an opportunity to visit us here in Atlanta.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1968 Annual Report

MEMORANDUM May 20, 1969

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJohnson

Janet,

Paul would like the following person added to our FCR mailing list:

Mr. John H. Chandler
The Danforth Foundation
222 South Central Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

(If I remember correctly everyone on the FCR list automatically receives NEW SOUTH. If this is not still the case, Paul would like Mr. Chandler to get New South.)

Make folder "Avalon"

At Mrs. R's sugg

In summary on 1st page

September 26, 1960

Mr. Charles Hamilton
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

It was very kind of you to give me an opportunity last week to talk with you about the work of the Southern Regional Council. This is both to thank you for your interest and to recapitulate briefly our request for assistance from the Avalon Foundation.

The Council is currently seeking from new sources pledges totalling $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities, during the crucial period ahead.

We are asking several foundations to contribute up to $25,000 annually toward this five-year goal. We hope, of course, that the Avalon Foundation will find the Council's program worthy of assistance in this framework.

I am enclosing a list of the Council's officers and members, as well as our reports on last year's activities and our last annual audited financial statement. (The 1960 annual report will be sent to you later in the fall.)

Since 1960 rept still in prep.

will be sent if wished. Contribs are tax deduct

In summary, the main assets of the Council in the crucial transition of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through its predecessor, since 1919; (2) a membership drawn from respected Southern leaders of both races; (3) an experienced staff of Negro and white professional and clerical workers; (4) the part-time services of specialists in education, law enforcement, economics, and community relations; (5) a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations (founded by SRC) and with virtually every private and governmental agency sharing these concerns; (6) the confidence of the press, Southern and national, as the major source of facts and analysis in this field.

The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

If further information of any kind will assist the Foundation in considering our request, do call on me for it. Meanwhile, with appreciation and kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 4.

1959 Director's Report
SRC Reports the Changing South
Board List
1959 Audit

BC: Miss Josephine Wilkins

AVALON FOUNDATION
713 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

October 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have delayed acknowledging your letter of September 26, 1960 so that I could cover the matter of the application of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. with one letter.

We have considered the application in some detail and have regretfully come to the conclusion that, due to the heavy commitments which we have made for this year and for the immediate future, we will not be able to be of assistance.

I enjoyed our meeting here at the office and I hope that you will find other sources of support.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.

Vice President

CSH:EB

July 9, 1962

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
~~Vice-President~~ President
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Miss Josephine Wilkins has informed me that she has spoken to you recently regarding the program and the financial needs of the Southern Regional Council. Let me thank you for extending her this courtesy.

I look forward to an opportunity to see you the next time I may be in New York.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
bc: Josephine Wilkins

September 12, 1962

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
President
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

make folder

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Thank you for your letter of September 10. I shall be very glad to see you in your office at 3:00 p. m. on September 27.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
AIRMAIL

AVALON FOUNDATION
713 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 10, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am sorry that I will be completely occupied on September 26th but will be glad to see you on the afternoon of the day following if that is convenient for you. Would 3:00 p.m. be agreeable?

Sincerely,

Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.

Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
President

Can see at 3:00 pm. Sept. 26th

September 6, 1962

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Miss Josephine Wilkins has, I believe, written to you that I shall be in New York later this month. I hope very much that there may be an opportunity for me to see you. Would Wednesday, September 26 at 10:00 a. m. be possible? If not, I shall be glad to fit my schedule to your convenience.

We are most grateful for the courtesy you have shown Miss Wilkins, and for your interest in our work.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

October 3, 1962

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
President
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

I am afraid that my memory slipped gears a bit when I told you that I had discussed the question of the adaptability of the Council to the changed conditions of the upper south in my annual report. Although the matter is there by implication, the document I really had in mind is the one enclosed, and specifically the discussion on pages two to four of it. The enclosure is a memorandum which was sent to the Rockfeller Brothers Fund, and although it is undoubtedly unusual to show one foundation the communication to another, I think that this is an unimportant consideration here. I would of course be glad to expand on this brief discussion if you would like.

I want to thank you again for all the time you gave me last week. I enjoyed our conversation greatly.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure
AIRMAIL

Foundations

BCC: Josephine Wilkins, with copy of Hamilton letter.

November 5, 1962

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
President
Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

We have received your letter of November 2. Although we do, of course, regret the decision that you had to reach, I do well understand the heavy demands that are made upon you and the necessity for choosing among them. I hope that if we may ever be of service to you for information or interpretation regarding the South, you will call upon us.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

AVALON FOUNDATION
713 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in response to the application of Southern Regional Council, Inc. for general support of its program, and follows our very pleasant discussion of the work of the Council here at this office some weeks ago.

As I know you will appreciate, we receive so many applications that it simply is not possible for us to respond favorably in all cases. I am afraid that is the situation with respect to the current application. I enjoyed our discussion here and wish you well in your work.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.

Charles S. Hamilton, Jr.
President

Emory Gets $50,000 for Scholarships

The Avalon Foundation has granted Emory University School of Medicine $50,000 to provide medical school scholarships over the next five years.

Announcement was made jointly by Charles S. Hamilton Jr., president of the Avalon Foundation, and Dr. Arthur P. Richardson, dean of the medical school.

Dean Richardson commented:

"Many of us in medical education are concerned with the high cost to the student. It would be a sad day if medical education became available only to students of means. Support such as this from the Avalon Foundation will go a long way toward satisfying some of our most urgent needs."

Dean Richardson said the grant would be used as a supplement to medical scholarship funds and no portion would go to endowment or administrative costs.

"The funds will be devoted largely to incoming freshmen as part of the goal of attracting more highly qualified students into medicine," he added.

The scholarship aid will be granted to students on a combined basis of financial need and scholastic attainment.

The Avalon Foundation was created by Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce in 1940. During 1961 and 1962 the foundation appropriated $8,891,182 for philanthropy, of which $1,963,500 was for medical scholarships. In 1963 an additional appropriation of $500,000 went to medical scholarships from which the Emory grant came.

File
Avalon

Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta, Georgia
July 6, 1963

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

This morning's press carries announcement of Avalon's grant of $50,000 to Emory's School of Medicine, and I want you to know of my joy in reading the account. True, as you know, I had so hoped that the Southern Regional Council would this year be among the Foundation's recipients, but this in no sense lessens my gratitude to you people for assistance in another field to this beloved and needy region.

Warm regards and the best of good wishes.

Sincerely,

/s/ Josephine Wilkins

COPY

Mr. Charles S. Hamilton, Jr., President
The Avalon Foundation
713 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Les,

The luncheon meeting with Singer (Carnegie) and his associates has been set for November 5, 12:30, ~~&&&&~~ You're to go directly to the Carnegie office - 2 East 48th Street (the entrance is on 48th street).

(Mr. Singer's secy. telephoned at 1:35 pm today)

mmj

PA

fyi

MS

file - Carnegie Corp.

RETURN TO P.A.

MEMORANDUM

December 4, 1957

From: Emory F. Via

To: Paul Anthony
Harold C. Fleming
Mrs. Tilly

Re: Ella Lyman Cabot Trust

In conversation with Richard Hocking on December 3 I found him to be most receptive to the proposal for underwriting the work of a church woman in each of five deep South states. He would be willing to push this proposal with the Cabot President. The basic outlines of the proposal are still those used in the presentation to the Doris Duke Foundation.

The amount of $5,000 is unusually high for a single grant from the Cabot Trust, but it might well be that they will consider its use and how the money will be divided. The arrangement for financing this project by having the money go through the books of SRC is OK and not unlike previous arrangements in which they have engaged. The tax exemption advantage should be emphasised.

The major change that will need to be made in the presentation as it now stands is that the appeal should go from Mrs. Tilly as her own imaginative and creative idea for putting other creative and dedicated persons to work in an important endeavor. This would probably mean from the Cabot Trust's point of view ~~position~~ that essentially the money was being given to Mrs. Tilly, even though it might be labelled "pa~~yd~~ to the order of SRC".

~~Gordon Allport is currently the Executive Secretary of the Trust and~~ perhaps the key person to be reached. The only other trustees that Via knows by name are Alice O'Gorman, former Executive Secretary, and Paul White, the heart specialist. There are nine trustees altogether. We could have all their names. Hocking's suggestion at this point is that nine copies of any proposal be sent to the Executive Secretary for distribution to the trustees; this is especially important since under a new administrative set-up the trustees are receiving ~~brief and~~ squeezed-dry condensations about each appeal and thereby losing the creative personal flavour which the appeals to this group are supposed to have.

Hocking will be happy to go over any proposal with us and I have suggested that we will have one ready for him shortly after January 2, 1958. The next trustees meeting will be in March or April - this date Hocking should know by January 2. Our final proposal should go to the trustees at least a month prior to their meeting. Hocking has suggested that a warm~~ing~~-up letter to Allport might be useful and appropriate.

By making the proposal Mrs. Tilly's (which it honestly is) HCF would be free to write a letter approving the idea both as to its importance and the suggested implementation, and to indicate SRC's willingness to aid and encourage the whole move.

Hocking felt that a visit by him to the Southern Regional Council would also be helpful for his own first-hand reporting, and EV encouraged him to come by after his Christmas vacation.

~~March 10, 1958~~

The Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, Inc.
53 State Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

~~Dear Sirs:~~ To the Trustees:

We are fortunate in having on our staff, as Director of Women's Work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, a Methodist church woman who is widely known and respected in the South for her work with church people of the several faiths and denominations on behalf of human rights. She has consistently worked within the established religious channels to give purpose and effectiveness to the conscience of the South. The program which she proposes to you is based on her perception of the special need in these five states and would be directed by her.

We wish to emphasize that this grant would in no way assist the operating budget of the Southern Regional Council. The Council simply happens to be an appropriate instrument through which this needed service to religious forces in the deep South can be financed and administered. The Council has traditionally exerted great care to respect the autonomy of church groups with which it has worked over the years, and similarly in this instance would avoid giving any heavily organizational cast to these services.

Through Mrs. Tilly's work, the Council has worked steadily to strengthen and assist the church women's leadership. Southwide meetings of selected

leaders, representing the three faiths and the various denominations, have been brought together annually for inspiration and planning. /These regional meetings have been followed by state meetings to carry the determination and planning achieved to the working level. What is needed now is follow-up, community by community, by a skilled and accepted person in each of the states. As indefatigable as Mrs. Tilly has shown herself to be, such a task obviously exceeds the time and physical resources of any one person.

For these reasons we earnestly recommend Mrs. Tilly's proposal to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Etc.
53 State Street, Boston 9, Mass.
Dear Sirs:

We are fortunate in having on our staff, as Director of Women's Work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, ~~Mrs. Tilly is~~ a Methodist churchwoman, who is widely known and respected in the South for her work with church people of the several faiths and denominations on behalf of human rights. She has consistently worked within the established religious channels to give ~~bring~~ purpose and effectiveness to the ~~religious~~ conscience of the South. ~~that operates so powerfully among Southern people.~~ The program which she proposes to you is based on her perception of the special need in these five states and would be directed by her.

We wish to emphasize at the outset that this grant would in no way assist the operating budget of the Southern Regional Council. The Council simply happens to be an appropriate instrument through which this needed service to religious forces in the deep South can be financed and administered. The Council has traditionally exerted great care to respect the autonomy of church groups with which it has worked over the years, and similarly in this instance would avoid giving any heavily organizational cast to these services.

Through Mrs. Tilly's work, the ~~Southern Regional~~ Council has ~~sought~~ worked steadily to strengthen and assist the churchwomen's leadership. ~~Two~~ Southwide meetings of selected leaders, representing the three faiths and the various denominations, have been brought, together annually for inspiration and planning. These regional meetings have been followed by state meetings to carry the determination and planning achieved to the working

level. What is needed now is follow-up, community by community, by a skilled and accepted person in each of the states. As indefatigable as Mrs. Tilly has shown herself to be, such a task obviously ~~far~~ exceeds the time and physical resources of any one person.

For these reasons we earnestly recommend Mrs. Tilly's proposal to you. ~~(The Council has budgeted approximately $14,000 for its work with women during 1958. This amount represents the maximum which we can hope to place in this area during the year.)~~

~~Such a program in the deep Southern states~~

Sincerely,

HCF

Maybe a brief bio of Mrs. T.

It is hard to conceive, etc.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 13, 1958

The Trustees
The Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
53 State Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

To the Trustees:

I am writing to you in support of a request by Mrs. M.E. Tilly. Some of you will recall that I was the recipient of two grants about eight years ago to enable me to develop a workers education project in Atlanta.

Mrs. Tilly has long brought a special committment to the work of improving racial relations and human understanding among the South's church people. Her energy and dedication have caused many worthwhile things to be done. Her current project is one that will not only extend her own creativeness, but which will bring five other Southern Churchwomen to work directly on problems of racial relations so that their energies may find fuller expression in the task of building a democratic South.

I know of no one who could serve better than Mrs. Tilly to call for the dedication and effort that is envisioned for these Churchwomen. Her work continues as a living testimony of what one personality can accomplish. It never ceases to amaze those of us who have more recently come on the scene that she is able not only to keep up with the rapidly changing context in the struggle for human rights but that she persists in giving meaningful and courageous leadership.

Mrs. Tilly's proposal grows out of her own experience and insight; it is based fundamentally on an appreciation of what one individual can mean in a crucial situation. It is my sincere belief that this proposal merits your support.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

(10)

March 14, 1958

Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
53 State Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

~~Dear Sirs:~~ To The Trustees

Attached you will find application for a grant for "The Fellowship of the Concerned - Southern Women Concerned About Their South," to extend its service into the communities of five deep South States where racial tensions are most acute at this time.

We hope you will give this request sympathetic consideration.

For some years, whenever there has been serious problems in our section, women church leaders have been called together to face the challenge and formulate a program of action, which they have put into effect.

We always have full cooperation of denominational boards, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Temple Sisterhood. Each sends me the names of the women to be called. Since 1953, we concentrated on the Supreme Court ruling on school integration.

The State meetings that follow have been most worthwhile, especially during these years, 1953-57. A woman attending who already feels the court decision is right and must be obeyed, finds she is not just one alone in her conviction and draws strength and courage "to stand up and be counted." The "uncertain" one, seeking answers, finds surety.

All this is what we want to happen at the local level and we feel sure will happen, if we can find the funds for

(continued)

a subsidy and travel expense for a strong consecrated woman in each of these five States to give part-time work in towns and villages.

We have always had the conviction that Southern church women must be and can be the interpreters and "shock absorbers" of social changes that come to us. When they realize the need they never fail. Oftentimes they have been the initiators of the change as they did when they succeeded in getting Southern newspapers to give recognition to Negroes who make news and to give them their titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." As they did also in the program of "Know your courts as you know your schools."

Our court decisions often were made on what the judge and jury thought the community would take, regardless of anything else (this is not peculiar to our section, however.)

By just coming in and sitting in court room, the very presence of these church women changed the character of the courts,

I believe in the power of our women and under some direction and guidance they will measure up to the needs of these days--hence my request to you.

If you could just feel the heart throbs and heartaches of the South as it is struggling to find itself in this new day, you would see the opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. M. E. Tilly)
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

For Emory Via

March 15,1958

Trustees, Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, Inc.

Allport, Prof. Gordon W.

Dept. of Social Relations
Emerson Hall
Harvard University,
Cambridge 38, Mass

Bales, Prof. Robert Freed

(same address as Prof. Allport)

Cabot, Dr. P.S. de Q.

37-41 Bedford Row
London, W.C.1
England

Friedlich, Dr. Allan L.

154 Rutledge Rd.,
Belmont, Mass

Hocking, Prof. Richard
1146 Lullwater Rd.,NE
Atlanta 7, Ga.

Hunneman, Mr. Robt. I.

Palmer Dodge Gardner & Bradford,
53 State St.,
Boston 9, Mass

O'Gorman, Miss Alice

736 Washington St.,
Brookline, Mass.

Osborne, Mrs. Maurice

367 Beacon St.,
Boston, Mass.

White, Dr. Paul D.

200 Marsh St.,
Belmont, Mass.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

4/2/58

Paul:

Ella Lyman Cabot Trust meets April 17th

Procedure:

Have copies of each item to be sent made for each of Trustees except Hocking and Bates. Put one of each in a packet, address 1st class to the given trustee. Do not seal. Take all of the packets to Richard Hocking, who will add personal notes to each.

Richard Hocking
1146 Lullwater Rd, N.E.
DR 8 1081

Emory

MEMORANDUM

March 18, 1958

To: Paul Anthony

From: Emory Via

In conversation with Richard Hocking he indicated that the letters from Mrs. Tilly, Harold Fleming, and Emory Via were OK, except that he would delete paragraph 2 in Harold's.

These letters, and copies of the request to the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, should be ready to go to the various Trustees. However, they will not be sent until we hear from Hocking. He is now in New England and will send a card to us if he finds out that these materials should go right away. The card will come to the office. You should look out for it in case I am on vacation.

If the letters are not to be sent until he returns to Atlanta then he will supply us with his own personal accompanying letter to go to each of the Trustees.

January 28, 1958

Mr. Richard Hocking
1146 Lullwater Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Richard:

Because I will be out of the city for a few days I am sending you the draft of Mrs. Tilly's proposal to the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust. She would welcome your suggestions in this matter, and a visit from you to our offices.

My own thinking is that Harold Fleming should write an accompanying letter giving his personal and professional judgment of the value of such a program and also a bit of biographical data on Mrs. Tilly.

We would be prepared to aid Mrs. Tilly in sending out copies of this proposal and such supporting material as you deem advisable to the various members of the Trust. We all feel that this is a tremendous opportunity and that her suggestion for tackling one of those tasks that has long needed attention is meritorious.

Thanks so much for your interest and concern.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

Enclosure.

EFV:fcl

April 2, 1958

The Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, Inc.
53 State Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

To the Trustees:

We are fortunate in having on our staff, as Director of Women's Work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, a Methodist church woman who is widely known and respected in the South for her work with church people of the several faiths and denominations on behalf of human rights. She has consistently worked within the established religious channels to give purpose and effectiveness to the conscience of the South. The program which she proposes to you is based on her perception of the special need in these five states and would be directed by her.

Through Mrs. Tilly's work, the Council has worked steadily to strengthen and assist the church women's leadership. Southwide meetings of selected leaders, representing the three faiths and the various denominations, have been brought together annually for inspiration and planning. These regional meetings have been followed by state meetings to carry the determination and planning achieved to the working level. What is needed now is follow-up, community by community, by a skilled and accepted person in each of the states.

As indefatigable as Mrs. Tilly has shown herself to be, such a task obviously exceeds the time and physical resources of any one person.

For these reasons we earnestly recommend Mrs. Tilly's proposal to you.

Sincerely,

HCF

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

April 2, 1958

Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
53 State Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

To the Trustees:

Attached you will find application for a grant for "The Fellowship of the Concerned - Southern Women Concerned About Their South," to extend its service into the communities of five deep South states where racial tensions are most acute at this time.

We hope you will give this request sympathetic consideration.

For some years, whenever there has been serious problems in our section, women church leaders have been called together to face the challenge and formulate a program of action, which they have put into effect.

We always have full cooperation of denominational boards, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Temple Sisterhood. Each sends me the names of the women to be called. Since 1953, we concentrated on the Supreme Court ruling on school integration.

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A woman attending who already feels the court decision is right and must be obeyed, finds she is not just one alone in her conviction and draws strength and courage "to stand up and be counted." The "uncertain" one, seeking answers, finds surety.

All this is what we want to happen at the local level and we feel sure will happen, if we can find the funds for a subsidy and travel expense for a strong consecrated woman in each of these five states to give part-time work in towns and villages.

We have always had the conviction that Southern church women must be and can be the interpreters and "shock absorbers" of social changes that come to us. When they realize the need they never fail. Oftentimes they have been the initiators of the change as they did when they succeeded in getting Southern newspapers to give recognition to Negroes who make news and to give them their titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." as they did also in the program of "Know Your Courts As You Know Your Schools."

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By just coming in and sitting in court rooms, the very presence of these church women changed the character of the courts.

I believe in the power of our women and under some direction and guidance they will measure up to the needs of these days--hence my request to you.

If you could just feel the heart throbs and heartaches of the South as it is struggling to find itself in this new day, you would see the opportunity.

Sincerely,

M. E. T.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

file Copy

A PROPOSAL TO THE ELLA LYMAN CABOT TRUST

FROM

MRS. M. E. TILLY

This is to ask the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust to consider a one-year grant of $5,000 to make possible a program of special assistance to church people in five deep South states. In effect this request is for five separate grants of $1,000 each, which would enable five church women to devote a major portion of their time to the urgently needed program outlined below.

The unique role of church women in advancing recognition of equal human dignity in the South has long since been demonstrated and accepted. It has been evident since the early 'twenties through the work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and more recently the Fellowship of the Concerned, an informal association of church women serviced by the Southern Regional Council.

Today, more than ever before, the leavening influence of courageous, deeply motivated church women is needed within the religious life of the South. Our region is faced with a tremendous challenge - to redefine the status of its Negro citizens as required by the Supreme Court's segregation decisions. Unfortunately, in the deep South particularly, outmoded but powerful political systems, deep-seated prejudices,

and traditional economic patters have combined to prevent the emergence of moderate leadership on this question. Even within the churches, these negative forces, re-inforced by strong pressures, have stunted the positive local leadership that normally is to be expected on a moral issue of this kind. A relatively small group of courageous ministers and laymen and a larger group of dedicated church women represent the hope of the churches in meeting this crisis of conscience. These women, because of their devotion to principle and their relative freedom from the practical pressures which affect the men in our society, play a vital part in interpreting the moral questions to their congregations and to the community-at-large.

The object of the proposal is to make possible the part-time program services of a well qualified church woman in Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The funds would be used to pay modest stipends and travel expenses for a dedicated, able, and respected church woman in each of these states, to bring leadership and inspiration to other church women, ministers, and religious lay leaders in the communities within their states. In each of these states there is one or more persons eminently suitable to carry on this function. In South Carolina, for example, I can secure the services of a former president of the United Church Women of the state and former president of the state Parent-Teacher Association. Such a person would bring influence and dignity as well as guidance to those local churgh groups

which request her help. The women who would carry on the work in the other four states are of comparable statute and ability.

This approach to the mobilization of religious forces in the South is not a new conception. Similar effort has been carried on for many years at the regional and state levels, through the Fellowship of the Concerned. The proposed program, however, would newly make possible the intensive application of this method community by community in the states included. This objective can only be accomplished by releasing the dedication and skills of leadership persons in each of the states.

The functions envisioned for these church women are: (1) arrange conferences on the state and community levels of the two races and three faiths; (2) on invitation, serve as coordinators of the interests and activities of religious groups and others who express a desire to work constructively in race relations; (3) work closely with local church women to lessen tensions and violence where such occurrences threaten; and, (4) counsel with local ministers, officials and community leaders, encouraging these individuals to lend their support to improved community relations.

Space does not permit a detailed account of the plans for this work, though I shall be happy to supply more information if it is desired. These plans do, however, rest on long experience with and a deep faith in the accomplishments of

the church women of the South.

The proposed budget for this program well illustrates the amount of devotion which would be put into the work. The $5,000 requested would be applied at $1,000 per state for a period of one year. Of this amount, $50 per month would represent compensation for the church woman, and the remaining $400 per year would be applied to travel expenses. Neither of these budgetary designations should be considered in its ordinary usage. The remuneration of $50 per month would actually represent the cost of twice-a-week maid service for each of the women who would be away from home a great deal. The $400 travel allowance would be used for the most modest and immediate travel needs, such as bus and train fares, seldom representing overnight lodging, meals, and the other more costly expenses. No allocation is requested for Georgia, since these functions are now covered in my own work with the help of several volunteers, financed by the Southern Regional Council.

In no way would these funds be used to assist the general operating budget of the Southern Regional Council. Nor would these funds in any way assist special projects now being carried on by the Council, including my own work with women.

I sincerely hope that the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust will enable us to render this service.

MET

ELLA LYMAN CABOT TRUST

GORDON W. ALLPORT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EMERSON HALL
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 6, 1958

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I shall be glad to read your letter of thanks to the Trustees at our next meeting. Thank you for writing me about your plans for the use of the money. We hope it will help accomplish your admirable purposes.

I am asking our Treasurer to send you a check for $2000 made out to the Fellowship of the Concerned. This arrangement will satisfy our method of record keeping very well.

Cordially yours,

Gordon W. Allport

Gordon W. Allport

GWA/dbs

~~EFV~~
MET
Return to M.F.

May 12, 1958

Dr. Gordon W. Allport
Executive Secretary
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Emerson Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Allport:

Mrs. Tilly has told us of the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust's grant of $2,000 in support of the important efforts of the "Fellowship of the Concerned".

I am deeply gratified that the Trustees acted favorable on Mrs. Tilly's request. You can be sure that the Southern Regional Council will do all it can to assist Mrs. Tilly and her associates in their greatly needed activities.

Emory Via joins me in appreciation and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

file

ELLA LYMAN CABOT TRUST

GORDON W. ALLPORT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EMERSON HALL
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

September 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Professor Allport asks me to write you that he is sorry the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust cannot offer financial assistance to your Council. Under the terms of the Trust grants are not permitted to organizations.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor D. Sprague

(Mrs.) Eleanor D. Sprague
Clerk

August 30, 1963

Mrs. Eleanor D. Sprague, Clerk
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Emerson Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Sprague:

This is to place before the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust a proposal for support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's work in behalf of better human relations in the South has had your long and valued interest and we hope that you may be able to give this request your consideration.

The Council is confronted this year with a financial problem that has stricken many other institutions as well. We have received generous -- sometimes even unsolicited -- grants for special projects. The basic structure of the Council, which supports these projects, with program as well as with administration, is, however, inadequately financed.

As you may note, for example, from page 3 of our 1963 budget (enclosed), our Voter Education Project alone has more funds than has our central operations; I might add that the size of the Voter Education Project is now substantially larger even than the budgeted fiture. Three-fourths or more of these funds go directly to the support of the voter registration efforts of Negro organizations, and all the funds aid these efforts.

To all of its programs, the Council brings skilled staff and a reservoir of experience built through years of work in the South. This has yielded the public confidence which makes possible the effectiveness that our special projects and our general programs now have. In the present climactic days of the southern civil rights struggle, these assets are needed more than ever.

Our general operations budget supports this base, as well as -- with rare exceptions -- all our publications, our research and information services, and our field consultation services. It supports also the work of Mrs. M. E. Tilly with the Fellowship of the Concerned, to which you have contributed so generously in 1958.

Our prospects for 1963 are that income for general operations will be $15,000 - $20,000 below the budgeted requirement of $178,481. We are hoping that you may be in a position to assist us this year in meeting this deficit.

We are enclosing several exhibits. If you should require additional information in order to reach a decision, please let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

H.C.F.

A Report to the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

In the beginning, I would like to express anew to the Directors of the Trust, my thanks and the thanks of women who were able to give greater service in these days of challenge in our South. Our regret is that you could not see the money in action.

A report can never give a real picture and certainly this one cannot tell the full story of brave women with a conviction so strong, they carry on in spite of the annoyance of telephone calls that often come between two and four o'clock in the early morning, and who sometimes are almost ostracized by their friends.

We have concentrated largely in Alabama because that state has been the most defiant of the Supreme Court's every Civil Rights decision. Two women, Mrs. Candler Tatum of Birmingham and Mrs. Earl Andrews of Montgomery have done more than a yoeman's work. They have groups--some large and some smaller--in Tuskegee, Tuscaloosa, Shorter, Greenville, Mt. Meigs and Mobile. In some other towns they are in contact with individual women.

Birmingham is the hard core city of the South. It is controlled by the steel and iron industry, and no matter how deep a conviction persons may have, they as a general rule are afraid to speak as their living come through these major corporations.

The Negroes there have suffered so many indignities under the present police commissioner. They are afraid to attend any meeting where white people are present, yet their leadership is most desirous

of keeping lines of communication open.

When one has deep concern, a way is always found. Mrs. Tatum with her invincible leadership has kept the lines open by an organized prayer group--who really "meet over the telephone"--a relay prayer chain. There is a growing bond between the Negro and white women leadership through the telephone conversations.

I might say this about Birmingham. Dr. Harry Richardson (Negro) president of Gammon Theological Seminary, said when he lived in Birmingham, he felt it was the headquarters of the Devil, and he had branch offices in Atlanta and elsewhere. I believe this is still true. The praying women are sure though, they can tumble his throne and they make you feel they can.

In other places, women are meeting and taking action that is felt in the communities.

As it seems pratical to have only one day for state meetings and the distances are so great for women to drive back and forth, we have two sectional meetings, but they are planned by both leaders together.

In September, Mrs. Andrews had her meeting in the beautiful annex of the Catholic St. Jude hospital with about one hundred women present from seven towns. I was puzzled when I saw the program of the morning session was to be devoted to "The Role of Women in the New and Old Testament." While we always build our programs with a background of Biblical truth, I wondered how we would ever get down to the problemsof today in this one.

It soon was apparent--it was to show that women of today were not the "first" but a part of "a glorious line of splendor" of women

who have combated the evil in society through the centuries and have stood unshaken. The stories were given in detail, the examples were, the ethical role of Ruth and Naomi; the leadership of prophetess and Judge Deborah; Esther's courage and ingenuity in saving her people, the courage of Hannah in the Apocrypha; Mary, because of purity, chosen to be the Mother of Jesus; Lydia, a business woman, going against all custom, housing the first Theological school.

Out of this discussion came the proposed action, which you may be sure we will follow up.

"Southern women are in the "eye of the storm" which rages about us. At present the storm is that of social unrest. Women are the conservators; they care for the children, the home. The issue of the storm is education. The kind: where and when? and with whom? The fight is over segregation which involves the schools and the kinds of schools. Women are concerned with children's welfare. Children must be nurtured, loved, saved from hate storms and mental mutilation. Hate storms are waging to satisfy the whims of a few men. We can influence children by what we think, feel, do as Christian women. We must have respect for the dignity of all men, the brotherhood of man, the Golden Rule. The storm can destroy us materially, but enrich us spiritually."

The reactions of the Supreme Court decision have been in the forms of hate, Lucy riots, hate leaflets, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish. The role of women in Alabama may be in political action. They should use influence in ordinary tasks of living.

Five things we should not do:

1. Not retreat. The time has passed for the disinterested persons. Women must vote, not turn conversation to the weather.

2. Not become victim of fear or panic. Both lead to violence and injustice. Just one calm person can do wonders in times of racial tension and unrest.

3. Not spread gossip. This causes innocent to suffer loss of jobs, social positions lost. Ask first, is it true? is it necessary? is it kind? before passing it on.

4. Not become bitter or contentious. There is a place for righteous indignation, but no place for contention.

5. Not lose perspective.

The positive approach: Women can

1. Take positive steps in their own home to know all people through books, pictures, music. There is great poverty in our books for teaching children about all our people. The home needs supplement to school training. Broader books will teach broader attitudes. No name calling, generalizations of people. Far more effective than books is personal contact. Each family has to find a way in which to do this. One of the best ways is on some common undertaking, like scouting, YMCA, YWCA work.

2. Whenever and wherever possible encourage factual more than emotional approach to race problems. This is possible over the fence, in clubs and groups.

3, Take a firm stand of religious approach. This will rule out violence, deceit, injustice.

4. Rely on God for strength, power. Otherwise we are too selfish. Kindness, helpfulness, consideration for others' well being need God. We need the two great works "love God, love thy neighbor."

When we left the building that day, we were faced with cameras by

two men, who had already taken down the license tags of our cars. Before the night was over, many were called and abused and threatened.

Today, November 24, came this note: "This week a small weekly paper has come out with a very detailed, although very garbled report on our meeting and the telephone harassment has been continued."

But, in the same mail came this: "Our meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be in Tuskegee in March, please help us think what the emphasis might be."-- and so they go on.

Virginia

I wanted so much to have the same type of work in South Carolina, but when the funds became available, the woman so well fitted had accepted a responsible position in another field. About that time, however, problems became acute in Virginia. Mrs.E. N.Ennis of Norfolk has done splendid work for us in aiding the organization of groups and sending us reports and clippings from state papers almost daily.

October 25, 1954

Mr. Cary Grayson
Carnegie Corporation of New York
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Grayson:

I did hear from Don Watt that you are coming South, and as I wrote him, I'm looking forward to meeting you. Your project sounds about as interesting as any I've run into lately.

I expect to be in town during the first half of December and will look forward to further word of the exact date of your Atlanta visit.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rf

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 36, N.Y.

October 13, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I believe Don Watt was kind enough to write you and tell you of my forthcoming trip as well as something about the book project. As I am travelling to the West Coast first, I am unable as yet to plan the exact date of my visit to Atlanta, although I expect it to be either in the first or second week of December. In any case I shall let you know as soon as my final plans are made and will look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Cary Grayson

CG:rb

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

December 13, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As you may recall, I had expected to be in Georgia early in December. Unfortunately, my plans had to be changed, and as matters now stand I find I shall not be able to get to Atlanta until some time in January.

When I have worked out a definite schedule, I shall write to you again to see if we can work out a mutually convenient time to get together. If you should be coming to New York for any reason in the meantime, do let me know and we can meet up here.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Cary Grayson

Cary Grayson

CG:RB

Green Copy

January 4, 1956

Carnegie Corporation of New York,
589 Fifth Avenue,
New York 17, New York

Dear sirs:

Enjoyed your annual report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

September 6, 1957

Mr. John W. Gardner, President
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Gardner:

It was thoughtful of you to send me the list of books selected for distribution to certain areas of the British Commonwealth. The selection is indeed an excellent one. As I read the list, I was struck again and again by the felicity of the choices.

Since I combine my natural interest in this project with a longstanding friendship with Eric Larrabee, I shall be especially interested in the guide that is shortly to appear.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 21 1957

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

JOHN W. GARDNER
President

August 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

This is to bring you up to date on the Corporation's project for sending American books to certain areas of the British Commonwealth. The process of selecting these books has now been completed and the list of 350 books included in the collection is enclosed. As you will see from the first page, the list is not to be given publicity under September 25, which is the publication date of the special guide book prepared for the collection.

This guide is being published by New York University Press under the title of American Panorama. Mr. Eric Larrabee of Harper's magazine is the editor.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Gardner

John W. Gardner

Not for release until September 25, 1957

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK is offering the books listed below as gifts to selected libraries in some of the Commonwealth countries. These books were chosen to portray contemporary U.S. life and to explain its origins.

Adams, Ansel and Muir, John. *Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Adams, Henry. *The Selected Letters of Henry Adams.* Ed. by Newton Arvin. (Farrar, Straus and Young)
Adams, Henry C. *Relation of the State to Industrial Action,* and *Economics and Jurisprudence.* Ed. by Joseph Dorfman. (Columbia University Press)
Adams, James Truslow. *The Adams Family.* (Hillary House)
Adams, Samuel Hopkins. *Grandfather Stories.* (Random House)
Addams, Jane. *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets.* (Macmillan)
Alcott, Louisa M. *Little Women.* (Dutton)
Allen, Frederick Lewis. *The Big Change: America Transforms Itself, 1900–1950.* (Harper)
Allen, Frederick Lewis. *Only Yesterday.* (Harper)
Almond, Gabriel A. *The American People and Foreign Policy.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Anderson, Sherwood. *Winesburg, Ohio.* (Modern Library)
Antin, Mary. *The Promised Land.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Atherton, Gertrude. *The Conqueror.* (Lippincott)

Bailey, Stephen K. *Congress Makes a Law: The Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946.* (Columbia University Press)
Bailey, Thomas A. *A Diplomatic History of the American People.* (Appleton-Century-Crofts)
Bakeless, John. *The Eyes of Discovery.* (Lippincott)
Baldwin, James. *Go Tell It on the Mountain.* (Knopf)
Barnett, Lincoln. *Writing on Life: Sixteen Close-Ups.* (Sloane)
Barzun, Jacques. *God's Country and Mine.* (Little, Brown)
Barzun, Jacques. *Music in American Life.* (Doubleday)
Bates, Ernest Sutherland. *The American Faith.* (Norton)
Baur, John I. H. *Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Art.* (Harvard University Press)
Baur, John I. H., ed. *New Art in America: 20th Century Painting, U. S. A.* (New York Graphic Society)
Beard, Charles A. and Beard, Mary R. *The American Spirit.* (Macmillan)
Becker, Carl. *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas.* (Knopf)
Bellamy, Edward. *Looking Backward, 2000–1887.* (Modern Library)
Benedict, Ruth. *Patterns of Culture.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Benét, Stephen Vincent. *John Brown's Body.* (Rinehart)

Bentley, Eric. *The Dramatic Event.* (Horizon Press)
Bentley, Eric, ed. *From the American Drama.* (Doubleday)
Benton, Thomas Hart. *An Artist in America.* (University of Kansas City Press)
Berle, Adolph A., Jr. *The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Bierce, Ambrose. *The Collected Writings of Ambrose Bierce.* (Citadel Press)
Boni, Margaret Bradford, ed. *The Fireside Book of Favorite American Songs.* (Simon and Schuster)
Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Genius of American Politics.* (University of Chicago Press)
Botkin, B. A., ed. *Sidewalks of America: Folklore, Legends, Sagas, Traditions, Customs, Songs, Stories, and Sayings of City Folk.* (Bobbs-Merrill)
Botkin, B. A., ed. *A Treasury of American Folklore.* (Crown Publishers)
Bowers, Claude G. *The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Brogan, D. W. *The American Character.* (Knopf)
Brooks, Van Wyck. *John Sloan: A Painter's Life.* (Dutton)
Brooks, Van Wyck. *The World of Washington Irving.* (Dutton)
Bryson, Lyman. *The Next America.* (Harper)
Buck, Pearl S. *The Spirit and the Flesh.* (Day)
Burlingame, Roger. *Backgrounds of Power.* (Scribner)
Burlingame, Roger. *Henry Ford.* (Knopf)
Burrell, Angus and Cerf, Bennett, eds. *An Anthology of Famous American Stories.* (Modern Library)

Cahan, Abraham. *The Rise of David Levinsky.* (Peter Smith)
Carmer, Carl. *The Hudson.* (Rinehart)
Carnegie, Andrew. *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Cash, W. J. *The Mind of the South.* (Knopf)
Cather, Willa. *Death Comes for the Archbishop.* (Knopf)
Cather, Willa. *My Antonia.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Catton, Bruce. *A Stillness at Appomattox.* (Doubleday)
Cerf, Bennett, ed. *An Encyclopedia of Modern American Humor.* (Doubleday)
Cerf, Bennett and Cartmell, Van H., eds. *Sixteen Famous American Plays.* (Modern Library)
Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. *The Blessings of Liberty.* (Lippincott)
Chapman, John Jay. *The Selected Writings of John Jay Chapman.* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy)
Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music.* (McGraw-Hill)
Chase, Mary Ellen. *A Goodly Fellowship.* (Macmillan)
Ching, Cyrus S. *Review and Reflection: A Half-Century of Labor Relations.* (B. C. Forbes)
Christensen, Erwin O. *The Index of American Design.* (Macmillan)
Clapesattle, Helen. *The Doctors Mayo.* (University of Minnesota Press)
Clark, Pearl Franklin. *Challenge of the American Know-How.* (Hillary House)
Collier's World Atlas and Gazetteer. (P. F. Collier)
Commager, Henry Steele. *Theodore Parker.* (Beacon Press)
Conant, James Bryant. *Education and Liberty.* (Harvard University Press)
Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Leatherstocking Saga.* Ed. by Allan Nevins. (Pantheon Books)
Copeland, Lewis and Lamm, Lawrence W., eds. *The Everyday Reference Library.* (Unicorn Publishers)
Copland, Aaron. *Our New Music.* (McGraw-Hill)
Coulson, Thomas. *Joseph Henry.* (Princeton University Press)
Cowell, Henry and Cowell, Sidney. *Charles Ives and His Music.* (Oxford University Press)
Cowley, Malcolm. *The Literary Situation.* (Viking Press)
Cozzens, James Gould. *Guard of Honor.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Cozzens, James Gould. *The Just and the Unjust.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Crane, Stephen. *An Omnibus.* (Knopf)
Craven, Thomas, ed. *Cartoon Cavalcade.* (Simon and Schuster)
Crèvecoeur, Hector St. John de. *Letters from an American Farmer.* (Dutton)
Critics' Choice: New York Drama Critics' Circle Prize Plays, 1935–1955. Ed. by Jack Gaver. (Hawthorn Books)

Cross, Wilbur L. *Connecticut Yankee: An Autobiography.* (Yale University Press)
Cummings, E. E. *Collected Poems.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Cummings, E. E. *The Enormous Room.* (Modern Library)

Dana, Julian. *The Sacramento, River of Gold.* (Rinehart)
Dana, Richard Henry, Jr. *Two Years Before the Mast.* (Dodd, Mead)
Daniels, Josephus. *The Wilson Era.* (University of North Carolina Press)
Davidson, Marshall B. *Life in America.* (Houghton Mifflin) 2 v.
Davis, H. L. *Honey in the Horn.* (Morrow)
Day, Clarence. *The Best of Clarence Day.* (Knopf)
De Angulo, Jaime. *Indian Tales.* (Hill and Wang)
De Mille, Agnes. *Dance to the Piper.* (Little, Brown)
De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America.* Ed. by Phillips Bradley. (Knopf) 2 v.
DeVoto, Bernard. *Across the Wide Missouri.* (Houghton Mifflin)
DeVoto, Bernard. *The Course of Empire.* (Houghton Mifflin)
DeVoto, Bernard. *The Year of Decision: 1846.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Dewey, John. *Intelligence in the Modern World.* Ed. by Joseph Ratner. (Modern Library)
Dickinson, Emily. *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson.* (Modern Library)
Dobie, J. Frank. *Coronado's Children: Tales of Lost Mines and Buried Treasures of the Southwest.* (Grosset and Dunlap)
Dollard, John. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town.* (Anchor Books)
Donald, David. *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era.* (Knopf)
Dos Passos, John. *U.S.A.* (Modern Library)
Douglas, Frederic H. and D'Harnoncourt, René. *Indian Art of the United States.* (Museum of Modern Art)
Dreiser, Theodore. *Sister Carrie.* (Modern Library)
Drucker, Peter F. *Concept of the Corporation.* (Day)
Dulles, Foster Rhea. *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation 1607–1940.* (Peter Smith)
Dunne, Finley Peter. *Mr. Dooley at His Best.* Ed. by Elmer Ellis. (Scribner)

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Portable Emerson.* Ed. by Mark Van Doren. (Viking Press)

Fadiman, Clifton, ed., assisted by Van Doren, Charles. *The American Treasury, 1455–1955.* (Harper)
Farrell, James T. *Studs Lonigan.* (Modern Library)
Faulkner, William. *The Portable Faulkner.* Ed. by Malcolm Cowley. (Viking Press)
Ferber, Edna, *Show Boat.* (Grosset and Dunlap)
Fermi, Laura. *Atoms in the Family: My Life with Enrico Fermi.* (University of Chicago Press)
Fisher, Dorothy Canfield. *The Bent Twig.* (Holt)
Fiske, John. *The Critical Period of American History, 1783–1789.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Fitch, James Marston. *American Building.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *The Last Tycoon,* together with *The Great Gatsby.* (Scribner)
Flexner, James Thomas. *American Painting: The Light of Distant Skies, 1760–1835.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Flexner, Simon and Flexner, James Thomas. *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine.* (Viking Press)
Forbes, Esther. *Paul Revere & The World He Lived In.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Ford, Paul L. *The Honorable Peter Stirling.* (Hillary House)
Fortune. *Why Do People Buy?* (McGraw-Hill)
Fortune. *U.S.A. The Permanent Revolution.* In Collaboration with Russell W. Davenport. (Prentice-Hall)
Fosdick, Harry Emerson. *On Being a Real Person.* (Harper)
Frankel, Charles. *The Case for Modern Man.* (Harper)
Franklin, Benjamin. *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings.* Ed. by Carl Van Doren. (Viking Press)
Franklin, John Hope. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes.* (Knopf)
Frost, Robert. *The Poems of Robert Frost.* (Modern Library)

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Great Crash, 1929.* (Houghton Mifflin)
George, Henry. *Progress and Poverty.* (Modern Library)
Giedion, Siegfried. *Mechanization Takes Command.* (Oxford University Press)
Glasgow, Ellen. *Vein of Iron.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Greenough, Horatio. *Form and Function: Remarks on Art.* Ed. by Harold A. Small. (University of California Press)
Gunther, John. *Inside U.S.A.* (Harper)
Guthrie, A. B., Jr. *The Big Sky.* (Houghton Mifflin)

Hamilton, Alexander, Jay, John and Madison, James. *The Federalist.* (Modern Library)
Handlin, Oscar, ed. *This Was America.* (Harvard University Press)
Handlin, Oscar. *The Uprooted.* (Little, Brown)
Harris, Mark. *The Southpaw.* (Bobbs-Merrill)
Hart, James D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature.* (Oxford University Press)
Havighurst, Walter. *The Long Ships Passing.* (Macmillan)
Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne.* Ed. by Norman Holmes Pearson. (Modern Library)
Hearn, Lafcadio. *The Selected Writings of Lafcadio Hearn.* Ed. by Henry Goodman. (Citadel Press)
Hemingway, Ernest. *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway.* (Scribner)
Hergesheimer, Joseph. *Java Head.* (Knopf)
Heyward, DuBose. *Porgy.* (Doubleday)
Hitchcock, Henry-Russell and Drexler, Arthur, eds. *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture.* (Museum of Modern Art)
Hodeir, André. *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence.* (Grove Press)
Hoffer, Eric. *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements.* (Harper)
Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (Knopf)
Hofstadter, Richard. *The American Political Tradition, and the Men Who Made It.* (Knopf)
Holbrook, Stewart H. *The Story of American Railroads.* (Crown Publishers)
Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.* (Dutton)
Holt, Rackham. *George Washington Carver.* (Doubleday)
Horgan, Paul. *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History.* (Rinehart) 2 v.
Howells, William Dean. *Selected Writings of William Dean Howells.* Ed. by Henry Steele Commager. (Modern Library)
Hughes, Everett Cherrington and Hughes, Helen MacGill. *Where Peoples Meet.* (Free Press)

Jackson, Clarence S. *Picture Maker of the Old West: William H. Jackson.* (Scribner)
Jaffe, Bernard. *Men of Science in America.* (Simon and Schuster)
James, Henry. *The Ambassadors.* (Harper)
James, Henry. *The Selected Letters of Henry James.* Ed. by Leon Edel. (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy)
James, Henry. *The Short Stories of Henry James.* Ed. by Clifton Fadiman. (Modern Library)
James, Marquis. *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston.* (Grosset and Dunlap)
James, William. *Selected Papers on Philosophy.* (Dutton)
James, William. *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* (Modern Library)
Jarrell, Randall. *Poetry and the Age.* (Vintage Books)
Jefferson, Thomas. *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Ed. by Adrienne Koch and William Peden. (Modern Library)
Jewett, Sarah Orne. *The Country of the Pointed Firs, and Other Stories.* (Doubleday)
Johnson, Alvin. *Pioneer's Progress.* (Viking Press)
Josephson, Matthew. *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor.* (Doubleday)

Kelly, Fred C. *The Life and Times of Kin Hubbard.* (Farrar, Straus and Young)

Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage.* (Harper)
Kimble, George H. T. *Our American Weather.* (McGraw-Hill)
Kouwenhoven, John A. *The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York.* (Doubleday)
Kouwenhoven, John A. *Made in America.* (C. T. Branford Co.)
Krutch, Joseph Wood. *The Desert Year.* (Sloane)

La Farge, John, S. J. *The Manner is Ordinary.* (Harcourt, Brace)
La Farge, Oliver. *Laughing Boy.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Lardner, Ring. *The Portable Ring Lardner.* Ed. by Gilbert Seldes. (Viking Press)
Larkin, Oliver W. *Art and Life in America.* (Rinehart)
Laserson, Max M. *The American Impact on Russia—Diplomatic and Ideological, 1784–1917.* (Macmillan)
Le May, Alan. *The Searchers.* (Harper)
Lewis, Lloyd. *Captain Sam Grant.* (Little, Brown)
Lewis, Sinclair. *Babbitt.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Lewis, Sinclair. *Elmer Gantry.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Lilienthal, David E. *TVA: Democracy on the March.* (Harper)
Lincoln, Abraham. *The Living Lincoln.* Ed. by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers. (Rutgers University Press)
Lindbergh, Anne Morrow. *North to the Orient.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Lindbergh, Charles A. *The Spirit of St. Louis.* (Scribner)
Lipman, Jean. *American Folk Decoration.* (Oxford University Press)
Lomax, John A. *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter.* (Macmillan)
London, Jack. *The Call of the Wild and Other Stories.* (Macmillan)
Lowes, John Livingston. *The Road to Xanadu.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Lubell, Samuel. *The Future of American Politics.* (Harper)
Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen Merrell. *Middletown in Transition.* (Harcourt, Brace)

Mabee, Carleton. *The American Leonardo: The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse.* (Knopf)
McGinley, Phyllis. *A Short Walk from the Station.* (Viking Press)
MacIver, R. M. *The Web of Government.* (Macmillan)
MacLeish, Archibald. *Collected Poems, 1917–1952.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Malone, Dumas. *Jefferson the Virginian.* (Little, Brown)
Maloney, Tom, ed. *U.S. Camera 1957.* (U.S. Camera Publishing Corp.)
Marquand, John P. *The Late George Apley.* (Modern Library)
Marquand, John P. *Point of No Return.* (Little, Brown)
Marshall, Charles Burton. *The Limits of Foreign Policy.* (Holt)
Martin, John. *The Dance.* (Tudor Publishing Company)
Masters, Edgar Lee. *Spoon River Anthology.* (Macmillan)
Mathews, Mitford M., ed. *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles.* (University of Chicago Press)
Matthiessen, F. O. *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman.* (Oxford University Press)
Matthiessen, F. O., comp. *The Oxford Book of American Verse.* (Oxford University Press)
Maule, Harry E., ed. *Great Tales of the American West.* (Modern Library)
Mayo, Elton. *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization.* (Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University)
Mead, Margaret. *And Keep Your Powder Dry.* (Morrow)
Melville, Herman. *Moby Dick.* (Modern Library)
Melville, Herman. *Selected Writings of Herman Melville.* (Modern Library)
Mencken, H. L. *The American Language.* (Knopf)
Menninger, Karl A. *The Human Mind.* (Knopf)
Millay, Edna St. Vincent. *Collected Sonnets of Edna St. Vincent Millay.* (Harper)
Miller, Perry. *Jonathan Edwards.* (Sloane)
Miller, William, ed. *Men in Business: Essays on the History of Entrepreneurship.* (Harvard University Press)
Millis, Walter. *The Martial Spirit.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Mitchell, Margaret. *Gone With The Wind.* (Macmillan)

Mizener, Arthur. *The Far Side of Paradise: A Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Moore, Marianne. *Collected Poems.* (Macmillan)
Morgan, Barbara. *Summer's Children.* (Morgan and Morgan)
Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus.* (Little, Brown)
Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The Struggle for Guadalcanal.* (Little, Brown)
Morison, Samuel Eliot and Commager, Henry Steele. *The Growth of the American Republic.* (Oxford University Press) 2 v.
Morris, Richard B., ed. *Encyclopedia of American History.* (Harper)
Mumford, Lewis. *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865–1895.* (Dover Publications)
Mumford, Lewis, ed. *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture.* (Reinhold)
Mumford, Lewis. *Sticks and Stones.* (Dover Publications)
Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma.* (Harper)

Nevins, Allan, ed. *America Through British Eyes.* (Oxford University Press)
Nevins, Allan, with the collaboration of Hill, Frank Ernest. *Ford: The Times, The Man, The Company.* (Scribner)
The New Yorker. *55 Short Stories from The New Yorker.* (Simon and Schuster)
The New Yorker. *The New Yorker Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Album, 1925–1950.* (Harper)
Nock, Albert Jay. *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man.* (Harper)
Norris, Frank. *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco.* Ed. by Carvel Collins. (Rinehart)

O'Hara, John. *Appointment in Samarra.* (Modern Library)
O'Neill, Eugene. *Nine Plays.* (Modern Library)

Papashvily, George and Papashvily, Helen Waite. *Anything Can Happen.* (Harper)
Parkman, Francis. *The Oregon Trail.* (Rinehart)
Parkman, Francis. *The Parkman Reader.* Ed. by Samuel Eliot Morison. (Little, Brown)
Parrington, Vernon Louis. *The Colonial Mind, 1620–1800.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Partch, Harry. *Genesis of a Music.* (University of Wisconsin Press)
Peirce, Charles S. S. *Philosophical Writings of Peirce.* Ed. by Justus Buchler. (Dover Publications)
Percy, William Alexander. *Lanterns on the Levee.* (Knopf)
Perry, Ralph Barton. *The Thought and Character of William James.* (Braziller)
Peterson, Roger Tory and Fisher, James. *Wild America.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Complete Tales and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe.* (Modern Library)
Porter, Katherine Anne. *Flowering Judas and Other Stories.* (Modern Library)
Pringle, Henry F. *Theodore Roosevelt.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Prize Articles 1954. Ed. by Llewellyn Miller. (Ballantine Books)
Pupin, Michael. *From Immigrant to Inventor.* (Scribner)

Quinn, Arthur Hobson, ed. *Representative American Plays, from 1767 to the Present Day.* (Appleton-Century-Crofts)

Rice, John Andrew. *I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century.* (Hillary House)
Richardson, Edgar P. *American Romantic Painting.* Ed. by Robert Freund. (E. Weyhe)
Richardson, Edgar P. *Painting in America.* (Crowell)
Richter, Conrad. *The Trees.* (Knopf)
Riesman, David. *Individualism Reconsidered, and Other Essays.* (Free Press)
Riesman, David and others. *The Lonely Crowd.* (Doubleday Anchor Books)
Rister, Carl Coke. *Oil! Titan of the Southwest.* (University of Oklahoma Press)

Roberts, Kenneth. *Rabble in Arms.* (Doubleday)
Robinson, Edwin Arlington. *Tilbury Town.* (Macmillan)
Rogers, Agnes, comp.; text by Allen, Frederick Lewis. *I Remember Distinctly.* (Harper)
Roosevelt, Eleanor. *This I Remember.* (Harper)
Roosevelt, Theodore. *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children.* (Scribner)
Ross, Leonard Q. *The Education of Hyman Kaplan.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Rosten, Leo C. *Hollywood.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Rourke, Constance. *American Humor.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Rourke, Constance. *The Roots of American Culture, and Other Essays.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Ruxton, George Frederick. *Life in the Far West.* Ed. by LeRoy R. Hafen. (University of Oklahoma Press)

Salter, J. T. *Boss Rule.* (McGraw-Hill-Whittlesey House)
Sandburg, Carl. *Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Sandburg, Carl. *The People, Yes.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Sandoz, Mari. *Crazy Horse.* (Hastings House)
Sandoz, Mari. *Old Jules.* (Hastings House)
Santayana, George. *The Last Puritan.* (Scribner)
Santayana, George. *The Life of Reason.* (Scribner)
The Saturday Evening Post. *The Saturday Evening Post Treasury.* Ed. by Roger Butterfield. (Simon and Schuster)
Scherman, David E. and Redlich, Rosemarie. *Literary America: A Chronicle of American Writers from 1607–1952.* (Dodd, Mead)
Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. *The Age of Jackson.* (Little, Brown)
Schneider, Herbert W. *A History of American Philosophy.* (Columbia University Press)
Shapiro, Nat and Hentoff, Nat, eds. *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz by the Men Who Made It.* (Rinehart)
Sherwood, Robert E. *Roosevelt and Hopkins.* (Harper)
Smith, Bradford. *A Dangerous Freedom.* (Lippincott)
Smith, Cecil. *Musical Comedy in America.* (Theatre Arts Books)
Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land.* (Harvard University Press)
Staley, Eugene, ed. *Creating an Industrial Civilization.* (Harper)
Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Stegner, Wallace. *Mormon Country.* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce)
Stein, Gertrude. *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein.* Ed. by Carl Van Vechten. (Random House)
Steinbeck, John. *The Grapes of Wrath.* (Modern Library)
Steinberg, Saul. *The Passport.* (Harper)
Steinman, D. B. *The Builders of the Bridge: The Story of John Roebling and His Son.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Stevens, Wallace. *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens.* (Knopf)
Stewart, George R. *U. S. 40: Cross Section of the United States of America.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* (Modern Library)
Sullivan, Louis H. *The Autobiography of an Idea.* (Dover Publications)
Sweeney, James Johnson. *Alexander Calder.* (Museum of Modern Art)

Tannenbaum, Frank. *Crime and the Community.* (Columbia University Press)
Tarkington, Booth. *Alice Adams.* (Grosset and Dunlap)
Taylor, Robert Lewis. *Center Ring: The People of the Circus.* (Doubleday)
Thistlethwaite, Frank. *The Great Experiment.* (Cambridge, Eng., University Press)
Thomas, Norman. *A Socialist's Faith.* (Norton)
Thoreau, Henry David. *The Works of Thoreau.* Ed. by Henry Seidel Canby. (Houghton Mifflin)
Thurber, James. *The Thurber Carnival.* (Harper)
Train, Arthur. *Yankee Lawyer: The Autobiography of Ephraim Tutt.* (Scribner)
Trilling, Lionel. *The Liberal Imagination.* (Viking Press)
Trilling, Lionel. *The Middle of the Journey.* (Viking Press)
Truman, Harry S. *Year of Decisions.* (Doubleday)
Twain, Mark. *The Family Mark Twain.* (Harper)

Van Dersal, William R. *The American Land.* (Oxford University Press)
Van Doren, Carl. *Benjamin Franklin.* (Viking Press)
Van Doren, Mark. *Nathaniel Hawthorne.* (Sloane)
Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* (Modern Library)

Walker, Charles R. and Guest, Robert H. *The Man on the Assembly Line.* (Harvard University Press)
Wallance, Don. *Shaping America's Products.* (Reinhold)
Warner, W. Lloyd and others. *Democracy in Jonesville.* (Harper)
Warren, Robert Penn. *All the King's Men.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Washington, Booker T. *Up from Slavery.* (Doubleday)
Waters, Edward N. *Victor Herbert.* (Macmillan)
Webb, Walter Prescott. *The Great Frontier.* (Houghton Mifflin)
Wecter, Dixon. *The Saga of American Society.* (Scribner)
Welty, Eudora. *Selected Stories of Eudora Welty.* (Modern Library)
Wescott, Glenway. *The Grandmothers.* (Harper)
West, Jessamyn. *The Friendly Persuasion.* (Harcourt, Brace)
Wharton, Edith. *Ethan Frome.* (Scribner)
White, Andrew D. *Selected Chapters from the Autobiography of Andrew D. White.* (Cornell University Press)
White, E. B. *Here Is New York.* (Harper)
White, E. B. *One Man's Meat.* (Harper)
White, E. B. and White, Katharine S., eds. *A Subtreasury of American Humor.* (Modern Library)
White, William Allen. *The Autobiography of William Allen White.* (Macmillan)
Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose.* Ed. by John Kouwenhoven. (Modern Library)
Whyte, William Foote. *Street Corner Society.* (University of Chicago Press)
Wilder, Thornton. *Heaven's My Destination.* (Harper)
Williams, Oscar, ed. *A Little Treasury of American Poetry.* (Scribner)
Wilson, Edmund, ed. *The Shock of Recognition: The Development of Literature in the United States of America.* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy)
Wilson, Edmund. *The Shores of Light.* (Farrar, Straus and Young)
Wilson, Harry Leon. *Ruggles of Red Gap.* (Hillary House)
Wilson, Mitchell. *American Science and Invention.* (Simon and Schuster)
Wilson, Woodrow. *The Politics of Woodrow Wilson.* Ed. by August Heckscher. (Harper)
Winslow, Anne Goodwin. *The Springs.* (Knopf)
Wister, Owen. *The Virginian.* (Macmillan)
Wittke, Carl. *We Who Built America.* (Press of Western Reserve University)
Wolfe, Thomas. *Look Homeward, Angel.* (Modern Library)
Wolle, Muriel Sibell. *The Bonanza Trail: Ghost Towns and Mining Towns of the West.* (Indiana University Press)
Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow.* (Oxford University Press)
Wright, Frank Lloyd. *Autobiography.* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce)
Wright, Orville. *How We Invented the Airplane.* Ed. by Fred C. Kelly. (McKay)
Wright, Wilbur. *Miracle at Kitty Hawk; The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright.* Ed. by Fred C. Kelly. (Farrar, Straus and Young)

Zabel, Morton Dauwen, ed. *Literary Opinion in America.* (Harper)
Zinsser, Hans. *As I Remember Him.* (Little, Brown)

Larrabee, Eric, ed. *American Panorama*—(New York University Press, Sept. 1957) This volume was prepared as an introduction and guide to the 350 books in the above collection.

5000-5-1-57

Carnegie Corporation of New York Quarterly

OCTOBER 1957 VOLUME V NUMBER 4

Imagination + x = Learning

"He was President of the United States in the eighteenth century."

Does that sentence read like mathematics to you? Well, it's the beginning of a lesson in painless algebra. There's nothing in it to memorize. No tables. No laws. No mystifying symbols. It's merely a statement that can be either true or false, depending on who is "he." If the name of Abraham Lincoln is put in the pronoun's place, the statement is patently false. If "he" is George Washington, the statement is obviously true.

This is plain, simple English, the language every American high school freshman understands. Mathematics is a different language, but it can be just as easy to read. Equations are merely statements about numbers that are true if you put in the right names; and numerals are only the names you use for numbers.

Numerals aren't "real" any more than names of people are real. You can see and touch the person Paul Jones, but the name "Paul Jones" itself is a mental invention. And although you can count the 10 fingers on your two hands, if you try to put one of these fingers on the number ten you find that the number exists only in your head. You can see a name for ten but you can't see the number ten.

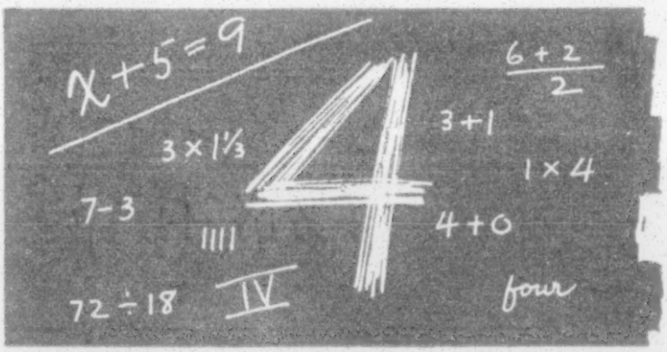
High school algebra, then, is nothing more nor less than the business of making statements about numbers that are true when you think up the right names. Take, for example, the equation: x plus 4 equals 9. The '4' and the '9' are names of numbers. If the language were English, the 'x' would be a pronoun. But the language is mathematics. So the 'x' is a "pronumeral." The only name you can put in place of that pronumeral to make a true statement is a name for the number five.

Could anything be more natural? Wouldn't mathematics be plain fun—even easy—to a youngster who approaches it this way? Yet many teachers will have trouble accepting this method because they have been taught that a child doesn't really understand anything that he can't explain in words.

Professor Max Beberman and a little band of mathematics experimentalists at the University of Illinois have set out to prove that this old rule of teaching is wrong. In an attempt to make math enjoyable to American children, they are turning the high school math curriculum inside out to make it fit what adolescents actually feel and think as opposed to the reactions ascribed to them by grownups.

"When you and I were thirteen, fourteen," Beberman reminds his fellow pedagogues, "we were enchanted by the mysteries of life. We weren't concerned with practicalities. We didn't ask ourselves how we would earn our living after we finished school. We wanted to know if there was a God, and if there was, what did He look like? Was He maybe like the light of day or the sound of the wind in the trees? Why was grass always green? Why were clouds always white or grey or sometimes pink—never blue like the sky behind them? The more abstract a question was the hotter we argued it. Angels absolutely delighted us; how many of them could dance on the head of a pin?

"Numbers are as abstract as angels. Mathematics is as creative as music, painting, or sculpture. The high school freshman will revel in it if we let him play with it as an



Ch-pat

VIA AIR MAIL

May 29, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your prompt reaction to the revised Foreign Visitor Request. I am remiss in failing to get the official title of your program correctly put in the draft. Enclosed are two copies of the re-typed page 5, and also the enclosures which we have proposed to include. If you feel that the enclosures are over done, please feel free to make an arbitrary decision as to what should be left out. We are mighty grateful to you for making a personal effort of this.

As to the arrangements for Dr. Moolman, there are probably others who could advise more soundly than we. If you are not particular about his coming South, Emory Via suggests that the University of Chicago has a suitable person whom you probably know - Gilbert White, Geographer, and past president of Haverford. Emory points out that the University of Chicago's planning department is winding up, but there is still an assortment of top planning people on hand.

I note that Moolman speaks of the National Planning Association. If that is a real possibility, I should think it would be a good choice.

In the South, we have thought of Georgia Tech as a possibility. Tech has an excellent department of city planning and also a good industrial development branch, which carries on research and consultation on the economic development of Georgia. We know a few of the people associated with these programs, and if you want us to we will raise the possibility with them.

We are rejoicing over two pieces of good financial news. Harry Meserve brought unofficial word that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has approved our request, which you may remember was for $40,000 a year for three years to carry on a special "law and order" project. We have also just got a letter from Vernon Eagle telling us that the New World Foundation has approved $15,000 for our Consultant Service Program. So we are in business! Incidentally, we have explored some the possibility of getting Ralph Rose for the RBF position, but it looks most unlikely. If any good ideas occur to you, we will appreciate them.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

May 26, 1958

Dear Harold,

The version is excellent. I suggest one small change on the attached copy.

If you will send me the necessary enclosures, I will be glad to put the proposal before Stackpole.

I guess there won't be action until fall.

Sorry I can't be at your meeting.

The very best

Sincerely

Frank

Cover

Will you look at this letter and curriculum vitae from Moolman who comes with his wife in September? I am trying to find an appropriate person (geographer or regional planner) to take an interest in him, preferably associated with an institution (state agency or university etc).

It is too late to try to get any institution to share in financial costs now that Resources for the Future (Ford Fdn) has decided not to "write" him as a consultant

Many thanks
Frank

Gilbert White, geographer, Quaker, Prof pres. Haverford (also planning stuff)
Ga Tech - ~~regional~~ Dept of City Planning - Ike
Saporta - Industrial Development
NPA
Metropolitan Planning Comm

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

May 23, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I have at last finished a revised draft of our Foreign Visitor Proposal. I don't know that I have improved it any, but I have tried to do justice to the various good suggestions you made. Don't hesitate to be candid in giving me your reactions.

Since you are familiar with most of the proposed enclosures, I am not burdening you with all of them now. But I am enclosing excerpted statements written to us by some of the visitors, for your reaction. When and if we submit the proposal, we will up-date the list of visitors to reflect some of those received thus far in 1958.

Harry Meserve is coming down for the Southern Interagency meeting next week. (He expects to be the bearer of tidings, good we hope, on our R.B.F. request.) I think the meeting will be a good experience for him. I only wish it were possible

for you to be here too.

The best, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 copies of Foreign Visitor Program Proposal.
(only "Roster of For. Visitors" + Excerpts from ltrs, Included with Proposal)

A PROPOSAL
FOR AID TO THE FOREIGN VISITOR PROGRAM
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

May 23, 1958

1

Summary of Proposal

The Southern Regional Council has found itself increasingly called upon by governmental and private agencies as a resource for foreign visitors travelling in the South. These demands have reached the point at which special support is required if the Council is to give this function the staff attention which its importance warrants. Hence, this request for a grant of $10,000 a year for three years in support of the Council's services to foreign visitors. As the following paragraphs seek to explain, the Council is uniquely fitted to help visitors from other lands achieve a constructive understanding of the changing South. We are acutely conscious of the international implications of this function, and we earnestly believe that it merits support.

The Need

In recent years, and particularly since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954, the flow of foreign visitors has steadily increased. Approximately 100 visitors a year are now received by the Council. About half of these are sponsored by the Department of State

or other agencies of the United States Government. The largest professional category has been that of writers and editors; churchmen, government officials, educators, businessmen, and labor leaders have also been well represented.

The 1957 total included both whites and non-whites from 21 countries in Europe, Africa, and Asia. (The Union of South Africa alone accounted for ten of the total.) From the attached list it may be noted how many of these visitors are influential leaders and opinion-makers in their respective countries.

On their return home, not only the newspapermen but often those of other professions present their observations and reactions in newspapers and magazines. Thus their impressions of the South may influence the views of many thousands of their fellow countrymen. We have been gratified that many of them communicate with the Council after they leave this country. We have had from many of them requests for further information on specific aspects of Southern race relations.

The widely publicized events in Little Rock have stimulated even greater interest and concern over Southern racial problems among foreigners travelling in the United States. The trend thus far in 1958 indicates that the Council will be called upon to serve an increasing number of visitors in the period ahead.

Proposal - 3.
Foreign Visitor Program

The Council's Services

Following is a point-by-point summary of the Southern Regional Council's assets as a primary service center for foreign visitors travelling South:

(1) At its Atlanta headquarters, the Council maintains an interracial staff of fourteen, experienced in race relations and informed about social and economic developments in the region. These staff members are equipped to give emissaries from abroad a detailed and balanced picture of the South, the historical background against which current events must be seen, and prospects for the immediate future. The specialists of the full-time staff can be readily supplemented by the Council's Atlanta officers and board members, local consultants, and community leaders in various fields with whom the Council has cooperative relations. The list of Council board members attached will suggest the professional diversity and standing of the Southerners who cooperate in the Council's work.

(2) The Council is recognized, in the South and elsewhere, for its studies of the many aspects of Southern race relations. Its reference files, maps, publications, and other resources provide as much authentic documentation as a visitor may wish -- and that is often a great deal.

3. The Council works closely with major Southern newspapers, institutions of higher learning, and religious

groups. Such outstanding editors as Ralph McGill, Harry Ashmore, and Hodding Carter have been intimately related to the Council since its founding; the same is true of many leading college educators and churchmen and women. These ties are of great value to the work with foreign visitors.

(4) In addition to the relationships just mentioned, the fact that the Council has associated interracial organizations in the various Southern states makes it possible to refer visitors to informed and sympathetic persons in any part of the region. The Council is frequently called upon to advise on schedules and itineraries, to make suitable appointments in advance, to secure accommodations, to provide local transportation, and to arrange suitable hospitality. This is perhaps the only regional organization with contacts throughout the South which can readily bridge the gap between the white and Negro communities in making such arrangements. By the same token, the demonstration value of an inclusive body of white and Negro Southerners working together for progress in race relations is uniquely valuable.

(5) The increasing interest in the Southern United States among visitors from Asia and, increasingly, Africa gives special significance to the Council's primary focus on race relations. Representatives of Asian and African

countries are intensely concerned with the race issue in this country, particularly in the contested Southern situation. It is vital that they be acquainted with the hopeful and positive, as well as the negative developments within the South. They can benefit greatly from first-hand exposure to Southerners who are wrestling with this great moral question, searching their consciences, and looking on old attitudes and practices with new eyes. It is one of the Council's great advantages that it can give such an exposure to the foreign traveller.

(6) The new U. S. - South African Leader Exchange Program of the African-American Institute typifies the mounting importance of race relations in international exchange. Certainly the South African leaders whom this program will bring to the United States will be deeply interested in what can be learned from the situation in the South.

(7) We have found it advantageous for visitors travelling South to come first to Atlanta, where the Council can assist them in gaining an overall view of the region, and advise them on persons to see elsewhere in the South. This benefits the visitor by giving him a region-wide picture to which his experiences in the South can be meaningfully related. Through systematic scheduling, it is also possible to avoid over-working the relatively few Southerners who are well known to national programmers.

Proposal - 6.
Foreign Visitor Program

The Request

In carrying on this activity, the Council faces a serious dilemma. We feel very keenly the importance of helping foreign visitors get a mature and balanced view of the South. At the same time, other demands upon the Council have greatly increased as the strains of racial tension and controversy have grown. The problem is to give the proper amount of time and systematic effort to the servicing of foreign visitors without crippling the main program activities of the organization. The annual grant of $10,000 requested would enable us to do the following:

(1) Allocate at least the half-time services of a professional staff member exclusively to the administration of the foreign visitor program.

(2) Enable other senior staff members and consultants to devote a reasonable amount of time to foreign visitors, as staff specialities and visitor interests dictate.

(3) Provide the necessary supporting clerical services, equivalent to a half-time secretary.

(4) Arrange for suitable persons in the community to assist with hospitality in the home, transportation, and introduction to local institutions. These persons would volunteer their time but should be reimbursed for special expenses incurred.

Proposal - 7.
Foreign Visitor Program

(5) Send the Council's monthly publication New South and other appropriate materials to the visitors for a year or more after they leave the United States.

(6) Bear the cost of other essential administrative overhead -- telephone and telegraph, followup mailings, use of office space and equipment.

A foreign leader who comes to this country under public or private auspices, does so at considerable expense to the sponsoring agency. A reasonable investment to assure that an important part of his visit is wisely and constructively spent would seem more than justified.

Enclosed are materials which describe the origin and history of the Council, its structure, and its program activities. We shall be glad to furnish any further information that may further the consideration of this request.

Enclosures:

SRC Annual Report, 1957
List of Board Members
New York Times Reprint
Congressional Record Reprint
List of Foreign Visitors, 1957
Sample Letters from Foreign Visitors Assisted
Letter of Tax Exemption

C O P Y

C O P Y

PARK LANE MOTOR HOTEL
1701 Central Ave. E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

March 27, 1958

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I hope that you will not interpret my failure to appear at your office to collect the material you so kindly promised me as base ingratitude. The explanation is that thanks to the extraordinary kindness of Mr. Alston, and Mr. Thompson, as well as of Dr. Young, I simply did not have a single minute free. They were all wonderful and extremely helpful. In fact, thanks to you and to them, my stay in Atlanta was of the greatest value to me personally and I hope indirectly to the job.

I am extremely indebted to you and to Mr. Fleming and Mr. Routh for your friendliness, Southern hospitality and infinite patience with an abysmally ignorant outsider, and I do appreciate from the bottom of my heart your generosity. My only hope, apart from wishing that you would all come to Sweden, is that any foreign visitor* have the privilege of meeting you all and receiving their introduction to the South from you.

Yours gratefully,

/s/ CATHERINE DJURKLOU

*hard on work, but unparalleled for public relations.

C. D.

P. S. Could you send the material to me at the following address:

Mrs. Catherine Djurklou
c/o Mrs. Margaret Haskins
Room 834
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Please Hold.

C.

"The South has been a most interesting subject for me for several years, and the conversation we had with you, highly enlightening though brief, has contributed a great deal to the understanding of this subject and, we believe, will remain as a happy memory of our stay in this country."

Seizo Tanetani, First Secretary
Embassy of Japan
Washington, D. C.

"I want to especially thank you and the staff of the Southern Regional Council for the very splendid cooperation and assistance given to us in connection with the visit of the foreign delegation to Atlanta early this month. I might add, also, that the itinerary which you put together in a short time certainly gave them an effective and basic orientation of the Southern scene."

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department
United Auto Workers

"...it (Southern tour) will all be treasured and useful in my work in the future... To meet all of you and see a little of your efforts was a great experience."

Mrs. Mary Saran
Secretary of the International
Council of Social Democratic Women

"Again may I express, for the U. S. Government Agencies participating in this program, our appreciation for your continued interest and help in realizing the objectives of our program... Insofar as an individual foreign visitor is concerned, your efforts may in fact determine the success or failure of the program."

Mrs. Alden R. Crocker, Chairman
Interagency Committee on Community
Participation
International Cooperation Administration
Washington, D. C.

"From time to time we receive visitors from Europe who inquire about race relations in the United States. One such visitor, who was in your office a few months ago, commented on the clarity of the materials that he saw. I wonder if you could send us a copy of your materials that deal with this subject."

Basil Karp
Education Consultant
American Committee on United Europe

"Thanks for being so very nice to me in Atlanta and for writing all along the line and causing me the kind and helpful reception I received... It was a very real pleasure to see something of the work the Southern Regional Council is doing."

Ellen Hellman, Past President
South African Institute on Race Relations

"On behalf of the Governmental Affairs Institute and myself, your courtesies extended to Sir Leslie Plummer on his recent visit to Atlanta were very much appreciated. Your timely contributions seemed to me to shed new light on the stale problems of race in the deep South, and our visitor expressed similar sentiments."

Dr. Robert E. Williams

ROSTER OF FOREIGN VISITORS
SERVICED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
DURING THE PAST YEAR

:

ENGLAND

Geoffrey Rippon
Conservative M. P.
London, England

Charles Curran
Journalist
London, England

Dr. Richard Lowenthal
Journalist - The Observer
London, England

R. C. Davis
Student - Balliol College
Oxford, England

Mrs. Mary Saran
Secretary - International Council of Social Democratic Women
London, England

Desmond Hirshfield
Member, Parliamentary Labor Party Steering Committee
London, England

Michael Ingrams
Television Producer
London, England

David W. S. Lidderdale
Fourth Clerk, House of Commons
London, England

John Michael Bowers
Solicitor
London, England

Sir Leslie Plummer
Labor M. P.
London, England

Mr. Richard Bailey
Director, PEP (Political and Economic Planning
London, England

John Harold Wise
Teacher - London County Council School
London, England

Michael Milgate
Journalist
Isle of Wright, England

Dr. Maldwyn Edwards
Clergyman
Birmingham, England

Lord Kinross
Journalist - Punch
London, England

Tom Fraser
Labor M. P.
London, England

James Johnson
Labor M. P., Expert on African Affairs
London, England

Miss Caryl Doncaster
Executive Producer, Television
London, England

Michael Terry
Chief Sub-Editor for Foreign Affairs - London Observer
London, England

Roster of Foreign Visitors - 2.

SCOTLAND

Diarmid H. Cross
Labor Leader
Glasgow, Scotland

Thomas McCalmont
Labor Leader
Glasgow, Scotland

Alastair K. Warren
Journalist, The Glasgow Herald
Glasgow, Scotland

AFRICA

Dr. Ellen Hellman
Anthropologist
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dr. S. P. Olivier
Dean, Dept. of Education
Univ. of Capetown, S. Africa

Donald A. C. MacLennan
Educator
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dr. John Stuart
Clergyman
Amersfoort, Trasvaal
South Africa

Bishop P. W. Schaberg
The Moravian Church
Union of South Africa

Mr. Rahimtoola Abdullah
Student
British East Africa

Maowia Aziz
Mechanical Engineer
Khartoum North, Sudan

Nasr Hag-Ali
Ministry of Education
Khartoum, Sudan

Kenno Cronje
Balfour, Transvaal
South Africa

Anthony Delius
Journalist
Capetown, South Africa

Mr. & Mrs. Frederick Van Wyck
Assistant Director
South African Institute on Race Relations
Johannesburg, South Africa

H. V. Roberts
General Secretary
Inst. of International Affairs
Johannesburg, South Africa

Lawrence C. Vambe
Journalist
Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia

Mr. M. M. Hove
Member, Federal Assembly of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland
Dulaways, Southern Rhodesia

Victor Norton
Editor - The Cape Times
Capetown, South Africa

G. A. Balogun
General Secretary, National Union of Ghana Oil Workers
Accra, Ghana

Dr. L. M. Young
University of Natal
Natal, South Africa

Africa (continued)

Dr. Violaine Junod
University of Natal
Durban, Union of South Africa

Dr. Gerhardus Oosterhuizen
Pastor, Dutch Reform Church
Queenstown, Union of S. Africa

Mr. & Mrs. Leo Marquard
Former President
South African Institute on Race Relations
Johannesburg, South Africa

NEW ZEALAND

Ian G. Borrie
Clergyman
Wanganui, New Zealand

John Cornwell
Journalist - New Zealand Herald
Auckland, New Zealand

INDIA

Ijaz Husain
Barrister-at-Law
Lahore, West Pakistan

C. J. Reddy
Foreign Correspondent
Times of India

Gopal Rajan
Student
Bombay, India

Dr. P. T. Chandi
President, St. John's College
Agra University
Agra, India

Shauar S. Karuankar
Student
Bombay, India

FRANCE

Jean L. F. Fonteneau
Assistant Secretary General
Popular Republican Movement
Paris, France

Michael Trescazes
Bordeaux,
France

Roger Argentin
National Secretary
Paris, France

Paul N. Bour
Member of the Council
Federation of Engineers
Paris, France

Michael J. Lerolle
Ministry of Labour
Paris, France

Andre M. Philbert
Ministry of Labour
Paris, France

Lucien Rouet
Chausson Car Body Plant
Paris, France

Mouillesaux de Bernieres
Student
Paris, France

France (continued)

Michael Baufrere
Chief, Labor and Social Information Service
French Press News Agency

Michael Blonde
Chief Engineer
Renault Automobile Plant
Paris, France

Rene J. Dufaud
Chief of Studies Department
Societe d'Organization Generale
Paris, France

Andre L. Lucas
Executive, Renault Automobile Company
Paris, France

GERMANY

Otto von der Gablentz
Educator
Berlin, Germany

Hans-Joachim W. Netzer
Deputy Chief
Bavarian State Radio
Munich, Germany

Karl H. Lankau
Deputy Chief Editor
Luebecker Nachrichten
Schleswig-Holstein, Germany

Dr. Von Borch
Washington Correspondent
Die Weldt
Hamburg, Germany

Otto Gobiue
Dutch Nesspaperman
Amsterdam Telegraph
Bonn, Germany

Karl-Heinz Hagen
Chief Editor, Berlin Zeitung
Berlin, Germany

Miss Hildergard Stallmach
Editor and Assistant to the Chief of the Voice of Germany
Cologne, Germany

Klaus Harpprecht
West German Radio and TV
Cologne, Germany

AUSTRIA

Walter Pollack
Journalist
Linz, Austria

Gustav Adolf Canaval
Chief Editor
Salzburger Nachrichten
Salzburg, Austria

SWITZERLAND

Bruno Tuor
Student
Berne, Switzerland

Bernhardt Moosbiugger
Author and Journalist
Basle, Switzerland

Switzerland (continued)

Gladys Weigner
Author and Journalist
Basle, Switzerland

Willy Zeller
Journalist - Basler Nachrichten
Berne, Switzerland

HOLLAND

Otto Gobius
Journalist
Amsterdam Telegraph

SWEDEN

Miss Birgitta Marnolin
Journalist - Dagens Nyheter
Stockholm, Sweden

Dr. Rudolph Winder
Research Director
Swedish Conference of Labor Unions

Olle Petrini
Journalist - Expressen
Stockholm, Sweden

Mrs. Catherine Djurklou
Local Employee, American Embassy
Stockholm, Sweden

Jan Olsson
Journalist
Stockholm, Sweden

Mr. Kaj Bjork
Editor - Ny Tid, Goteborg
Goteberg, Sweden

Dr. Herbert Tingsten
Editor-in-Chief, Dagens Nyheter
Stockholm, Sweden

DENMARK

Per Moller
Newspaperman and Editor
Gersonvej, Denmark

Oley Killerich
Foreign Editor - BT
Copenhagen, Denmark

Kaj Erik Lindquist
Journalist
Copenhagen, Denmark

OTHER

Dr. Pavvo K. Kastari
Past Solicitor-General of the Finnish Parliament
University of Helsinki, Finland

Baruch Ber
Journalist
Tel Aviv, Israel

Felix D. Grab
Editor - Hakidmah
Tel Aviv, Israel

Nakchung Paik
Student
Korea

Other (continued)

Abraham Seferman
Uruguay, South America

Mr. & Mrs. Leo A. Pinnock
Island Supervisor
Jamaica Social Welfare
Commission
Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Mr. Zenichiro Watanabe
Assistant Foreign News Editor
Mainichi Newspapers
Tokyo, Japan

Eun Jong Fa Sen
Businessman
Djakarha, Indonesia

Mr. & Mrs. Seizo Tanetani
First Secretary
Embassy of Japan
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Biraghi Guliclino
Journalist
Rome, Italy

INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF UNION REPRESENTATIVES

Belgian Metal Workers:

William Bradley
C. S. Hallett
W. T. Brown
Perce Hanley

Swedish Metal Worker:

Sven Forslund

Mexican Metal Workers:

Adrian Garduno
Augustin Flores-Tovar

Indian Metal Workers:

D. Vankatesh
J. C. Saikia

Team Director: Joseph Mattson
Interpreter: Joe Vega

C O P Y

House of Commons,
Westminster,
S.W.1.

10th December, 1957

Dear Mr. Via,

I had intended to write to you long before now, but I know you will understand how little time I had during my dash across the United States and back again; and I got back to find a mass of my own correspondence to deal with.

Many thanks for your letter of 6th November. I too was very sorry that my stay in Atlanta was so short. I would have liked to see more of the city, and something of its surroundings, and one day I hope I shall.

However, thanks to you and to the Southern Regional Council, every minute of my short time in Atlanta was very well spent. As I think I said to you, one of the main factors in my wish to study race relations in America was the conversations on the subject which I frequently have with Africans and West Indians. I hoped to be able to explain to them something of how the present state of affairs have come about, and, more important, what is being done about it now. I certainly feel more qualified now to speak on the first point and having met the officials of the Southern Regional Council, and studied their work, I shall deal with the second not only with confidence but with enthusiasm. Many thanks to you and your colleagues.

Thank you also very much for having the package sent off for me. It arrived safely. I enclose an (American) postal order for $1.95, which I think was the amount of the postage.

Thank you also for sending me the additional documents, which reached me in New York, and which I am very glad to have.

When you or any of your colleagues whom I met are going to be in London, please let me know - I hope it will be before long.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ DAVID W. S. LIDDERDALE

D. W. S. Lidderdale.

June 27, 1958

Mr. Alan Pifer
Carnegie Corporation of New York
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Pifer:

I greatly enjoyed our conversation last week and I am taking this occasion to supplement our request with the enclosed estimated annual budget for the Council's Foreign Visitor Program. If this summary budget is not clear enough, or if you would like a more detailed breakdown of projected expenses, please let me know.

As I pointed out in my conversation last week, the Southern Regional Council is fortunate to have a staff member who is well equipped by training and experience to assume responsibility for coordinating extended services to foreign visitors. He is Paul Anthony, who bears the title of Administrative Assistant and has served on the Council's staff for the past two years. Mr. Anthony's background includes formal training in the field of human relations at the University of Miami and The New School of Social Research, and professional experience in teaching and organizational work. During his tenure with the Council, he has borne primary responsibility for scheduling and otherwise assisting foreign visitors who are referred to us. His effectiveness in this assignment

has been enhanced by his close familiarity with race relations in the South and with the specific program activities which the Council carries on. The amount of the grant which will be applied on his salary would enable us to re-distribute staff duties in such a way as to free at least half of his time for the Foreign Visitor Program.

I am grateful to you and Mr. Stackpole for making possible consideration of our request by the Carnegie Corporation.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Foreign Visitor Program -- Proposed Budget

SRC Staff	
Half time of professional staff member	$ 3,500.00
Clerical assistance and supplies	2,200.00
Hospitality	
Office-sponsored activities (transportation, meals, etc.)	850.00
Reimbursement of expenses (volunteers, host families, other agencies and groups in region).....	1,250.00
Information	
Materials, follow-up mailings, and servicing of special information requests	1,000.00
Communication	700.00
Other costs	500.00
Total:	$10,000.00

Coal coalition

PROPOSED BUDGET - SRC FOREIGN VISITOR PROGRAM

SRC Staff	
Half time of professional staff member	$3,500.00
Clerical Assistance ~~&~~ and Supplies	2,000.00
Hospitality	
Office-sponsored activities, ~~tours, etc.~~ (transportation, meals, etc)	850.00
Reimbursement of expenses ~~of~~ host families, (volunteers, agencies and groups in region), other	~~850.00~~ 1250.00
Information	
Materials, follow-up mailings, and servicing of special information requests	1,000.00
Communication	700.00
Other ~~Overhead~~ Costs	500.00 ~~800.00~~
TOTAL	$10,000.00

Rcd 7/10/58

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

STEPHEN H. STACKPOLE
Executive Associate

ALAN PIFER
Executive Associate

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES PROGRAM

July 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am answering your letter of June 27 as Alan Pifer has left the office for a brief vacation. We are glad to have this further information on your proposal and the estimated budget.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Stephen H. Stackpole

SHS:las

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES PROGRAM

STEPHEN H. STACKPOLE
Executive Associate

ALAN PIFER
Executive Associate

September 11, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of your latest report, which I have looked through with much interest. Our staff is still widely scattered but will be back soon, and we will take up your proposal then.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Alan Pifer

AP:ci

BC sent to Frank Loescher

October 16, 1958

Mr. Alan Pifer
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Alan:

Thanks for your sympathetic letter of October 6.

We're disappointed, of course, that our request didn't make the grade. But we are also well aware that such proposals, particularly one as much off the beaten track as this, have a high mortality rate.

We have given a good deal of thought and discussion to your generous offer to negotiate a fee for sach future visitor you may refer to us. Much as we appreciate it, we are inclined to ask that the present relationship continue.

We feel this way for two quite practical reasons. First, we fear that a regular practice of attaching a fee to a particular visitor would distort what is, after all, a normal function of an educational organization like the Council. Secondly, we still have hopes of securing a special grant or contribution in overall support of our work with foreign visitors. If we are ultimately successful, this will be far preferable to a practice that might lead to distinctions among visitors based on their sponsorship.

In any case, I hope you and your colleagues won't feel any inhibitions about referring your grantees to us. And I want to thank you and Stephen Stackpole for making consideration of our request possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

STEPHEN H. STACKPOLE
Executive Associate

ALAN PIFER
Executive Associate

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES PROGRAM

October 6, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It has now been possible for our staff to give full consideration to the proposal you placed before Carnegie Corporation last June. I am very sorry indeed we have had to keep you waiting so long for a reply and even sorrier that the decision I have to convey to you is negative. There was no question at all here about the valuable and important work the Southern Regional Council is doing in assisting overseas visitors to meet people in the South representing all shades of opinion. We decided regretfully, however, that your proposal was too far outside the main lines of the Corporation's program to warrant our recommending support for it to the trustees.

We fully realize you have a serious financial problem at the SRC with the greatly increased flow of overseas visitors you are receiving. We feel that to the degree that Carnegie Corporation is contributing to this flow with its own grantees, we should recognize your problem and negotiate with you a suitable fee for services rendered each visitor. This will not solve your basic problem but may perhaps suggest a line you could follow up with other organizations if this seems feasible. In any event, the next time we have a visitor to send to you, we will be glad to talk with you in advance about the costs involved.

Once again may I say how sorry I am to have to convey this decision to you.

Sincerely,

Alan Pifer

AP:ci

RECEIVED OCT 24 1958

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

STEPHEN H. STACKPOLE
Executive Associate

ALAN PIFER
Executive Assistant

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES PROGRAM

October 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Alan Pifer has just left on a 2½ months trip to West Africa so it falls to me to thank you for your nice letter. I fully understand the validity of the position you have taken on the question of special arrangements for visitors. In fact I have just had a chat with Frank Loescher about this among other things. From time to time we may be sending a Commonwealth visitor your way and I assure you that we appreciate your willingness to help.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Stephen H. Stackpole

SHS:las

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

STEPHEN H. STACKPOLE
Executive Associate

ALAN PIFER
Executive Associate

COMMONWEALTH PROGRAM

August 30, 1960

Publicity Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Keep on

Gentlemen:

Mr. Stackpole and Mr. Pifer are always interested to see the ~~releases~~ and reports that you send to them, but I am wondering since they sit in adjoining offices whether it would not save your staff some time if only one mailing were sent to these men. They share all other reading material that comes in and it would be a simple matter for one or the other to circulate the SRC material to the other.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Wells
Administrative
Assistant

mw

put on New South
Mr. Stackpole
(complimentary)
9/2/60

Pifer finished 9-15-60

November 4, 1963

Mr. Frederick H. Jackson
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

file

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I have your letter of October 29, and would be very interested in discussing with you some of the problems of higher education for Negroes. Unfortunately, I don't at this time have firm plans to be in New York, though there is a very good chance that I shall be up sometime between Thanksgiving and Christmas. If I am, I will write to you in advance.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 10/30/63

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON
Executive Associate

Al. 3-3100

October 29, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.--Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In a talk with Donald Matthews the other day he mentioned your interest in the higher education of Negro students. Carnegie Corporation is trying to determine what it might usefully do in this field and it occurred to me that it might be useful for me to talk with you.

Do you have any plans for being in New York during the next few weeks? If so, I hope we can get together.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick H. Jackson

FHJ:hca

REGISTRATION

is requested in advance by those planning to attend the conference, as space is limited. A registration card and return envelope are enclosed. The total cost is $5.00 per person.

Since our weekend schedule coincides with the sabbaths of two major religious groups, the program has been planned so that participants can miss some of the sessions without impairing the continuity of the total conference.

See inside for preliminary program and notes on the working papers.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Roger Baldwin
Philip Baum
George Beebe
Robert Gilmore
Selma Hirsh
Robert Pickus
Herbert Robinson
Bayard Rustin
Emily Parker Simon
Norman Thomas

CONFERENCE HOST

Turn Toward Peace
Cooper Station Box 401
New York, New York
10003

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS and a WORLD WITHOUT WAR

National Conference

December 13-15, 1963

Carnegie Endowment International Center
345 East 46 Street, New York City

PURPOSE

to examine and strengthen the role of American voluntary organizations in achieving a world without war

INVITATIONS

have been issued by the consultants to Turn Toward Peace,

Roger Baldwin
John Bennett
Donald Brennan
Grenville Clark
Maurice N. Eisendrath
Donald Harrington
Hudson Hoagland
Sidney Hook
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dwight Macdonald
Joachim Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Earl Stevenson
James J. Wadsworth

along with a panel of other distinguished Americans who have joined in issuing the Call to the conference.

PARTICIPATION

Invitations to the conference are being sent to a selected list of people from the following groups:

1) leaders of major American voluntary organizations concerned about public affairs

2) leaders of major national peace organizations

3) leaders in American communities who are interested in building a connected peace effort

The above are invited to participate as individuals. Their organizations are not asked to have any formal relationship to the conference.

WORKING PAPERS

Five working papers will be considered at the conference. Each of these papers is now in preparation by a special commission appointed by the Conference Committee. The commission drafts, when completed, will be circulated to participants in advance of the conference.

GOALS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

a lowest-common-denominator statement of agreement on desirable and attainable next steps

NEW ROADS

a survey of the frontiers of thought on achieving a peaceful world, in which areas of agreement and disagreement will be included and made explicit

STANDARDS OF RESPONSIBILITY

queries for voluntary organizations wishing to examine their own activity in terms of helping to achieve a world without war

THE KIND OF PEACE MOVEMENT AMERICA NEEDS

a set of questions for examination by peace organization leadership

NATIONAL WORLD WITHOUT WAR FUND

proposal for a national campaign to reach new people and raise new funds for peace research and study

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

HERE — keynote address

Where we are in a world threatened by war. The need for new initiatives to free government for action in a new context. The crucial role of voluntary organizations in providing that context.

HERE TO THERE — working sessions

Commission hearings and panels on working papers. Circulation of final documents. Plenary sessions. Planning for post-conference activity.

THERE — panel discussion

Thoughts on a world without war.

The time scheduled for the conference, Friday, December 13, through Sunday, December 15, as now envisioned, will be divided approximately as follows:

Registration	Friday evening
Keynote address	Friday evening
Working sessions	Saturday morning, afternoon, evening Sunday morning and afternoon
Panel discussion	Sunday evening

To: Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War Conference

( ) I plan to attend the conference December 13-15 and enclose my registration fee of $5.00. Please send me preparatory drafts as they are completed as well as hotel information.

( ) I will be unable to attend but request that you send an invitation to_____ of my organization (Address on reverse).

( ) I cannot commit myself to attend at present but hope to be able to accept your invitation in the near future. Please keep me informed of developments.

Name_____
(Please print)

Address_____

Roger Baldwin et al.
Voluntary Organizations and
a World Without War Conference
218 East 18th Street
New York, New York 10003

Roger Baldwin, John Bennett, Donald Brennan,
Grenville Clark, Maurice N. Eisendrath,
Donald Harrington, Hudson Hoagland,
Sidney Hook, Martin Luther King, Jr.,
Dwight Macdonald, Joachim Prinz,
A. Philip Randolph, Earl Stevenson,
and James J. Wadsworth

NATIONAL CONSULTANTS TO TURN TOWARD PEACE

invite

Leslie W. Dunbar

to a national conference

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

December 13 through December 15, 1963

Carnegie Endowment International Center
345 East 46th Street
New York City

File

R.S.V.P.

CALL TO THE CONFERENCE

We join the national consultants of Turn Toward Peace in issuing this Call to a national conference for key leaders of American organizations who want to help achieve a world without war.

President Kennedy has called the test ban treaty "a shaft of light cut into the darkness." The shaft is narrow; the darkness deep. There are forces in the Communist world and in American society, there are forces in man himself, which could overwhelm that light. Governments alone cannot widen it or make it stronger. The present breathing space is a time for those who can to widen the context in which responsible governments must operate -- a time to take the next step in achieving a world without war.

What of the voluntary organizations? Freed of the political limitations that restrict governmental activity, guided by the best in our religious and political traditions, they can do much to shape the climate of understanding and aspiration in which government must act.

But few of these organizations are now engaged. "Late, late we come," said a leader of the Presbyterian Church in describing the role of the churches in the struggle of the American Negro for equality. There are many organizations which count working for world peace among their purposes; only just now are many seriously considering their responsibility to act in fulfilling that purpose.

There are other organizations which see working for a world without war as their central purpose; few of them are satisfied that the problems of effective work for peace have been solved. All see the need for relating their work to that of other organizations which share their values.

There is a reason, therefore, why leaders of American religious, labor, business, professional, public affairs, and similar national organizations, as well as leaders of the major American peace organizations, should meet together. All invited share a commitment to democratic values. All bear responsibility for the future course of American policy.

To examine our responsibility and consider the means for fulfilling it are the objectives of this conference.

We urge you to attend.

Co-signers of Call listed overleaf

Gordon W. Allport
Robert C. Angell
Stringfellow Barr
Daniel Bell
Algernon D. Black
Eugene Carson Blake
James B. Carey
Rachel Carson
David F. Cavers*
Edward A. Conway, S.J.
Andrew Cordier
James C. Charlesworth
William C. Davidon*
Clark M. Eichelberger
Harold E. Fey*
Osmond K. Fraenkel*
Jerome D. Frank*
Lawrence H. Fuchs
Harry Golden*
Norman K. Gottwald*
Erwin N. Griswold
John Haynes Holmes
Gerald Holton
Irving Howe
H. Stuart Hughes
Paul Jacobs*
Arthur Larson*
Harold D. Lasswell
George Lewis II*
Lenore Marshall
R. J. McCracken
Uri Miller*
Philip S. Moore, C.S.C.*
Arthur R. Morgan
Herbert J. Muller
A. J. Muste
Robert Oppenheimer*
Jay Orear
Earl D. Osborn
James G. Patton
James A. Pike*
Norman Podhoretz
Frank Rosenblum
William F. Ryan
Ben D. Segal
James T. Shotwell
John Slawson
Lillian Smith*
Louis B. Sohn
Robert S. Solinsky
Lawrence N. Solomon
Robert Stein
Rex Stout
Harold Taylor*
Mark Van Doren
James P. Warburg*
E. Raymond Wilson
Edmund Wilson
Quincy Wright*
Arnold S. Zander
Jerome M. Ziegler*

*Consultants to the Conference Working Committee

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND
A WORLD WITHOUT WAR CONFERENCE

218 East 18th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Leslie W. Dunbar,

A short while ago you received an invitation urging you to attend a conference being held December 13 through 15 at the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York City to examine and strengthen the role of voluntary organizations in achieving a warless world.

Five Commissions, each composed of experts in the specific field, have been commenting on the working papers to be presented, discussed and evaluated. These cover:

Next Steps
New Roads
Standards of Responsibility
The Peace Movement America Needs
Shall We Have a "World Without War Fund"?

Enclosed is the preliminary "New Roads" paper. The Fact Sheet and the paper will give you some indication of the work being done.

We have invited selected individuals to this working conference, which we expect will have major impact on the voluntary organization and peace worlds. We believe you to be one of those who can make an important contribution, and urge you to come.

We hope your calendar is clear for these dates, and that you will fill out the acceptance card today.

THE CONFERENCE WORKING COMMITTEE

AND Roger Baldwin, John Bennett, Donald Brennan, Grenville Clark, Maurice N. Eisendrath, Donald Harrington, Hudson Hoagland, Sidney Hook, Martin Luther King, Jr., Dwight Macdonald, Joachim Prinz, A. Philip Randolph, Earl Stevenson and James J. Wadsworth.

R.S.V.P.

Enclosures:
Conference Call and Program
Working Paper
Reply Card and Envelope

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND
A WORLD WITHOUT WAR CONFERENCE

218 East Eighteenth Street
New York, New York 10003

FACT SHEET ON WORKING PAPER #2

NEW ROADS TO A WORLD WITHOUT WAR:
A SURVEY OF THE FRONTIERS OF THOUGHT ON ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL WORLD

I. Those invited to serve on the Commission for this Working Paper are:

Maurice Albertson, Gordon W. Allport, Robert C. Angell, Richard Barnett, Daniel Bell, Donald Brennan, David Cavers, Harry Chester, Edward A. Conway, S.J., Jack Conway, William Davidon, Amitai Etzioni, Harold E. Fey, Roger Fisher, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Jerome D. Frank, Erich Fromm, Norman K. Gottwald, Erwin N. Griswold, Roger Hagan, Alfred Hassler, Theodore M. Hesburgh, Arthur Holcombe, Gerald Holton, Irving Howe, Franklin Huddle, H. Stuart Hughes, Robert M. Hutchins, Paul Jacobs, Herman Kahn, Arthur Larson, Sidney Liskofsky, William Loos, Robert J. McCracken, Dwight Macdonald, Charles E. Merrill, Walter Millis, Hans Morgenthau, A. J. Muste, Robert North, Robert Oppenheimer, Jay Orear, Earl Osborn, Charles Osgood, Norman Podhoretz, A. Philip Randolph, David Riesman, Bayard Rustin, Mulford Sibley, Louis Sohn, Robert Stein, Rex Stout, Harold Taylor, Mark Van Doren, Arthur Waskow, Edmund Wilson, Jerome M. Ziegler.

II. Purpose of the Paper:

In recent years the almost single-minded identification of problems of security and foreign policy with those of military policy has changed. There has been a flood of new approaches to preventing war or achieving a world without war. Now some 40 research and thought centers in this country are devoted to opening and exploring these new roads, and considerable literature has developed. There are new versions of internationalism, of pacifist thinking, and significant and distinctive activity among theologians, behavioral scientists, physicists and operations research specialists. It is a bewildering array.

It is the purpose of this Working Paper to analyze this spectrum of thought and to summarize the new roads now being explored. The Paper does not argue for any particular approach; it aims at identifying the important areas of agreement and disagreement and presents a useful scheme for ordering the discussion for the wider non-specialist audience now attentive to these problems. It is hoped that the Working Paper, and others growing out of the discussion and the Conference, will provide a valuable study kit for all who wish to encourage fresh thought on achieving a world without war.

III. Procedure and Use:

A. <u>Before the Conference</u>

1. The first draft will be circulated to members of this Commission and to Conference registrants.

2. Commission members and others are asked to return general comments on the Working Paper and its schema; to suggest and evaluate other writing which surveys or analyzes new roads to a world without war; to criticize or amplify any new roads discussed in the Working Paper; and to suggest any useful approaches neglected in the Working Paper.

3. The Commission Secretary, with the aid of a small group of nearby Commission members, will summarize the comments and suggested revisions for presentation to the Conference.

B. At the Conference

1. The Commission will hold three hearings on the Working Paper, to discuss:

   a. Theories of Conflict: What have we learned?
   b. The Search for a New Ethic.
   c. New Roads: an evaluation.

2. The Commission will welcome suggestions for other papers needed to complete a study kit on new roads to a world without war.

C. After the Conference

1. The Conference Working Committee will publish the Paper, with additions and notes on the Conference discussion.

2. The Conference Working Committee will encourage use of this study kit by interested voluntary organizations and by mass media, to focus attention on new roads to a world without war.

This Working Paper should be seen in the context of four other Conference Working Papers:

#1) NEXT STEPS: A STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT ON GOALS AND DESIRABLE AND ATTAINABLE NEXT STEPS IN AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AIMED AT ACHIEVING A WORLD WITHOUT WAR. (A statement for citizens in an election year.)

#3) STANDARDS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS WISHING TO HELP ACHIEVE A WORLD WITHOUT WAR.

#4) THE KIND OF PEACE MOVEMENT AMERICA NEEDS: A COMPENDIUM OF "QUESTIONS FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT" WITH A RANGE OF ANSWERS. (Designed for use in training peace leadership.)

#5) CALL FOR A WORLD WITHOUT WAR FUND. (A 1964 national "March of Dimes" type of effort to raise money for peace research and peace fellowships. In addition, it would contribute to a climate in American communities favorable to steps toward a world without war.)

NEW ROADS TO A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

prepared by

Arthur I. Waskow*

as a working paper for the

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND A WORLD WITHOUT WAR CONFERENCE

to be held in New York City, December 13 through 15, 1963

At the end of the road to war lies cataclysm; and in the new knowledge that this is so, many Americans have during the last few years tried to think seriously about new roads that would lead to a world without war. Many of the traditional answers of internationalist and pacifist thought have been found wanting when matched against the thermonuclear age, and new versions of these approaches as well as wholly new paths have begun to be explored.

The new roads that have begun to be designed have originated in part from new knowledge about war and peace and the world situation, in part from new conceptions of the ethical standards to be applied to the world situation.

The Search for New Knowledge

Much of the effort to build new knowledge about war and peace has been handicapped by the difficulty of "learning from the future." Many policy-makers and scholars believe the problems and possibilities confronting the world are unprecedented. Such proposed policies as fighting limited thermonuclear wars; building a civil defense system against nuclear blast, fire, and fallout; or achieving and enforcing total world disarmament seem to have no analogues in the past, and to be incapable of experimental examination. If neither historical nor scientific research can be used to build a body of knowledge from which to assess these proposed policy alternatives, then how can choices be made? Are we reduced to judging on the basis of our imagination of the future? Or can choices be made on ethical grounds alone, even without any firm knowledge of the implications and results that would be likely to flow from a particular act? Yet many would argue that an ethical choice must take into account the consequences of an act, and we have come to realize that untested imagination is not an effective way of predicting social configurations any more than physical and biological configurations.

---

* Peace Research Institute Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; author of The Limits of Defense and The Worried Man's Guide to World Peace.

Confronted with the difficulty of doing research on the immediate war and peace problem as usually defined, many scholars have attempted to make relevant to the war and peace issue studies that previously would not have been thought germane. This they have tried to accomplish by inventing new conceptual tools that cut across old disciplines and subjects of study, and that might bring to bear on the issues of thermonuclear war and disarmament the findings of historical and experimental research.

One major effort in this direction has been undertaken by a group of scholars* who try to study "conflict" as a general process that occurs in many contexts--economic, international, interpersonal, intergroup--and can be studied by cutting across traditional academic boundaries. Thus the race riot, competition between business firms, and war have been treated as comparable events.

So far no single "theory of conflict" has been worked out that would even approximate a useful formula for looking at all these different kinds of conflict. Insights and ideas developed from the study of one kind of conflict have, however, sometimes proved of some use in understanding others. Some scholars believe that the "theory of games," in which all the conflicting parties are assumed to be ultra-rationally self-interested in maximizing their own gains, may provide a mathematical model that could serve as a useful starting point for a theory of conflict. Others believe that such an approach ignores too much of the findings of behavioral science on non-rational social behavior, and can therefore never even approach an adequate description of the way conflict is actually carried on. They argue for a heavy reliance on comparative history (for example, the process of disarmament of the barons in late medieval Europe, of the vigilantes in frontier America, and of the samurai in Japan); on small-group experiments (for example, studies of the appearance, growth, and transcendence of hostility and violence between "teams" of children in summer camp); on observational studies of conflict, consensus, and decision-making in governments and other large organizations; and on "simulations" of crisis situations in which small groups play the roles of premiers and presidents coping with invented international conflicts, in an effort to isolate the kinds of decisions that make war or peace most likely.

This concentration of effort in research on conflict is beginning to bring to light some general principles concerning the relationship between conflict and violence, although it will take a long time before anyone can say with assurance,

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* See especially the Journal of Conflict Resolution and the work of Kenneth Boulding, Anatol Rapoport, Robert C. North, Thomas Schelling, and Richard Snyder.

"This kind of behavior is certain to bring war; that kind, a tense but nonlethal competition; still another kind, a stable peace." What is beginning to emerge is an approach that finds conflict between nations over their national interests and values to be inevitable; that looks to the "containment" of this conflict in such a way that it does not break out in organized violence, and if possible in such a way that organized violence is made extremely difficult or practically impossible to arrange; and that looks to various means of constructing partial joint interests and partial common values between the parties in conflict, as a means of "outweighing" and "containing" the conflict.

The crucial question is, of course, what kinds of joint interests and common values would be most feasible and most effective? And here there is much disagreement among the scholars. Some believe the greatest hope lies in ignoring the old conflicts and turning the attention of the conflicting nations to "superordinate" goals like the elimination of hunger, the exploration of space, or the advance of science in general.* This emphasis on superordinate goals sometimes, but not always, is connected with an interest in the creation of supranational or extranational institutions which could focus on joint goals, symbolize them, and draw power away from the conflicting nation-states to other sorts of organizations.** A third group argues that the only overwhelming joint interest of nations in conflict (once the weapons of war have become annihilative rather than coercive) is in the one narrow, restricted goal of eliminating war, and encouraging the pursuit of conflicting national ends by means other than war. The recognition of such a narrow joint aim and efforts to create an institution to fulfill that aim would have considerably different implications from those of the other two groups.***

A rather different approach to the containment of conflict is taken by some students who emphasize new ways of reducing the importance of existing conflicts, rather than new ways of increasing the importance of superordinate goals. One argument has been that every effort should be bent to prevent conflict between nations from becoming holistic, a tightly unified and rigidified single we-they

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* This approach owes much to the work of Muzafer Sherif in transmuting hostility between two groups of boys into cooperation by providing them with an urgent task to do that could only be accomplished by joint effort. See Sherif, The Robber's Cave Experiment.

** The chief emphasis in this school of thought is on world government (see Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, World Peace through World Law), but there is also an argument for a myriad of "functional" rather than "political" bodies.

*** See Walter Millis and James Real, The Abolition of War; Arthur I. Waskow, "Nonlethal Equivalents of War," in forthcoming collection edited by Roger Fisher (Basic Books, Spring, 1964); and Waskow, Quis Custodiet? Controlling the Police in a Disarmed World (Peace Research Institute, 1963).

struggle in which every disagreement or dispute, no matter how minor, becomes a part of the One Big Conflict.

Holistic confrontations, it is pointed out, are most likely to arouse in each side the belief that the other side is diabolical, and thus are most likely to feed a vicious circle of reciprocal hostility that can end only in war. One proposed way of coping with this danger is to "break up" conflicts into small packages, to let private groups or minor agencies settle as many of them as possible, and to accept occasional small defeats on such "fractionated" conflicts as the price of preventing war.* Some students of the problem who doubt that great conflicts like the "Cold War" can be fractionated or "expropriated" from national governments concentrate instead on how to settle such conflicts before they can feed into a "devil theory" of the enemy. Perhaps this can be done by direct bargaining, and a number of studies have attempted to discover the conditions under which bargaining is most likely to result in agreements.** Perhaps it can be done by one nation's using friendly initiatives to deliberately "disconfirm" the belief of the other that the opponent is a diabolical enemy.*** Or perhaps it can be done by "inventing" new methods of pursuing one's old ends that signal to the opponent some level of acceptance of his right to pursue his own ends--such as, for example, eschewing the use of military threat and using instead economic lures or political persuasions.

Much of the disagreement upon which of these approaches would be most successful in the present situation can be traced to disagreement concerning the nature of the societies and nations that confront each other. Scholars debate whether the Soviet Union is still fully committed to ideological victory in the world, or is interested only in the protection of its own borders and standard of living, or is deeply ambivalent between these goals and can be oriented to one or the other by American behavior. Scholars also disagree on the amount of expansionism and messianism as against conservatism that has persisted in American society, on the amount of caution as against revolutionary zeal in China, on the relative amounts of nationalism, Europeanism, neo-imperialist longings, and neutralist socialism that exist in various countries of western Europe; and on the possibilities of internationalism as against fervent nationalism and neutralism as against alignment in the underdeveloped nations.

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* See Roger Fisher, "Fractionating Conflict," in forthcoming collection edited by Fisher (Basic Books, Spring 1964).

** See Morton Deutsch, "A Psychological Basis for Peace," in Preventing World War III, edited by Quincy Wright et al. (Simon and Schuster, 1962).

*** See Charles Osgood, An Alternative to War and Surrender (University of Illinois Press, 1962).

Not only do scholars disagree on the major bents of various major powers and groups of powers in the international scene, but they also disagree about the power and permeability of leadership groups in these nations. Is the Soviet Union still a totalitarian state, or one increasingly directed by a sizable managerial class? Is the United States ruled by a "power elite" or an "industrial-military complex," or is it a thoroughly pluralist and democratic society? Such questions imply different policies both for governments around the world dealing with the great powers and for those outside all governments who have a special concern with moving toward peace. Indeed, such questions indicate that those interested in peace need a deeper understanding of intranational as well as international conflict. In other words, they need to know how to carry on conflict with those who disagree with them in such a fashion as to make the victory of their own ideas more likely.

For Americans, this means a reexamination of the way the political process works or could work when it deals with foreign and military policy. Research on such problems has scarcely begun to take into account changes in American political structure and process since 1945.* On intranational as on international conflict, far more research is required.

The Search for New Ethics

The advent of thermonuclear weapons has helped to accelerate not only scientific research into conflict processes, but also philosophical and religious reassessments of the moral and ethical standards that apply to war-making. The claim has been made that the weight of relative moral evils involved in making war and refusing to make war has, because of the H-bomb, radically changed.

Although the H-bomb has been the most important single stimulant to a reassessment of the ethics and morality of war, it has not been the only one. The success widely claimed for Gandhi's use of "the politics of love" in freeing India and more recent successes by American Negroes using the same approach have created a counter-referent to the H-bomb. Some analysts of the morality of war have argued that the political success of satyagraha is integrally related to its moral and ethical superiority, that the importance of war through its "hypertrophy" in thermonuclear form is integrally related to the disastrous moral and ethical implications of war, and that in the thermonuclear age satyagraha therefore poses a commanding alternative to the pursuit of war. Not all analysts of peace-war ethical problems have adopted this view, but it has been especially strong among, radical pacifists, and has especially strengthened their stand.

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* But for some beginnings, see bibliographical notes in Arthur I. Waskow, The Worried Man's Guide to World Peace.

One other major event of recent history has stimulated reassessment of the moral and ethical alternatives involved in war-making: the process by which Hitler held power and carried out a series of what are widely regarded as overwhelmingly immoral acts. Some analysts of peace-war ethical problems have concluded from this history that the responsibility resting upon individual citizens to judge and on occasion to resist the acts of their government is much heavier than previously thought. Thus one new direction of ethical thought has been an emphasis on individual responsibility to dissent from and oppose "immoral" wars or preparations for war.

These three recent events-the advent of the H-bomb, the triumph of Gandhi, and the success of Hitler--have been incorporated to different degrees and in different ways in several different new ethical judgments of war. There has been a fourth historic "event"--actually a series of events--which has colored new attitudes toward the ethicality of war. This has been the development and activities of totalitarian Communism. As assessed by some observers, this history has suggested that Communism is an unremittingly, unchangeably, and irretrievably evil system--submission to which would be a more immoral act than any other conceivable. To other observers, Communism (especially in recent years) has seemed to be a system in process of becoming malleable and permeable, and therefore to be dealt with by means whose ethicalness cannot be assumed, but must be demonstrated.

Out of these various learnings from the recent past have been created several new approaches to the ethics of war. These new approaches can in a sense be scaled according to the vigor with which they reject war--ranging from minimal to partial to total rejection. The least rejection of war is argued by those who believe that Communism is so radically evil that thermonuclear war, even waged against populations, is a less immoral act than submission to Communism, or possibly even continued permission for it to exist, would be. It should be noted that this view is a new departure in that it jettisons a number of the traditional criteria for a just war.

The view which goes one step further than this in rejecting war is based on the belief that some forms of thermonuclear warfare can be included within the traditional canons of the just war. This second view would oppose any war of annihilation against civilians, but would accept the possibility that thermonuclear weapons might be used against military forces only, and would accept also the possibility of deterring war by threatening to use thermonuclear weapons--even threatening populations, so long as the bomb were not actually used on them. Like the first position, this accepts much of the present official justification set forth by the nuclear powers for their military policies.

The remaining ethical positions in successively stronger terms provide serious and profound criticisms of present official policies. Of these strongly critical positions, the least critical rejects the use, threat, or possession of any

sort of thermonuclear weapons, on the ground that partial use or threats might reasonably be expected to lead to their indiscriminate use against civilian populations.* Next there is the rejection of all war, either on the traditional grounds of absolutist pacifists (perhaps strengthened by a belief that nuclear weapons have made much clearer the interconnections of the whole human family), or on the grounds that any war may escalate to nuclear levels.** Finally, there is the rejection of all sorts of violence, exploitation, and domination, based both on traditional anarchopacifist grounds and on the new bases provided by Gandhian thought concerning satyagraha.***

All these positions have in common an ethical base in which the nation-state's acts are called into question and judged by an ethical standard independent of the nation-state's own success. Thus at one end of the spectrum there is the view that the American national government has a moral obligation to make war (in order to destroy Communism), even if the American nation were wrecked in the process; and at the other end there is the view that the American government has a moral obligation not to make war, even if the American nation were wrecked as a result. There is, however, an ethical standard which stands within the nation-state rather than outside it, and regards the security and success of the nation as the chief or the only test of the morality of its government's behavior. The advent of thermonuclear weapons has created among many who would accept this view of national morality a new judgment as to the morality of war. Many of these people now argue that for the sake of the national safety and indeed for the sake of advancing the national interests in the international systems, the United States and other nations need to invent new techniques and abandon war. These groups focus on the danger of annihilation and on the irrelevance of war to almost all modern issues of national interest, rather than on its "morality" judged by external criteria. As a result, however, they end up creating a set of moral standards rooted in the national safety and success by which to judge the government's acts. For some of these groups, this means a reinterpretation of the national interest in terms of advancing all humanity; for others it means inventing political, economic, and psychological substitutes for war as a way of winning the nation's ends. In either case, however, this approach to the morality of war leads to far less radical criticism of the nature, function, behavior, and leadership of the national government.****

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* See articles by Thomas Merton, Walter Stein, and Herbert Butterfield in the Merton, ed., Breakthrough to Peace.

** See the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the War Registers League; and see the writings of Lewis Mumford and Edmund Wilson.

*** See articles in Liberation and The Catholic Worker.

**** See the work of the United World Federalists, American Association for the United Nations, Council for a Livable World, and SANE.

From any of the ethical positions that have been described, there arises a separate ethical question of the responsibility of the individual citizen who dissents from the behavior of his government. Backward glances at the "Eichmann syndrome" have strengthened traditional democratic assumptions concerning the right and duty of individual dissent.

At its most radical, this new emphasis on individual responsibility has tended to support the Thoreauvian argument for casting "your whole vote--not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence." Thoreau's and Gandhi's ideas regarding resistance to "immoral" governmental behavior have been increasingly carried into action by some peace groups, who have used civil disobedience, tax refusal, and similar techniques to bring their views to bear on national policy.*

Scientists in particular have developed a philosophy based less on outright resistance to "immoral" acts than on "non-participation" in them. This approach has carried further, in a new technological and social context, the notion of conscientious objection to military service. The "non-participation" position argues that in periods of preparation for total war, not only the uniformed soldier but many other citizens may have to consider the ethical consequences of their acts. Thus it has been argued that non-military persons must attempt to foresee, as far as possible, the consequences of their professional work and to refuse to do work that is likely to be used in an "immoral" fashion.**

Least radical of the new positions developing out of concern over the "Eichmann syndrome" has been a deeper emphasis on the necessity for individual dissent through free discussion. There has emerged a set of twin and reciprocal beliefs: first, the belief that encouragement of dissent will lessen the likelihood of "immoral" wars being undertaken; and second, the belief that prevention of war will support the effective expression of dissenting views. From this interest in an integral two-way relation between the preservation of peace and the encouragement of civil liberties has come a new emphasis upon problems of the garrison state and the economic, political, and social implications of choices in military policy.*** In essence, this "moderate" version of the ethic of individual responsibility has argued that--contrary to old assumptions that national security in time of crisis required national unity--national security itself requires dissent and intense debate.

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* See Gordon C. Zahn, "The Case for Christian Dissent", in Merton, ed., Breakthrough to Peace. See the work of the Civil Defense Protest Committee and the Committee for Nonviolent Action.

** See the work of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

*** See Arthur Waskow, The Limits of Defense; Fred J. Cook, The Warfare State; President Eisenhower's comments on the "military-industrial complex"; and Patrick Murphy Malin's comments on leaving office as executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Thus just as there has been new work done by scholars on both international and intranational conflict processes in the hope of making peace more attainable, so there has been among students of problems of value new work done on both the ethical standards applying to governments and those applying to individual citizens. The ethical questions have not always been raised clearly nor have the implications of different possible hierarchies of values been closely examined. Undoubtedly, conflicts over the ethical questions will not simply disappear even if the questions are clarified, but the disagreements could be far more adequately understood than they are today.

Five New Roads

From among these new ideas on the nature of conflict and the ethics of violence, particular ethical standards and particular political judgments have been brought together into proposals for paths of action. The proposals are myriad, they overlap, some of them disagree on minutiae and some on basics; but the whole batch seems to cluster around five points, or at least to be most easily described in terms of five clusters. These are discussed below in order of what may seem to be increasing amounts of prospective change from the present nation-state systems: (1) control of the state system through stabilization of the balance of power and reduction of international tensions;(2) reform of the state system through total disarmament without abandonment of national sovereignty or of the pursuit of national interests; (3) extension of the state system through creation of a federal world government; (4) fragmentation of the state system through increases in the power of functional bodies and other institutions, and corresponding decreases in state power; and (5) abolition of the state system through the substitution of love for coercion.

It should be noted, however, that not every traveler who starts down one of these roads need go all the way to the end of that road. He may believe that on the road that goes "farthest out"--the fifth--a partial journey and a long halt would make the peace secure. Since some of the roads cross others, he may believe that it is necessary to start on one road and then switch to another. Thus one should guard against too easy categorization of the roads as "conservative" or "radical."

It should also be remembered that a road that seems "moderate" may involve much more unorthodox ideas than one that seems more thorough-going. Thus world government (Road III) seems to require a greater change from the present situation than a world that, as in the second road, is disarmed but is not governed by a world federation. But the conventional wisdom of political science finds it far easier to envision a full-scale world government than to imagine the kind of world police force that could enforce disarmament without becoming a world government. In this sense, world government is less "radical" as an idea though it would require deeper changes as a political fact.

I. Control of the State System

The first of the new roads to a world without war envisions at the end of the road a world in which the nation-states continue to exist as independent, armed entities; but build among themselves a network of self-adjusting homeostatic controls that prevent conflicts between them from boiling over to outright war.

This vision of the future is based on something like the old idea of the balance of power. It assumes both the desirability and inevitability of the continuance of sovereign nation-states. It is also based on the belief that large-scale armaments cannot, need not, and should not be taken away from the governments of sovereign states; and it accepts as moral the presentation of thermonuclear weapons as a threat in order to deter attack, though not necessarily accepting as moral the use of such weapons. Thus this vision of the future is based also on the belief that it is possible to build internal controls in each state sufficient to prevent the unauthorized or unintended use of weapons that continue to exist, and even to prevent authorized political leaders from ever deciding that it would be reasonable to strike first.

Perhaps the world to which advocates of this road look forward can be best described as something like the British Commonwealth of Nations. In the Commonwealth, all the states are armed; there is no superior power capable of enforcing Commonwealth decisions on any of the states; and yet it is extremely unlikely that Commonwealth nations would make war on each other. Remembering this analogy, what can we conclude would be the changes that would probably have to be made in the present world in order to follow this road?

It would first be necessary for the great powers to renounce their hopes of "total victory" or of transforming the world so that all societies were like their own. Thus, whatever messianic Communism exists in the Soviet Union and in China would have to be abandoned, and ideas of American "manifest destiny" or of the French *mission civilisatrice* would similarly have to be abandoned. Something like the sixteenth-century notion that brought to an end the Religious Wars, *cuius regio, eius religio* would have to be accepted by all the great powers.

As a corollary each of the great powers would have to accept the notion of "arms control." This would mean that although arms would be kept, their number would be carefully restricted according to some sort of international agreement, and various forms of cross-national inspection would have to be developed in order to assure that the agreed levels of armaments were not exceeded. The great powers would probably continue to keep a "minimum deterrent" stock of thermonuclear weapons, and a moderate level of conventional forces for the defense of territory. Probably the present overwhelming stocks of nuclear and conventional armaments would be radically reduced.

In line with both the basic renunciation of "total victory" on both sides and the establishment of "arms control," the great powers would probably negotiate

political settlements of particularly dangerous minor issues. For example, the questions of Berlin, Cuba, and Formosa would probably all have to be settled in order to establish the basic stability necessary to this version of the world.

It might well be argued that in addition to these settlements--most of which would occur among the great powers--it could become necessary to negotiate some sort of settlement of the basic issues between the developed and underdeveloped areas of the world. In other words the stability of such a "controlled state system" might well be threatened by intense anger arising from deep poverty in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It might therefore become necessary for the developed powers to agree to contribute to the speedy industrialization of the underdeveloped world. It might, however, be argued that if sufficient agreement had been established among the great powers to set up such a world, they would be able through joint action to control any disturbing hostility on the part of the hungry nations and to prevent any upset of the system from revolutions of the hungry peoples. Over the long run, however, it seems likely that the stability of such a world would be considerably greater if areas of intense poverty ceased to exist.

Some observers believe that the conclusion of the nuclear test ban treaty and of the commercial arrangements that succeeded it point the way along this road. In other words, the test ban seems to have the aura of an agreement to control the arms and negotiate over points of sorest disagreement without changing the basic structure of the nation-state system. Further steps along this road might be taken in the same fashion--that is, by international agreement among the great powers--or might be taken by a system of reciprocated initiatives.

The notion that progress toward the world without war might best be taken not through negotiation but through initiative of one or another of the great powers, combined with reciprocations of that initiative by others of the powers, has been most thoroughly explored by Charles Osgood.* He argues that during a period of intense hostility between nations, it may well be easier for each particular nation to act on its own in a direction that will build peace than it would be for several nations to get together and agree on particular steps toward peace. Osgood argues that the vicious circle of distrust and fear could be broken by acts of one of the great powers--and he argues the United States could be the first to act--if that power began with small acts designed to reduce tensions without compromising its own basic security. If such acts were reciprocated by the other powers, then all could continue carrying out such initiatives until a system of stable peace had been achieved.

Over the long term, establishing not merely an uneasy detente but a stable peace in this fashion would probably require the building of inter-connecting strands of interest between the nations. Just as the British Commonwealth is held together more by economic and financial connections and symbolic associations,

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*Charles E. Osgood, An Alternative to War or Surrender

than by direct military power, so a world of the sort described above would probably depend on trade, cultural contacts, and other such overlapping interests.

II. Reform of the State System

The second road to a world without war assumes that the preservation of politically independent and separate nations is both desirable and inevitable, but it also assumes that such independent states need not be armed, and should not be. On the other hand, this road assumes that is is extremely unlikely and perhaps even undesirable for there to be a world-wide government, but assumes that it is possible to create a world institution sufficient to enforce disarmament without turning that institution into a full-fledged government. Further, this road assumes that states can pursue their national interests by non-military means, even if those interests include notions of world-wide political victories.

On the question of disarmament itself, this road to a world without war is based either on the assumption that nuclear weapons cannot morally be used as threats to deter war, or on the assumption that it is politically impossible to continue to possess nuclear weapons without running the serious risk of their being used. On either of these grounds, therefore, supporters of this road would call for the reform of the state system so that all states carried on their usual pursuits except in the military field. In that field, all states would have abandoned their arms as dangerous and useless means of carrying out the national ends. In order to achieve this kind of total disarmament, it would be necessary to have international agreement on the process of disarmament itself, the techniques of inspection by which every state could be assured that every other state continued disarmed, and the techniques of enforcement by which states could expect that violations of the agreement could be prevented or checked.

Although it has sometimes been argued that small violations of a disarmament agreement could threaten major destruction and that small violations would be hard to detect, it has also been argued in response that additional research on inspection techniques could make undetected violations extremely unlikely. For example, suggestions have been made for "knowledge inspection" in which second-level national leaders would submit to questioning about possible hidden stocks of weapons; budgetary inspection, in which "treasury agents" would be set to work on national expenditures to ferret out any possible "embezzlement" by military departments; industrial and transport inspection, in which engineers would keep watch over the number of tons of steel, uranium ore, and electronic gear being sent to mysterious towns in the backwoods; research inspection, in which suspicious concentrations of scientists turning out new public experimental findings would be watched over; inspection by the people, in which anonymous "suggestion box" arrangements would be made for ordinary citizens to tip off the inspectorate to a violation--all approaches that could be added to a straight military-

inspection system. It has been argued that the simultaneous use of all these systems would mean that any violator would quickly be discovered.*

If the use of such measures were able to safeguard the disarming process itself, the question would then arise whether national states could pursue their ends by other than military means. It has been argued that the emergence in the Cold War of techniques like competitive economic aid and selective embargo point the way toward the possibilities of non-military means for advancing the national interest in the disarmed world.** States could also use such techniques as propaganda, subversion, espionage, blackmail, bribery, and other such non-lethal versions of the "black arts" in order to advance their ends. New techniques for carrying on conflict without violence would probably have to be invented, just as the strike was invented as a nonviolent means of carrying on labor-management conflict and the sit-in as a nonviolent way of carrying on racial conflict.

In order to keep intense conflict from breaking into war, this version of the future world would--instead of depending on homeostatic, self-adjusting controls--depend on the creation of an international institution. The kind of institution contemplated by those who would like to reform the state system without transforming it would be an unorthodox version of a world police force. Such a force would be unable to coerce any state into changing its social or political system, and would therefore stand neutral in the conflicts carried on by the nations among themselves. But it would have sufficient power to make extremely unlikely violation of the disarmament agreement within any state. Such a police force would be quite small; would be prepared to meet violations and individual violators rather than the violating nations as a whole; would be ready to increase its use of force only if authorized to do so by a wider international consensus; and would be both unwilling and unable to control conflict between nations that was carried out purely by political and economic means.***

This version of a world without war would in some ways require less change from the present situation and in some ways more than the road to control of the state system. The value systems of the existing Establishments in various countries would not have to be changed, even to the extent of abandoning the hope of world-wide victories in political form or the transformation of other societies to accord with one's own values. On the other hand, this world would require very much more far-reaching changes in military structure, and much more far-reaching changes in the ideas of how to advance national interests, since

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*See Seymour Melman, ed., Inspection for Disarmament.

**See Arthur I. Waskow, "Advancing American National Interests Without War," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, December, 1963

***See Arthur I. Waskow, "Could Disarmament Be Policed?" Commentary, November, 1963

military means would be unavailable. It would require the acceptance of a small-scale international institution, as a trade-off for the creation of international amity. The world might well become less stable politically, rather than more. It would look much more like the Middle East between 1949 and 1962 (when there were only a few outbreaks of war, but much internal instability and international conflict) than like the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The achievement of this world would require a combination of unilateral and multilateral strategies. On the unilateral side, it would seem that initiatives could be taken not to reduce tension in the Osgoodian sense but rather to increase political and economic conflict and shift the emphasis away from military means of carrying on such conflict. Thus, one of the great powers might begin reducing its own defense forces and reinvest its resources in competitive economic aid that would force others of the great powers to redirect their own resources into economic aid in order to stay in the competition.* A series of such seemingly contradictory initiatives might move the world into a temporary period of joint stable deterrence with increasing political and economic competition, and then, after negotiation on full disarmament, into a longer period of even more intense but non-lethal struggle in the disarmed world. The final step into full disarmament would require careful working out among all the great powers, and it would therefore be multilateral rather than unilateral.

III. Extension of the State System

Many who regard the nation-state as a triumph for the preservation of internal peace believe that the best hope of safeguarding the international peace is through vertically extending the state system. They look upon existing federal governments as the best existing experiments in vertical extension of the state system, and draw from these federal governments their ideas of how to construct a world without war.

Proponents of federal world government agree with those who believe all nation-states must disarm, but they do not believe in the possibility or desirability of enforcing disarmament without a true world government. They also tend to doubt that disarmament can be undertaken by states that are carrying on intense conflicts. Thus most world federalists believe that international tensions must be reduced and major political or economic conflicts resolved before serious arms reduction can begin.

Of all the roads to a world without war, that to world government is probably the one best marked and explored in imagination--perhaps because it has the best historical precedents. Voting patterns, legislative powers and functions,

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*See Seymour Melman, The Peace Race.

a court system--all the constitutional paraphernalia have been worked out by various authors.*

Most federalists feel that the crucial issues any world government would have to cope with are those of disarmament and economic development. Legislative and political means of allowing peaceful change would be necessary if military means were ruled out and if head-on political and economic struggles--conducive to rearmament--were to be avoided. Thus the world government would have to cope with pressures and demands from the hungry half of the world; in order to contain these pressures and be capable of enforcing disarming and accelerating economic development, the world government would have to use a host of peripheral powers: taxation and trade regulation, to name only the most important.

Most plans for world federation assume that within the member nations, basically different societies can come to agreement on the symbols of governmental legitimacy and the realities of political process that would operate in the world government itself. Efforts to resolve this seeming paradox have concentrated on the development of new forms of international or world law acceptable to diverse legal systems; on the development of legislative forms that would closely reflect changing balances of power among nations and groups of nations in the world; and upon the separation of executive powers into several councils that would prevent usurpation of power by any single interest.

Most proponents of world government hope to begin moving down their preferred road by strengthening the United Nations structure. A few have plans for political action that are based on analogies with the way in which the American Constitution was brought into effect by extra-legal efforts of strong but out-of-power groups in a number of states, and some efforts have been made to stir popular interest in world constitutional conventions held without official support. But most federalists believe that joint action of the nation-states, probably in and through the UN, will be necessary to move toward world government.

IV. Fragmentation of the State System

All the roads to a world without war that have been discussed above assume the usefulness and desirability of preserving the modern state--controlling it, reforming it, or supervising it by a further version of itself, but in any case preserving it. But there are some who argue for a wholly different approach--who believe either that the nation-states cannot make peace at all, or that the kind of peace national governments could make would not meet certain ethical standards. So it is argued that peace must be made without the governments or against them.

**See especially Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, World Peace through World Law

One road espoused by some who would bypass the states is to establish functional connections across national boundaries, between occupational, industrial, scientific, and similar groups. Such extranational associations could gradually expropriate from the national governments power to make decisions on particular problems within their own competence.

This process of fragmenting the states would also dissolve the conflicts between nations--now perceived as totalistic confrontation between Them and Us--into much smaller issues. Thus the major geophysical associations might cope with whether or not to approve a test nuclear explosion in space; aviation industry spokesmen could negotiate disputed air routes; teachers' unions could arrange educational exchanges; mothers' groups could arrange joint opposition to atmospheric nuclear testing. At first, the governments would probably have to give at least tacit permission for this devolution of their own power; as the process continued, it would become harder for governments to resist.

At this level of intensity, a fragmentation program might well find support from many who would be willing to fragment only inter-state conflict--not the state itself.* The only proposal that has been even partially developed for a next step in the fragmentation process still assumes the existence of a strong state system, for it suggests what might be called a "Chamber of Functional Associations" in the UN.** It would be created out of the collection of non-governmental organizations that the UN and its specialized agencies now consult on a semi-official basis. Such a Chamber might "provide a countervailing force to the actions of governments, particularly in crisis situations."

Ultimately, such cross-national contacts and institutions could conceivably be developed into a kind of syndicalist-corporatist world society, in which power would flow to and from functional associations rather than the territorial units. Because of overlapping memberships in different functional associations, it might be much harder for such groups to mobilize violent confrontations than it is for the territorial state. For the state has exclusive claims upon the loyalty of its residents and can thus perhaps more easily focus conflict into a totalistic pattern of Them against Us.

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*See, for example, Roger Fisher, "Fractionating Conflict" in collection of papers on "Conflict" to be edited by Fisher and published by Basic Books in Spring, 1964.
**See William M. Evan, "Transnational Forums for Peace," in Quincy Wright et al, eds., Preventing World War III

V. Abolition of the State System

Finally, there is an approach to peace which looks for a substitute for the state not in functional groupings but in the moral action of individual persons. Its proponents seek not merely to fragment the state system but to abolish it. They hope to replace coercion with conversion and ultimately perhaps to replace conflict with harmony. And they base their hope upon both an ethical choice and an estimate of the facts concerning the nature of conflict.

The ethical belief is that violence can never be condoned; the factual estimate, that violence can always (though sometimes with great difficulty) be contained and ended by confronting it with love and dignity. On this basis, it is argued that individual persons have a responsibility not only to reject violence for themselves but to challenge it wherever others use it, so that the world can be transformed and violence ended.*

It is argued that if this analysis is applied, not only war but the state itself must disappear, since the state is based on the threat or actuality of violence against its own citizens. Moreover, it is argued that only by threatening violence can wealth be defended in the presence of poverty, leisure in the midst of drudgery, and education in the midst of ignorance.

Thus economic and social inequalities would also disappear if they were confronted by determined men committed to love and by loving to convert those who use or threaten violence to protect their own special privileges. The world would indeed be transformed in the process of abolishing war -- nor could war be abolished without transforming man and the world, proponents of this fifth road would argue.

What kinds of world would result at the end? One in which individual aberrations into violence might be controlled by a "police" staff made up of men specially trained in the techniques of nonviolent confrontation; in which crimes of poverty might have disappeared because men could have what they needed (and would be persuaded by nonviolent means not to take what they did not need or what others needed worse); in which national boundaries would probably be obliterated for purposes of migration and therefore "invasions" or "defense" would be impossible; in which unfair impositions attempted by any self-styled government would be resisted by nonviolent means, and consensus would determine what regulations were fair.

But of course such a transformed world would be far down the road. The journey would begin with individual resistance to the most violent acts of particular governments. Thus "sail-ins" against nuclear testing, a march from Quebec to Guantanamo to protest the hostile behavior of the United States toward

---

*See Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence and Joan V. Bondurant, Conquest of Violence.

Cuba and Cuba toward the United States, refusal to serve in the Army, refusal to pay taxes for military defense, demonstrations in Red Square against Soviet nuclear testing--all these have been attempted as first steps toward abolition of the state system. As successes began to be won on this level, the program would presumably expand until various forms of military activity, economic exploitation and political tyranny became impossible and were brought to a halt.*

* * *

The Means of Judging

In trying to judge among the five roads, those who are interested in pursuing peace should remember that the roads are not mutually exclusive. For example, either from a stable world like the British Commonwealth or from a politically unstable one in which international police enforced disarmament, it would be possible to move into a world federal government. Of course, the ways of moving would differ depending on which path had been the starting point; but it is important to realize that from either path, one could change goals. Some of the paths do not cross in this fashion--Roads I and II do not, for example; nor perhaps Roads II and V, though one might imagine first building a world government and then abolishing all government.

Some of the differences between those who argue for each of the roads are really differences in time perspective--do you expect world government by 1980, or only a world of disarmed disorder by 1980 and world government no earlier than 2020? But some of the differences are real, and can be resolved only by more knowledge on the nature of conflict or by changing others' convictions concerning the ethics of conflict.

Perhaps the two most important differences in assessments of the nature of conflict are bound up in Yes and No answers to these two questions:

Can the possession of military force be separated from the possession of political independence and sovereignty?

Can conflict be so controlled as to make violence extremely unlikely by self-adjusting homeostatic methods, without the necessity of a central enforcing institution?

Answers to these two questions bring these results:

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*See the American Friends Service Committee report, Speak Truth to Power; and the writings of A.J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, David Dellinger, Earle Reynolds, et al. in Liberation.

		Is Military Force Separable?	
		Yes	No
Is Central Institution Necessary?	Yes	Disarmament of Sovereign States, Enforced by World Body (Road II)	World Government (Road III)
	No	Abolition of the State (Road V)	Stable Arms-Controlled World (Road I)

As for Road IV--fragmentation of the state--it seems to bypass most of these questions just as it bypasses the state system itself, rather than depending on it or abolishing it. It has perhaps been least well worked-out of all the Roads that have been under discussion, and may therefore merit more study than it has thus far received.

In any case, we are, when we try to examine these alternate roads, still faced with the difficulty of trying to judge among them with little evidence to back us up. When all futures seem radically unprecedented and impossible to study, it is easy to invoke the honorific "pragmatism" for a policy of drift or opportunism. If the delineation of roads to a world without war is to be of any use, it must be used in the true spirit of pragmatism: know what values you hold and what goal you seek, then choose the path that goes there. If it is unclear whether a goal you might like is a possible or adequate one, then construct tests for it. Try creating an "action experiment" in zonal disarmament to test out Road II; look at historical cases of nonviolent resistance to ruthless tyranny in order to assess Road V; and so on. It is only if such effort and study is carried on, bringing together politics and thought, that judgments can be made that will allow the world to take any road at all to peace.

Comments and criticisms should be sent to:

Conference Coordinator
218 East 18th Street
New York 3, New York

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON
Executive Associate

MJ, when were these mailed? — see attached

January 23, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In Mr. Jackson's absence I should like to acknowledge the materials which have just arrived from your office. I shall bring these to his attention when he returns to the office.

Sincerely yours,

Helen C. Allan
Secretary to
Mr. Jackson

hca/

file: Foundations - Carnegie

Separate mailing:

LWD testimony before the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the Cttee. on Education and Labor of the House of Rep. March 6, 1962

LWD address at the annual mtg. of the Dept. of Higher Education of the Georgia Teachers and Education Assn, Savannah, Ga., April 8, 1960

Mary Ellen Goodman report
ICMA report
New South, Sept. 1962 July-Aug. 1963
Green-Gauerke report
Georgia's Divided Education
Coles pamphlet; Henderson, pamphlet
Notre Dame Report
Morland pamphlet
Carmichael, Hansen and Fisher transcripts
L-Reports #10, 15, 16, 27, 34(A), 45, 21, 23(B), 13

January 2, 1964

Mr. Frederick H. Jackson
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I greatly enjoyed our discussion in New York, and I do hope that we may see you when you come South. Let me know if I can help make any arrangements for you.

Under separate cover I am sending a few things of ours, some of which are now dated, that have to do with southern educational problems.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

1/2/64

BC & FG MMJ

Please putl together the following things and send to Mr. Frederick H. Jackson (label attached)

1. Mary Ellen Goodman report
2. ~~Education of~~ ICMA Report
3. Green- Gauerke report
4. Georgia's Divided Education
5. Coles, Morland, and Henderson pamphlets
6. Notre Dame report (attached)
7. Carmichael, Hansen and Fisher transcripts
8. L-Reports #10, 15, 13, 16, 21, 23(B), 27, 34(A), 45

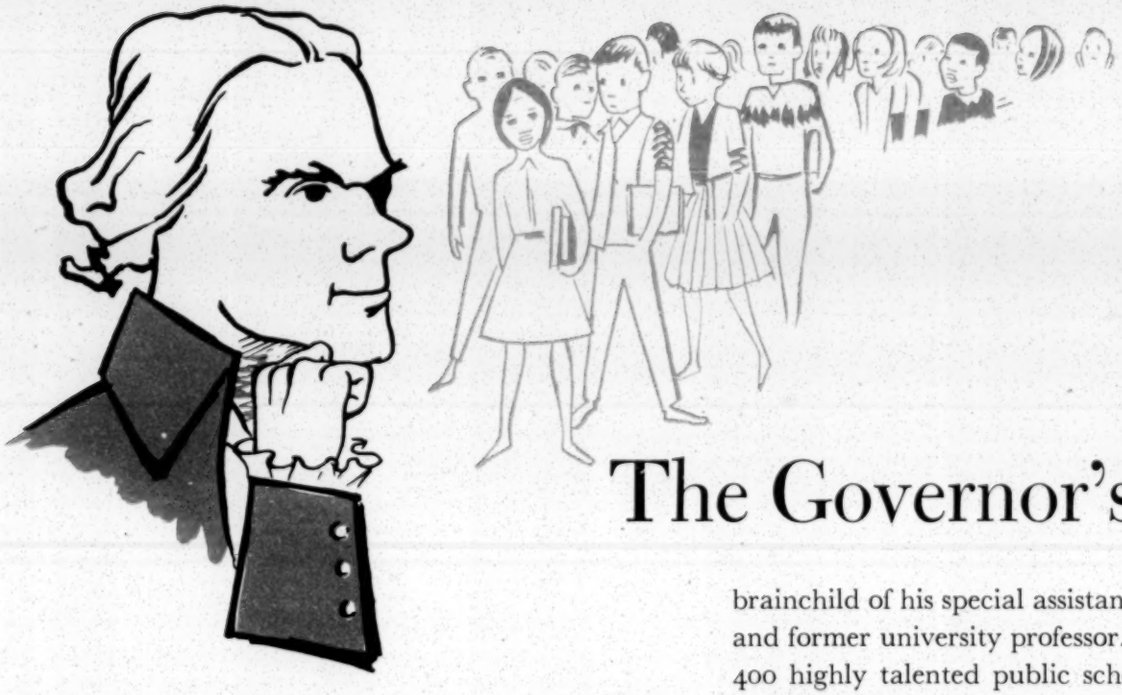
(Attached LWD testimony and speech should be included in the packet)

thanks, mmj

file - Foundations

Carnegie Corporation of New York Quarterly

JANUARY 1964 VOLUME XII NUMBER 1



The Governor's School

In 1799 Thomas Jefferson introduced a bill for educational reform in Virginia. If it had been passed, which it was not, it would have provided, first, free elementary education for all citizens. Then, more advanced education was to be provided for a carefully selected, highly talented group through a series of residential schools.

"The general objects of this law are to provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of every one, and directed to their freedom and happiness," Jefferson wrote. But his dream of free elementary education did not come true until about the middle of the 19th century. And it was not until last summer that a residential school for talented youngsters, operated under the auspices of a state government, came into being. It was not in Jefferson's beloved Virginia, but in its neighbor to the south, North Carolina.

Called "The Governor's School" for Terry Sanford, the state's education-minded governor, it was the brainchild of his special assistant, John Ehle, novelist and former university professor. The School enrolled 400 highly talented public school children from 85 North Carolina counties, ranging from the desolate beaches of the east, through scratchy tobacco land, to the industrialized central area, to the rocky hills of the west. The youngsters, split 50–50 boys and girls and on the same ratio between fall term juniors and seniors, came from major cities and tiny hamlets, from wealthy parents and families on public welfare, from white and Negro high schools. (There has been little public school desegregation so far in North Carolina, but the School was integrated, with 30 Negro students and one Negro faculty member.)

For eight weeks through the damp warmth (sometimes sweltering heat) of a southern summer, the students worked a lot, played a lot, ate a lot, and slept a little on the 56-acre campus of Salem College in Winston-Salem, leased to the School. Something of a historical landmark itself (one of the buildings still in use dates from 1785), the College is located in the heart of Old Salem, a Moravian settlement founded in 1766. Old Salem is now being restored to resemble its appearance prior to 1820. The campus looks like

Fine Foundations - Carnegie

February 10, 1964

Mr. Frederick H. Jackson
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Fred:

Thank you very much for your good note of January 27. I am afraid you are right about the Atlanta situation. Somewhat against my wishes, and also somewhat against my better judgment, I have been drawn more and more deeply into it. As always with this kind of affair, I get a pretty helpless feeling. I hope things will work out.

I noticed in the February New York Times a news story on the Corporation's recent grants. The story referred to studies on the "adjustment of racial imbalances." I could not make out from the rest of the report which of the grants dealt with this or how they are dealing with it. As you know, this is all interesting to me, and, if you have some kind of a release about it, I would very much like to see it.

You brought up, while you were here, the question of SRC finances. I suppose it had never occurred to me (and doesn't now) that the Carnegie Corporation

might be able to consider an institution and a program such as ours. Money is, of course, an eternal problem for us, as with most everyone else. We are preparing a document about the Southern Regional Council which, although it will have some other uses, is specifically intended for fund-raising purposes. It should be done within a month, and I would like to send it up to you -- very informally. If, thereafter, you have any feeling that a formal submission might be worthwhile, I would be delighted to know.

But this is beside the point of my hope that we may from time to time continue to share thoughts on common interests. I am planning to be in New York sometime in March; probably the second or third week. I shall let you know in advance, and mayhap there can be a chance for lunch or a talk in your office.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON
Executive Associate

January 27, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have been traveling almost continuously since our pleasant visit in Atlanta. I want to thank you and Mrs. Dunbar for the pleasant evening which I spent at your home. I hope that you will let me know when you are coming this way again so that we may get together.

I have followed with interest and concern the integration developments in Atlanta in recent days. I have a feeling that things may well get worse before they begin to get better.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Fred Jackson

FHJ:hca

File
Foundations

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON
Executive Associate

File

February 17, 1964

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your recent letter. I am enclosing a press release which includes a story on a recent grant to Syracuse University for a study of educational decision making. I believe this is what you referred to in your reference to a study of the adjustment of racial imbalances.

I hope to see you when you are this way again. I think it is quite doubtful that Carnegie Corporation can help with the activities of the Southern Regional Council, but I will be glad to see the document which you are preparing when it is completed.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Frederick H. Jackson

FHJ:hca
Dictated by Mr. Jackson
but signed in his absence.

CARNEGIE CORPORATION
OF NEW YORK

589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
PLAZA 3-3100

FOR RELEASE A.M. PAPERS TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1964

Carnegie Corporation of New York today (TUESDAY) announced grants totaling more than $1.5 million for educational research and innovations in higher education. The seven recipients include four institutions in New York state, the University of Wisconsin, the University of California, and The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

The New York Institute of Technology in New York City received $170,000 for the development of an automated, self-instructional system to train engineering technicians. When the system has been completed, it can serve as a model for other engineering technician programs throughout the country, offering one solution to the severe manpower and teacher shortage in this field. It will also be possible to adapt the system to the teaching of some non-engineering subjects, the Institute believes.

The Institute has already devised an automated classroom for self-instruction in electronics technology. With places for 150 students, it offers the seemingly contradictory opportunity for individual instruction on a mass education basis. Each student studies the subject at his own rate, using teaching machines and other programed learning techniques, asking the help of the instructor, who is in the classroom, when he needs it. The student,

(MORE)

from his desk, communicates with the instructor at his desk by telephone and closed-circuit television. In this classroom the student neither holds back nor is held back by other students in the class who are faster or slower than he; the teacher is freed to give individual assistance when called upon; the ratio of teachers to students may be reduced; and the utilization of classroom space and instructional equipment is increased. (EDITORS: Several photographs of the classroom are available for reproduction upon request to Carnegie Corporation.)

In addition to these advantages, the automated classroom employs computers to record each student's progress, difficulties when they occur, and patterns of difficulty, and then to determine what material should be offered to him next: remedial instruction to help him over a difficult idea, the next lesson in the sequence, or accelerated instruction if his work indicates that he is ready for it. From the computer's diagnosis of students' progress, instructors can also judge the quality of the course and where it may need to be improved.

Explaining the potential value of an automated, self-teaching system for the training of engineering technicians, Institute professors refer to the report of the President's Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education. Industry in the United States, it has said, needs almost three times as many engineering technicians as it now employs to fill the semiprofessional jobs of the detailed design, execution, and supervision of assembly and maintenance of the instruments and structures conceived by the engineers. One of the reasons

(MORE)

for the short supply of engineers in this country is that they now fill many jobs which could be filled by engineering technicians. The present ratio of technicians to engineers is approximately .7 to 1, whereas it should be approximately 2 technicians per engineer. To supply this number, 200,000 new technicians would have to be trained annually for several years, instead of the 60,000 now trained a year.

Alexander Shure, president of the Institute since its founding in 1958 and author of three programed texts in electronics technology is a pioneer in the development of auto-instructional systems. He will supervise the project. Bertram Spector and Harvey J. Brudner, professors in the division of science and engineering technology, will serve as the principal researchers.

Syracuse University: Educational Decision Making

Syracuse University received a Carnegie grant of $276,500 for a study by the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of decision making in large metropolitan school systems: Who makes decisions and how and what kinds of decisions they make. Members of the School's faculty will analyze the effects of certain kinds of decisions, including the allocation of the education budget within the school systems, the racial balances in the systems' schools, relations between teachers and administrators, and so forth. Alan K. Campbell, professor of political science and director of metropolitan studies at the Maxwell School, will be in charge of the project. Syracuse last year completed a study of the economics and politics of public education under a previous Carnegie grant.

(MORE)

New York: Committee on Educational Leadership

The Corporation made a grant of $200,000 to the University of the State of New York for the new Committee on Educational Leadership for the Future. In New York state there are almost 5,000 school board members, more than 4,000 trustees serving on the boards of more than 200 colleges and universities, and 297 local and school district superintendents. The rate of turnover of persons in all these positions is high; for example, an average of 27 new college and university presidents must be appointed in New York state each year. The Committee, which is chaired by James A. Perkins, president of Cornell University, is concerned with how potential leadership can be identified, recruited, trained, and retained for executive positions in education at all levels and for membership on lay boards of educational systems and institutions. It expects to recommend plans and programs for action as well as to report its findings.

Sarah Lawrence: Women's Education

A grant of $100,000 to Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, will support the efforts of the Center for Continuing Education to establish graduate programs for women at the Center in cooperation with universities in New York. One program has already been started, a master's degree program for prospective elementary school teachers. The Center was opened in 1961 with Carnegie assistance to help women who want to complete their undergraduate studies and to counsel those who already have their bachelor's degree and wish to undertake professional training. Mrs. Esther Raushenbush is the director of the Center.

(MORE)

University of Wisconsin: Off-Campus Study

The University of Wisconsin has received a grant of $387,000 for an experiment in offering more off-campus opportunities for higher education. Using its correspondence instruction and summer session as the base of the program, the University will arrange various combinations of off-campus evening classes, telelectures, radio and television courses, programed learning, conferences, independent study, traveling libraries, field laboratories, and other activities to reach the maximum number of students for the maximum amount of instruction. Full university credit will be given for all these courses. The amount of on-campus study will be reduced and planned to fit into vacation periods and other times convenient to off-campus and part-time students. Much of it will be available at centers within easy commuting distance of almost all parts of the state. L. H. Adolfson, dean of the university extension division, is in charge of the experiment.

California: Research on Creativity

To continue research on creativity, the University of California was awarded a grant of $70,000. Donald W. MacKinnon, director of the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, will investigate the relation of intelligence to creativity, the relation of the group process to creativity as seen, for example, among architects working alone and in collaboration with other architects, and events in early adulthood that may affect the creativity of women. Mr. MacKinnon's research has been previously supported by the Corporation.

(MORE)

Carnegie add 5

Brookings: Investment in Education

A grant of $315,000 was made to The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., for research and conferences on the economics of education. This program, part of a larger Brookings program of research in the economics of human resources, is expected to provide a better basis than now exists for the development of long-run national strategy of investment in education. Rashi Fein and Alice Rivlin, who will share responsibility for the research, plan to concentrate on the economic impact of education and the wise expenditure of the educational dollar.

Carnegie Corporation of New York was founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the peoples of the United States and certain Commonwealth areas. Its assets now total approximately $232 million at book value. Grants are made from income only.

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

File Carnegie

February 20, 1964

File "Foundations". Carnegie

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

The person I hope you will talk with in New York is Peter Caws, Carnegie Corporation, 589 - 5th Avenue (entrance 2 E. 48th. Street), 11th ~~floor~~.

He is interested in giving a grant to us for grass root educational work. He prefers giving a large grant to SRC for the whole south rather than to Georgia alone.

He seemed to like our approach toward solving problems, was particularly interested in such projects as the training of people for retail clerks that has been done in Macon and Brunswick. He liked the idea of educational material at the grass roots level such as our Rome brochure. He has taught philosophy, a nice guy interested enough to give me a $20 personal donation.

The Carnegie Corporation is beginning to think of giving in ways other than to institutions of learning. However it is still interested in the educational approach.

$100,000 is a small grant for Carnegie but could mean an additional staff person in every state plus a staff person at SRC to work with them. $200,000 would cover a lot of printing costs and some overhead as well. A meaningful grass roots educational program could be outlined.

You and Mr. Caws could come up with something great.

Sincerely,

Frances

Mrs. Frances Pauley,
Executive Director

FP/es

File.
Foundations

March 20, 1964

Mr. Frederick H. Jackson
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Fred:

When I mentioned that I would be sending you a "document" I am sure you anticipated nothing as bulky as the enclosure. I would, however, like for you to have it; we hope it gives a fair picture of what we are about.

To add to the bundle, there is a separate enclosure: a "Program Review and Evaluation." This is the outcome of a self-examination we did last year, and we would like for you to know that it was done.

With this much about the Council for your files, I promise you that we shall not load them further.

I plan to be in your city much of the week of April 13. If you have some time one day, perhaps we could get together to exchange news. Except for the afternoon of the 13th, and after 12:00 noon of the 15th, I could come in at your convenience.

Mr. McGrath was here, and we had a good talk. A letter from him the other day said

that he would be back, and we were glad to hear it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mg

Enclosures - fund-raising Book
"Program Review ..."

P.S. If you can, please give my thanks to Mr. Caws for the time and courtesy he gave to Mrs. Pauley.

File
Foundations: Carnegie

March 26, 1964

Mr. Frederick H. Jackson
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Fred:

I'll be delighted to have lunch with you and Mr. Caws, and will come to your office at 12:30 p.m., April 14.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Frances Pauley

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON
Executive Associate

March 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your recent letter and for the materials which you sent regarding the Southern Regional Council. I won't promise to read everything but will certainly look through it.

Can you have lunch on April 14 with one of my associates, Peter Caws, and me? He enjoyed talking with Mrs. Pauley and I passed along your message to him. If this is satisfactory, we will look forward to seeing you on the fourteenth at twelve-thirty.

Sincerely,

Fred

FHJ:hca

File: Foundations: Carnegie

July 8, 1964

Mr. Frederick H. Jackson
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

I saw in the papers an announcement of your new appointment to NYU. Congratulations.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FREDERICK H. JACKSON
Executive Associate

Pete

July 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter in regard to my NYU appointment. I am looking forward to the new opportunity. I believe the University is on the threshold of some significant advances.

When you are up here I hope you will give me a ring.

Sincerely,

Fred

FHJ:hca

The Unequal

ONCE, within a short span of time, the President of Mexico and the Governor General of Canada made state visits to Washington. For the visit of the President the school children of the capital were given a holiday and supplied with paper flags; the lampposts were strung with bunting. The Governor General received a rather casual reception. When the Canadian Ambassador took the American Secretary of State to friendly task over this breach of protocol, the American expressed surprise that Canadians would wish to be treated as foreigners.

This anecdote, related in an essay by John Wendell Holmes, president of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, in *The United States and Canada*, is revealing of one of the many ambiguities of attitude and perception found on both sides of the border. For as Mr. Holmes goes on to point out, the confusion is not merely on the part of Americans, who tend to think of Canada "benevolently, but inaccurately, as some kind of extension of their own country." On their part the Canadians have an ambivalent attitude: although they resent being thought of as "just like Americans," they also would not

Quarterly

Border

like to be thought of as "foreigners" in the sense that both Canadians and Americans are inclined to use the word.

To a certain extent they are right. Geography and history have made Canada and the United States what the late J. B. Brebner called them: Siamese twins who cannot separate and live. The analogy ends there, however —with their inseparability. They are certainly not identical twins, hardly even fraternal. There are vast disparities between the two countries in size of population, in wealth and economic development, in world power, and, most significantly for the relationship between them, in the amount and kind of influence each has upon the other.

Consequently the relationship between Canada and the United States is one-sided, or at least lopsided. Nowhere is the imbalance revealed more clearly than in the fact that virtually every literate Canadian is sharply aware of it while very few literate Americans are. Although there are many problems between the two countries—some of them diplomatic, more of them economic and cultural—the vast majority of Americans live in total ignorance of them and, if they think about Canada at

File
Foundations
Carnegie

April 30, 1965

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Art:

I thought perhaps you might be interested in having a copy of my annual report.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report)

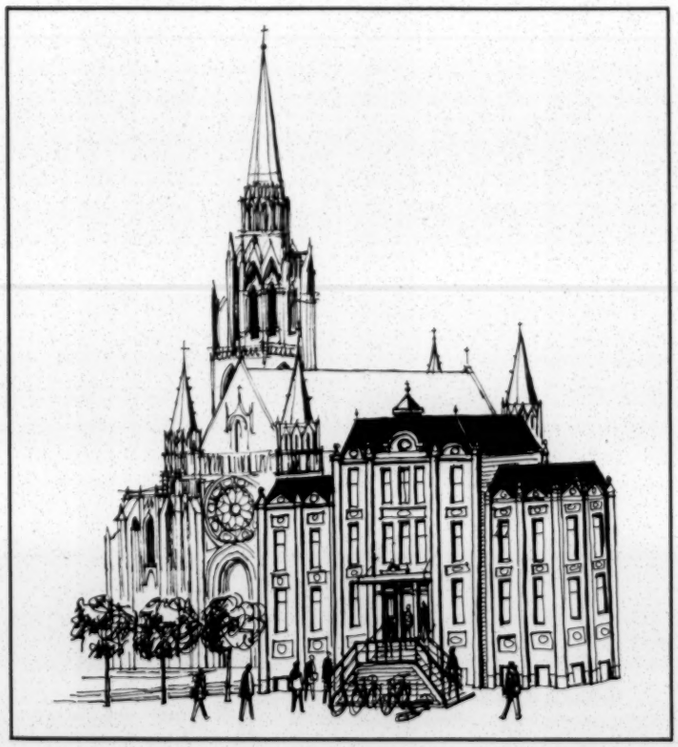
MI - file

Quarterly

Catholic Education in the United States

MORE THAN FIVE MILLION American children—almost 15 per cent of all U.S. youngsters of school-going age—now attend Roman Catholic elementary and secondary schools. During the past 20 years, while enrollments in the public schools increased by 69 per cent, enrollments in the parochial schools jumped 129 per cent. The Catholic schools now constitute a large, important, and little-known educational system.

Recently, considerable debate among Catholics has centered on the schools: their present functioning, what their goals are, and whether those goals are being met. The argument has been hindered, although not quieted, by a dearth of basic, factual information about the parochial schools, and indeed about the American Catholic community as a whole. Two sociologists recently referred to "the abominable state of data collection in American Catholicism: what information is gathered is usually inaccurate and always incomplete." It is not even known within reasonable limits, say a million or two, how many Catholics there are in the United States, with estimates ranging from about 43 million to well over 47 million.



As far as parochial education goes, little has been written of the history of this important movement, which had its American start more than one hundred years ago. The schools were launched primarily as a defensive measure, to protect the faith of Catholic immigrants against what was perceived as the dominant and aggressive Protestantism of the public schools. As the public schools have become increasingly secular over the years, they are no longer seen as a positive threat to the faith, and so the rationale underlying parochial education has presumably shifted.

If little has been known of the schools' history and aims, still less has been known of their details. Catholics and non-Catholics alike have relied largely on isolated experiences with one or two schools plus a combination of rumor, anecdotal evidence, and in some cases prejudice, as their source of information about who goes to the schools and who doesn't, about who the teachers are and what their preparation is, how many lay teachers there are in proportion to teachers from religious orders, and what the student-teacher ratio is.

Two Carnegie-supported studies, now nearing completion, may provide some helpful information. One, under the auspices of the University of Notre Dame, is aimed at describing the schools as they are: their numbers, teachers, form of organization, financing, and so on. It is not intended to be evaluative or comparative, although some of the findings should obviously be useful in the future planning of Catholic education. The other study, by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center (NORC), ventures into the sensitive area of measuring the effects Catholic education has on the later social and religious attitudes of its students. The preliminary findings of this study have already provided highly flammable fuel for the Catholic controversy about the schools.

File - 7s:
Carnegie Corp of N.Y.
LWD-file
MJ-file

August 19, 1965

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Art:

Let's look forward to a date in early November. I do take office at Field on October 1, but shall be in Ann Arbor from mid-October through November 2 delivering some lectures at the University. And, though I have had this commitment for over a year, the first weeks of October may find me frantically working on them.

I found your letter today on my return from a two-day visit in New York, where I tried to read my way through some of the Foundation's files. I probably shall be back up next month, if Max thinks that it is desirable, for some more education before he leaves.

In some ways, I like the idea of speaking to you and your associates about SRC after I leave here -- so I am altogether agreeable to your suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 8/18/65

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

ARTHUR L. SINGER JR.
Executive Associate

August 16, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Thanks for your letter of July 29 with the enclosed copy of your letter to Fred Schulze. Do I recall correctly that you're planning to start your new job in New York as of the first of October? If so perhaps it would be best to postpone our getting together for lunch here with some of the other Carnegie staff until you are in New York. Such a meeting could then have the dual purpose of acquainting you with some of your fellow philanthropists and also give you the opportunity of giving us a pitch on the SRC, even though you won't still be wearing that hat.

Sincerely,

Art

ALS:jw

... attach to Lord ltr of July 29

file

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

ARTHUR L. SINGER JR.
Executive Associate

Rec'd 7/5/65

PA
MJ. file

August 3, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of July 29 and its enclosure have arrived in Mr. Singer's absence. When he returns to the office later this month I shall show them to him.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Wicks

Secretary to
Mr. Singer

jw/

Files.
Foundations - Carnegie Corp of N.Y
Cr. ref
Southern Teaching Prog - 1965

July 29, 1965

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Art:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter of today to Fred Schulze. We would be always glad to hear from you with any suggestions or queries about the evaluation.

I did enjoy having the opportunity to talk with you last week, and was looking forward to the visit you proposed with Mr. Gardner until President Johnson interferred. If you can suggest another way for me to approach the Carnegie Corporation on behalf of the Council, I shall be most grateful. When Fred Jackson was still with you we gave him a good bit of material about SRC, so it's possible that you have a file on us. But I would agree that something more than this is needed, and I'll be glad to come to New York at any time or to outline our situation by letter, if that would be preferable.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Free-
Foundations:
"Carnegie"

December 3, 1965

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Singer:

Leslie Dunbar has told me of your several conversations and we are grateful for your interest.

For some time I have hoped that we could establish here an identifiable research and information center bringing more closely together these two operations of the Council and providing badly needed additional support for them. I gather from Leslie that this could conceivably be a subject in which the Carnegie Corporation might be interested.

I would appreciate any guidance you can give me on how to proceed on this inquiry. Would you like an initial, brief document of our ideas and needs in this area, or would it be more appropriate for me to discuss this with you at your convenience?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Jan. 27, 1966

Paul,

Mr. Fritz Mosher (Carnegie Corp. of N.Y.), who's in Atlanta today, Friday and Saturday morning~~x~~ ~~&&&&&&&~~ for a meeting of the State Legislators' Conference at the Marriott Hotel, called to say that Art Singer asked him to stop in here to talk with you since he would be in Atlanta. He wants you or I to call him at the Marriott Hotel when you get in the office (that is, if he does not reach you in Washington today), to see if he can arrange to talk with you before he leaves town on Saturday.

mmj

File - Foundations - "Carnegie"

December 10, 1965

Mr. Arthur L. Singer, Jr.
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Singer:

We would be delighted to have you visit here rather than my coming to New York. This has the obvious advantage of giving you an opportunity to see our operation, and particularly to meet the people in our research and information work.

I look forward to arranging a date for your visit early next year.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
589 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

ARTHUR L. SINGER JR.
Executive Associate

Rec'd 12/8/65

December 7, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I would like very much to talk with you about the possibility of the Carnegie Corporation considering a proposal from the Southern Regional Council for support of your research and information center. I think perhaps a discussion between us should precede your preparing a document. I'd prefer to do this in Atlanta rather than New York so that I'd have an opportunity to visit the Southern Regional Council. Would it be agreeable with you if I get in touch with you early in January to arrange a visit?

Sincerely,

Art Singer

ALS:sg

MJ - file

JOHN BULOW CAMPBELL FOUNDATION
TRUST COMPANY OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

September 16, 1965

Rec'd 9/15/65

Miss Josephine Wilkins, Chairman
Development Committee
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Wilkins:

It was a pleasure to talk with you yesterday afternoon. I regret that another appointment made it necessary for us to hurry through our conversation.

If the Southern Regional Council, Inc. should decide to approach the Campbell Foundation for a grant, a request could be initiated by a letter from the chief officer of the Council, President John H. Wheeler. A one-page letter stating concisely the amount of money requested and the purpose for which it would be used would suffice. Eligible requests which reach this office not later than December 15 will normally be considered by our Board in January 1966.

As you know, the Foundation operates under the provisions of the last will and testament of John Bulow Campbell. The will places emphasis upon activities of the Presbyterian Church and the needs of people in the State of Georgia. By action of the Board of Trustees, the interest of the Foundation is now limited to Georgia, and the five states touching Georgia, except for projects of the Presbyterian Church. Our Board has not given high priority to requests for money for operating budgets, or for salaries of any kind.

If the Council should file a request, it would be appropriate for the letter of request to be accompanied by supplementary material such as the following.

1. A copy of the corporate charter, with amendments up to date.

2. A copy of the bylaws of the corporation.

3. A copy of the letter from the Internal Revenue Service indicating that the Council is eligible for gifts deductible by donors in the calculation of income taxes.

4. A list of staff members employed by the Council, giving qualifications of each for the responsibilities which are his.

5. A copy of the report of a certified public accountant covering the fiscal year of the Council most recently closed.

6. A copy of the current operating budget of the Council, with entries showing receipts and disbursements against the several items of the budget through the last month or the last quarter.

We have in our file the Annual Report of the Executive Director, for 1964, and the January 1965 list of officers and members, which you left with me yesterday.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. Stubbs

W. B. Stubbs
Executive Director

yjq

P. S. In looking through Foundation files, I get the impression that throughout the years the Trustees have not given high priority to a request from any organization thought of as being involved in political action.

S.

Make folder & file in Fds. section "John Bulow Campbell Fd"

October 5, 1965

Mr. W. B. Stubbs
Executive Director
John Bulow Campbell Foundation
Trust Company of Georgia Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stubbs:

I value the opportunity you have given me recently to discuss with you the work of the Southern Regional Council, and want to thank you for the two conferences. Thank you also for your following letter outlining the procedure to be followed should application be made by the Council to the Foundation.

You understand and appreciate, I believe, what it would mean to us to have the cooperation of the John Bulow Campbell Foundation, located as it is here in the South and caught up as we all are in the currents of change here.

We spoke of talking further, and I look forward to this, for I earnesly seek your help in determining whether the Council could be considered as a likely prospect for assistance from the Foundation. I trust you will let me call you soon.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

JW/mmj

ORGANIZED 1803

THE PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL BANK

PERSONAL TRUST DEPARTMENT
BROAD AND CHESTNUT STREETS
WALNUT 3-2000

PHILADELPHIA-1, PA.
December 10, 1957

File

Hon. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

My understanding is that the Chace Fund income is primarily for the benefit of Friends' Schools and other educational organizations specializing in inter-racial projects. I do not know the exact terms of the trust but will try to find out whether or not it is worthwhile for the Southern Regional Council, Inc. to submit a proposal.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul W. Brown, jr.

PWBjr/ews

Sue's 1st draft

January 31, 1958

Mr. Harold Evans
Chairman
The Anna M. & Elizabeth Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Evans:

Knowing of the Chace Fund's deep concern for equal justice and opportunity, we hope that the trustees will be willing to consider the enclosed application from the Southern Regional Council.

The Council exemplifies, I believe, reason and good will in its approach to the staggering' human relations problems of the region. As one might expect, we work closely with the Penn Community Center and with the Southern office of the American Friends Service Committee. Such was the case, for instance, in the North Carolina school project which began with joint planning and action between AFSC and SRC prior to school desegregation in that state and has continued with the problems which have arisen since that time. Because of this cooperation I have asked Mr. Tartt Bell, Southeastern director of AFSC, to write you in our behalf.

We are asking the Chace Fund for assistance to the general budget of the Council. As you will see, we have taken the liberty of asking for support for three years, for reasons which we believe to be convincing. If this is not in order, we are, of course, prepared to revise the request appropriately.

I thought it might be helpful if we sent enough copies of the request for each member of your board. In addition to the proposal itself, I am enclosing other materials which describe reasonably fully the organization, program activities, and finances of the Council. If further information of any kind would be helpful to your Board in considering our request, please call on me for it.

With appreciation for your consideration and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

James M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf
Enclosures

Enclosures:
Proposal - 8 copies
Proposed Budget for 1958
Semi-annual Report
Congressional Record Reprint
New York Times Reprint
Organizational Chart

Copy of this ltr. and Proposal were sent to Tartt Bell.

February 5, 1958

Mr. Harold Evans, Chairman
The Anna M. and Elizabeth Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Evans:

Knowing of the Chace Fund's deep concern for equal justice and opportunity, we hope that the trustees will be willing to consider the enclosed application from the Southern Regional Council

The Council exemplifies, I believe, reason and good will in its approach to the staggering human relations problems of the region. As one might expect, we work closely with Penn Community Services and with the Southern office of the American Friends Service Committee. Such was the case, for instance, in the North Carolina school project which began with joint planning and action between AFSC and SRC prior to school desegregation in that state and has continued with the problems which have arisen since that time. Because of this cooperation I have asked Mr. Tartt Bell, Southeastern directof of AFSC, to write you in our behalf.

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May I express in a personal footnote my pleasure in meeting you recently in Philadelphia, and my satisfaction in being associated with you on the Board of Penn Community Services.

With my personal regards, then, and my appreciation for your consideration of the enclosed request, I am

Sincerely,

James M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf
Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 3, 1958

Mr. Harold Evans, Chairman
The Anna M. and Elizabeth Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Evans:

Knowing of the Chace Fund's deep concern for equal justice and opportunity, we hope that the trustees will be willing to consider the enclosed application from the Southern Regional Council.

The Council exemplifies, I believe, reason and good will in its approach to the staggering human relations problems of the region. As one might expect, we work closely with Penn Community Services and with the Southern office of the American Friends Serivee Committee. Such was the case, for instance, in the North Carolina school project which began with joint planning and action between AFSC and SRC prior to school desegregation in that state and has continued with the problems which have arisen since that time. Because of this cooperation I have asked Mr. Tartt Bell, Southeastern director of AFSC, to write you in our behalf.

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With my personal regards, then, and my appreciation for your consideration of the enclosed request, I am,

Yours sincerely,

James M. Dabbs

James M. Dabbs
President

Enclosures

ill

M

January 31, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Here is our effort at something suitable to submit to the Chace Fund. As you would expect from the speed at which we prepared it, it embodies much of the material used in earlier fund applications.

Paul Anthony drafted the covering letter for your signature, but we want to emphasize that it's only to suggest some of the things that might be mentioned. If you feel like doing it, it might be better to write your own letter to Mr. Evans, since you have some personal acquaintance with him.

In any case, feel free to return to us a re-draft of your letter to Mr. Evans, and to indicate any changes that you feel should be made in the application itself. We are hoping that you will have a chance to talk with Mr. Evans about this when you are in Philadelphia soon.

It was good to have you with us the other day, and I am looking forward to seeing you

again soon.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

sP. S. We want to send more copies of the application, so please return the whole business to us and we will get it off.

H. C. F.

A PROPOSAL
TO THE CHACE FUND
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 31, 1958

This is a request that the Chace Fund consider a three-year period of assistance to the work of the Southern Regional Council. In order that this proposal not be unreasonably long, materials describing the Council's history, aims, and activities in some detail are attached. The object here will be to set forth the reasons why we believe the Chace Fund will feel this request is justified, the specific amounts asked for and their relationship to the total financial needs of the Council.

The Situation in the South

So much has been written about race relations in the South that a lengthy essay here would be uncalled-for. We should like to make it clear, however, that the Council takes no despairing view of the prospects in the South. Tremendous historical forces - moral, economic, social, and political - are pressing toward an integrated society. Resistance in parts of the region is powerful and can have catastrophic consequences. But the basic direction of the transition is irreversible. The important questions for any given part of the region are: When? How? At what cost to the human beings involved and to the local, state, and national welfare?

Heartening progress toward integration has been made in the five Border states and the District of Columbia, in Kentucky, in western Texas, and in a few scattered spots in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. These areas have provided more than enough evidence that desegregation of schools and other facilities can and does work well, given the necessary leadership.

Unfortunately, in the rest of the South there has been a resolidifying of old attitudes, largely engineered by the political leadership. Defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but also in punitive measures against individuals and groups who favor a positive or even a more realistic course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious problems in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by many of the responsible elements of the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners to violence in several instances -

even in parts of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-segregation forces in the Deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions - governors and attorneys-general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to very thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly Southern interracial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. The Council's task has included but gone far beyond the stimulation of purely local action. We have felt it essential to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional - and sometimes national - forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Lest this sound presumptuous, we hasten to add that we have no illusions that the Council is a causative force, or even, in itself, a powerful one in this vast transition. Its effectiveness must be judged in terms of the strategic importance of its activities in contested situations where the right program at the right time can make a decisive difference. Examples would be the timely release last summer of the Council's findings on Negro suffrage, the support of consultant services to community leadership

vacillating between a forward and a backward course, and other activities described in the attached material.

The main functions of the Council may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. State Human Relations Councils. -- The Southern Regional Council has devoted a large part of its resources in the past three years to the creation of staffed interracial organizations in ten of the Southern states. Working against great odds, these state groups have provided instruments through which white and Negro Southerners can express their common belief in a democratic society and work for its achievement at the local and state levels. The Council continues to give both program assistance and financial aid to the state councils.

2. Interagency Cooperation. -- The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearinghouse work with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has four times served as convener of thirty of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts.

3. National Communication. -- The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, made possible through our fact-finding program. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

4. Interpretation through the Press. -- One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent

organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of radio and television programs.

5. The Consultant Service Program. -- Established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, this program has greatly broadened its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within recent months, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

6. Victims of Pressure and Reprisal. -- The Council has been heavily concerned with the difficulties of individuals and groups that have undergone abuse, ostracism, and sometimes violence in the segregation controversy. We have helped victims of economic reprisal to secure financial help through such programs as the "Rights of Conscience" project of the American Friends Service Committee. We have helped ministers and teachers, discharged for their dissenting views, to find new positions. We have worked with the interracial community at Koinonia Farm in its efforts to get support and legal counsel that would enable it to continue in Americus, Georgia. Beleaguered newspaper editors have also turned to the Council for advice and aid. We are deeply concerned about the impact of hostility and violence on the children, white and Negro, in the forefront of desegregation. Through the investigations of Dr. Kenneth Clark, we are seeking to improve our understanding of the adverse effects of these experiences, and ways in which they can be minimized.

7. Work with Labor. -- Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that it has been continued as part of the regular staff structure.

8. Other Functions. -- All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the period ahead. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently versatile to render a major service in this critical period.

Financial Analysis

It need hardly be explained that raising funds for the kind of work carried on by the Council is more difficult in the South today than ever before. At a time when the need for expanded activities is critical, an unprecedented amount of new support must be secured.

Through a generous terminal grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Council has in hand approximately one-third of its minimum budget for the next three years. Even so, this leaves an aggregate total of some $400,000 to be raised from other sources. At the end of this proposal is a budget which shows the dimensions of this task for 1958.

We are proposing a three-year grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the last few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of desegregation will take place. If this is true, it clearly follows that this is the period in which to make the most effective contribution of which this organization is capable.

Second, we earnestly believe that sound program planning and able staffing demand a stable financial base for a substantial period ahead. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably devoted and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills if the financial structure of the organization is not secure for a reasonable future period.

In the light of the budgetary needs presented, we hope that the Chace Fund will favorably consider a grant to the Council of $5,000 for 1958, and a prospect of additional support in the amounts of $5,000 during 1959 and 1960, respectively. Naturally we should expect grants for the latter two years to be contingent on a satisfactory showing of performance by the Council at the beginning of each new grant year.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Bell, Mr. Tartt
American Friends Service Comm.

REGARDING:

Ltr. of recommendation to Chace Fund on behalf of SRC.

DATE:

February 12, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

AMER. FRIENDS SER. COMM.
(Tartt Bell)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Rec'd 2/25/58

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Address 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Feb. 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N, E. , Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing the letter received today from Harold Evans, together with a copy of my reply. Please return the original letter. Since our application had not come into his hand when I called uppn him--his personal office is separate from the office of the Chace Fund--we spoke only casually of it. He suggested more or less what he says in the letter. He did add that the Fund didn't have more than fifty thousand a year to spend normally--unless# it cut into the principal--which, howevery it had the right to do (but which, another Quaker friend of mine said, being Quakers, they weren't apt to do.)#

As to their hesitancy in making any grants for current running expenses, I don't know what to advise you. You could write Mr. Evans, giving him whatever information you think best about other supporting funds, amounts, etc.; and, if you think best, you could write another letter to him, to be signed by me, changing the terms of the application to cover a specific project. I don't know whether it's even possible to do this in a few days. Or we can simply let it stand, and hope that Frank Loescher does the best he can for us.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

February 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Evans, Chairman
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee
1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Evans:

Thank you for your letter of February 20, in which you acknowledge receipt of our application for a grant from the Chace Fund and make certain comments upon it. In regard to your request for further information about our principal sources of support, I am requesting Mr. Harold Fleming, our executive director, to let you have this information immediately. I note in a letter from the Fund office secretary that the date of the next Committee meeting is March 6.

It was a great pleasure for me to be able to chat with you at leisure for a little while recently. My wife and I shall be looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Evans at Penn School.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

Copy to Harold Fleming.

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY ST. PHILADELPHIA 2 PA

HAROLD EVANS, CHAIRMAN
SARAH R. BENSON, SECRETARY
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIS H. SATTERTHWAITE
RUTH R. VAIL
JOHN H. WOOD, JR.
ELIZABETH YARNALL

February 20, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

It was a great pleasure to see you when you were in Philadelphia and I have now received your letter addressed to the Chace Fund under date of February 5th which will be carefully considered by the Committee. I think one of the questions they will have to consider is whether our grants in the race relations field should, under the terms of the will, go principally to Quaker agencies, such as the American Friends Service Committee, as it is obviously impossible for a small fund, which has to be spread over a great many fields of interest, to make appropriations to too many different agencies. My impression is that the Southern Regional Council was largely assisted by one of the Ford Funds and that while your needs are great and the work you are doing is exceptionally fine, it may be that the Chace Fund should not undertake to add you to its list. This is especially true as we have so far felt that grants should not be made for current running expenses but for some special project of a non-recurring nature. If we began to make annual contributions we would soon be entirely bogged down. It would, I think, be helpful if you could let us know to what other funds you have applied and what are your principal sources of support.

Looking forward to seeing you at Penn School next month, I am

Very sincerely yours,

HE:KRS

February 28, 1958

Mr. Harold Evans, Chairman
The Anna M. and Elizabeth H. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Evans:

Mr. Dabbs has shared with me your letter of February 20, and asked that I send you the additional information called for.

Enclosed is a detailed breakdown of the Council's budgetary needs and income forecast for 1958. The foundations and other sources from which we expect support this year are listed on page 3 of the analysis. You will note that this leaves a substantial amount still to be raised. Toward this amount, we have requests pending before the New York Foundation, the Jacob R. Schiff Fund, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund -- all of which are new prospective sources.

Although our request to the Chace Fund is for general support, many of our unmet needs are for program projects, and we will gladly revise the request accordingly if the Fund's board would prefer.

I am also enclosing a copy of our Annual Report, prepared since our request was submitted.

We are most grateful to you and the other trustees of the Chace Fund for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (Financial Analysis; Annual Report)

Encls. bc. Ltr. from HCF to Miss Sarah R. Benson, dtd. 3/19/58
Thermo-fax copy of Miss Benson's ltr. to JMDabbs
George Meany ltr dtd. March 12, 1958
New York Fund ltr. dtd. March 10, 1958
New World Foundation ltr. dtd. March 3, 1958

March 19, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for sending the good news from the Chace Fund. I enclose a copy of Miss Benson's letter for your files, as well as my letter forwarding the photostat.

I am sure that the high esteem in which you are held by Mr. Evans and his fellow Quakers was an important factor. We also had a helping hand from Frank Loescher, who returned from South Africa in time to sit in on the decisive meeting.

I am also enclosing noties of two other grants, recently received. While these make good reading, actually our prospects are not as bright as they were at the time of the executive committee meeting. This is mainly because the New World Foundation has tax difficulties that may prevent their renewing support ($20,000 last year), and because of the reduction of $2,000 in the AFL-CIO's contribution. However, I am hoping we can offset at least a part of these prospective losses in the next few months.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 5

For your information

Please take such action as appropriate

March 17, 1958

Miss Sarah R. Benson, Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee
1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Penna.

Dear Miss Benson:

I have received today your letter stating that the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee has granted to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the sum of $5,000 for the program as outlined in our request of January 31, 1958.

May I thank you, and request that you convey to the Committee our thanks for this grant? Knowing the need in the South, and knowing the Southern Regional Council, I think I can safely assure you that the grant will be well used. I shall have our executive director send you at the proper time a report as to the use made of this grant.

I shall also have sent to you a photostatic copy of our letter of tax exemption from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Sincerely,

James M. Dabbs, President,

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY ST. PHILADELPHIA 2, PA

HAROLD EVANS, CHAIRMAN
SARAH R. BENSON, SECRETARY
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIS H. SATTERTHWAITE
RUTH R. VAIL
JOHN H. WOOD, JR.
ELIZABETH YARNALL

March 13, 1958

James M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear friend:

The Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee, at its meeting on March 6, 1958, granted to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the sum of $5,000. for the program as outlined in your request of January 31, 1958.

This grant is given with the understanding that no future commitment is implied.

In order to protect itself, the Chace Committee requests that you furnish it with a photostatic copy of your letter of tax exemption from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Sincerely,

For the Chace Committee,

Sarah R. Benson
Sarah R. Benson
Secretary

SRB:lr

P.S.: We shall appreciate for our files a report as to the use made of this grant.

bc sent to: James M. Dabbs (see ltr. to Dabbs of this date)

March 19, 1958

Miss Sarah R. Benson
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Benson:

Mr. Dabbs has sent me a copy of your most welcome letter of March 13 notifying us of the favorable action on our request by the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund. To the appreciation expressed by Mr. Dabbs I should like to add the thanks of the Council's staff for this valuable assistance to our work.

I am enclosing the photostatic copy of our letter of tax exemption, as you requested. We shall see that you are fully informed of the Council's activities, in support of which the Fund's grant will be used.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Photostatic copy of Tax Exemption Ltr.)

Same ltr. to each Committee member
bc: Frank Loescher

February 23, 1959

Miss Sarah R. Benson
Secretary
Anna H. & Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Benson:

I take pleasure in sending you the annual report of the Southern Regional Council's work during the year just past.

The generous contribution of the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund gave vital support to these efforts during 1958. We are most grateful to you and the other members of the Committee for your confidence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (SRC Annual Report; Financial Statement)

February 23, 1959

Mr. Harold Evans, Chairman
The Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Evans:

I take pleasure in sending you the annual report of the Southern Regional Council's work during the year just past.

The generous contribution of the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund gave vital support to these efforts during 1958. We are most grateful to you and the other members of the Committee for your confidence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

February 23, 1959

Mr. Willis H. Satterthwaite
Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company
6th and Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Satterthwaite:

I take pleasure in sending you the annual report of the Southern Regional Council's work during the year just past.

The generous contribution of the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund gave vital support to these efforts during 1958. We are most grateful to you and the other members of the Committee for your confidence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

February 23, 1959

Mrs. D. Robert Yarnall
425 Roumfort Road
Chestnut Hill
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Yarnall:

I take pleasure in sending you the annual report of the Southern Regional Council's work during the year just past.

The generous contribution of the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund gave vital support to these efforts during 1958. We are most grateful to you and the other members of the Committee for your confidence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

February 24, 1959

Mrs. James G. Vail
6 College Avenue
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Vail:

I take pleasure in sending you the annual report of the Southern Regional Council's work during the year just past.

The generous contribution of the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund gave vital support to these efforts during 1958. We are most grateful to you and the other members of the Committee for your confidence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. Annual Report

February 24, 1959

Mr. John H. Wood
7 Greenwood Place
Wyncote, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wood:

I take pleasure in sending you the annual report of the Southern Regional Council's work during the year just past.

The generous contribution of the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund gave vital support to these efforts during 1959. We are most grateful to you and the other members of the Committee for your confidence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

File

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY ST. PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

HAROLD EVANS, CHAIRMAN
SARAH R. BENSON, SECRETARY
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIS H. SATTERTHWAITE
RUTH R. VAIL
JOHN H. WOOD, JR.
ELIZABETH YARNALL

March 23, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for the copy of the Annual Report of the Council.

I had the pleasure of seeing James Dabbs and Marion Wright at the annual meeting of the Trustees of Penn Community Services a couple of weeks ago and was glad to hear of the grant of $95,000 which has recently been made to you. More power to you.

Very sincerely,

Harold Evans

HE:KRS

Harold Evans

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY STREET PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

SARAH R. BENSON
VICTOR R. BIEBER
HAROLD EVANS
HELEN THORNE GRISCOM
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIAM MORRIS MAIER
WILLIS H. SATTERTHWAITE
H. JUSTICE WILLIAMS
ELIZABETH YARNALL

July 28, 1961

PA
SM-file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your report to the Southern Regional Council which I have read with interest. It indicates that you are carrying on the work of the Council with energy and vision, and I want to extend my congratulations to you as Harold Flemming's successor. If you happen to see them, please extend my personal greetings to James Dabbs and Marion Wright.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold Evans

HE:KRS

Harold Evans

August 26, 1963

Miss Sarah R. Benson
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Benson:

This is to place before the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund a proposal for support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's work in behalf of better human relations in the South has had your long and valued interest and we hope that you may be able to give this request your consideration.

The Council is confronted this year with a financial problem that has stricken many other institutions as well. We have received generous -- sometimes even unsolicited -- grants for special projects. The basic structure of the Council, which supports these projects, with program as well as with administration, is, however, inadequately financed.

As you may note, for example, from page 3 of our 1963 budget (enclosed), our Voter Education Project alone has more funds than has our centeral operations; I might add that the size of the Voter Education Project is now substantially larger even than the budgeted figure. Three-fourths or more of these funds go directly to the support of the voter registration efforts of Negro organizations, and all the funds aid these efforts.

To all of its programs, the Council brings skilled staff and a reservoir of experience built through years of work in the South. This has yielded the public confidence which makes possible the effectiveness that our special projects and our general programs now have. In the present climactic days of the southern civil rights struggle, these assets are needed more than ever.

Our general operations budget supports this base, as well as -- with rare exceptions -- all our publications, our research and information services, and our field consultation services.

Our prospects for 1963 are that income for general operations will be $15,000 - $20,000 below the budgeted requirement of $178,481. The Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund has in the past contributed to the Council, most recently, I believe, in 1958. We are hoping that you may be in a position to assist us this year in meeting this deficit.

We are enclosing several exhibits. If you should require additional information in order to reach a decision, please let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

&&& 1963 Budget
1962 Financial Statement
1962 Annual Report
Ralph McGill Column - ~~July~~ Aug. 5, 1963
Morland Pamphlet
Coles Pamphlet

bc: Mr. Frank Loescher

September 3, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie:

Please add the following person to our "CE& "FCR" mailing list:

Miss Sarah R. Benson
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

thanx, mmj

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

September 4, 1963

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your letter of August 26 to Sarah Benson of the Chace Fund. Sarah Benson is no longer secretary, but that is not crucial. A Mrs. Griscom, I believe, is now secretary.

I assume you sent the required number of copies which I think is ten.

I would suggest that you write a letter to Harold Evans, Chairman, telling him of your application and perhaps saying in a slightly different way what you have written to Sarah Benson. Harold Evans is very sympathetic to SRC. You might mention the guidance of SRC to all the major efforts for equal opportunity in the South and SRC's close cooperation with such interests of Friends as the Atlanta Friends Center and the Penn Community Services.

You might ask if the Chace Fund could make a contribution toward a third or half of your deficit assuming you are confident of where you can obtain the remainder.

Here's wishing you luck. Come see us!

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/d
Encl.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

Why YOU should support

FRANK LOESCHER

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

for

Councilman-at-Large

CITIZENS FOR LOESCHER
FOR COUNCILMAN-AT-LARGE

55

September 18, 1963

Miss Laura L. Reid
Office Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Reid:

I wish first to thank you for your helpful and encouraging letter of September 3, and secondly to express my apologies and regret for not responding by September 15, as you requested. These have been particularly rushed and crowded days, both of work and travel. I do hope that this will reach you in time for our application to be considered by the Chace Fund Committee at its October 10 meeting.

We ask that you accept this letter as a supplement to our proposal of August 26, 1963, and that the Chace Fund Committee consider making to the Southern Regional Council a grant of $5,000 for support of its general operations in 1963.

We remember that the Chace Fund Committee ordinarily uses its limited funds for the support of non-recurring projects, and that it feels quite justifiably a special concern for the many and extraordinarily useful programs of Friends. For these reasons we were all the more appreciative of the contribution you made to our general support in 1958, and all the more reluctant to

ask again. I assure you that only the harsh financial problem described in my letter of August 26 would cause us to do so.

In many ways, the Council is now at the time of its greatest service to the region and, we hope, the nation. The South is today like a jet plane coming in for a landing. We tell you frankly that we don't know what kind of landing it will be, though we have great hopes and optimism. It is at the time of landing that skills and good judgment are most required, and we like to think that we are now able to contribute largely to the South's leaders and people, through our information services, our publications, our sponsorship of and cooperation with the state and local Councils on Human Relations, and through our quiet field activities.

At the Council, we have found that our programs, which depend for much of their strength on flexibility, are best administered as a whole. We have, therefore, come to avoid as much as possible the compartmentalizing of activities. This is, of course, not always feasible and we do have special projects. But insofar as we can, we dovetail our work into the general operations budget.

We are now engaged in one project, the Voter Education Project, of great magnitude. Through it we are supporting financially and administratively most of the voter registration activity now current in the South. A professional staff, headed by Mr. Wiley A. Branton, administers the project. All of the field work is done by other groups. These include the great national and regional organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; many local groups; and certain human relations agencies. The latter have included the American Friends Service Committee, to whom the Voter Education Project contributed for summer registration programs in 1962 at Jackson (Tenn.) and 1963 at Greensboro (N.C.). For us at the Council, the VEP is, at one and the same time, an unparalleled opportunity to serve, an awesome vote of confidence on the part of the participating agencies, and a huge drain on our already burdened central office.

We continue to give full attention to our other functions. One of the most satisfying aspects of our

work the last year or so has been the many occasions in which we have worked cooperatively with allied agencies. To those mentioned on pages 4 - 7 of my last Annual Report (which you have), should be added a second joint publication with the Anti-Defamation League (Robert Coles, A Psychiatric Study), work in progress with the American Civil Liberties Union, and a considerable staff effort in behalf of re-invigorating and re-directing the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, which is now seemingly happily at the beginning of a signal service. We have also had several discussions with the American Friends Service Committee regarding cooperation in its planned Mississippi field project.

In these and many other ways we endeavor to strengthen the outreach of all those working for finer human relations in the South. I am sure that we have your constant support and encouragement, and whether or not you are able to respond affirmatively to this present request we shall always be grateful for that.

The enclosures are I believe, as you wished.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: 9 copies, McGill Column - Aug. 5, 1963

cc: Mr. Harold Evans
Bc: Frank Loescher, Jean Fairfax, Tarte Bell

REYNOLDS BOMB

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY STREET PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

SARAH R. BENSON
VICTOR R. BIEBER
J. STOKES CLEMENT
HAROLD EVANS
HELEN THORNE GRISCOM
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIAM MORRIS MAIER
H. JUSTICE WILLIAMS
~~ELIZABETH YARNALL~~
Dorothy B. James

September 3, 1963

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge receipt of your application to the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee on behalf of Southern Regional Council. Mrs. Benson is no longer Secretary, and mail should be addressed to the Committee at the above address. This relieves our correspondents of the need to keep up to date with changes in our membership.

The members of the Chace Fund Committee are aware of the fine work of Southern Regional Council and of the need for support of your work. A definite request for a definite project would aid them to evaluate your application in relation to the many others received for various aspects of the field of race relations. It would be helpful if you would supplement your letter of August 26, or even prepare a new application if you care to do so. In either event, we need ten copies, and legible carbons are acceptable; also nine additional copies of the photo-copy of the newspaper article, so that each member may familiarize himself with the details in advance of the meeting on October 10. The other supporting material can be passed around as requested.

We shall appreciate having any additional material by September 15, or as soon thereafter as possible.

Sincerely,

For the Chace Fund Committee,

Laura L. Reid

Laura L. Reid
Office Secretary

R
cc: Harold Evans, Chairman

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

September 23, 1963

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

file

Dear Les:

Thanks for the courtesy of a copy of your letter to the Chace Fund. If a word from me would be helpful, I would be glad to put it in at any time and place you suggest. Your excellent letter should carry lots of weight, but I don't think any one has been having much luck with the Chace folks lately.

I hope to see you in Nashville. Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/vps

October 25, 1963

Mrs. Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
Committee
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Griscom:

I cannot tell you how deeply grateful we are to the Chace Fund Committee for its grant of $5,000, of which you informed us in your letter of October 17. The money itself will be of immense help, but we value as much the confidence and the special concern of the Committee.

We shall immediately prune our mailing list as you suggest.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY STREET PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

SARAH R. BENSON
VICTOR R. BIEBER
J. STOKES CLEMENT
HAROLD EVANS
HELEN THORNE GRISCOM
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIAM MORRIS MAIER
H. JUSTICE WILLIAMS
~~ELIZABETH WRIGLE~~
Dorothy B. James

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1963

October 17, 1963

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

The Chace Fund Committee is much interested in your work and the many worth-while projects which it encompasses.

The Committee is happy to grant you $5,000 for support of your general operations, payable after January 1, 1964.

We wish you continued success in your undertakings.

Sincerely,

For the Chace Fund Committee,

Helen Thorne Griscom

Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary

HTG:lr

P.S.: While we are much interested in the work you are doing our set-up is such that we are unable to make proper use of the voluminous reports and publicity material you send us. Also, Sarah R. Benson, to whom one copy is sent, is no longer on the Committee. Please, therefore, remove from your mailing list the names of Harold Evans, Chairman, and Sarah R. Benson, Secretary, of the Anna H. & Elizabeth M. Chace Fund.

H. T. G.

cc: Harold Evans, Chairman

Ch mailing lists

File
Foundations

January 2, 1964

Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace
Fund Committee
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with thanks the check for $5,000 from the Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee as a contribution to the general support of the Council during 1964; our official receipt is enclosed.

We are immensely grateful to the Chace Fund for this invaluable assistance. We shall, from time to time, keep you informed of our work, and I hope that you and your associates will call on us whenever we can be of service to you.

Best regards for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

S. FRANCIS NICHOLSON
BROOKSIDE ROAD
WALLINGFORD, PA.

PHILADELPHIA PA. PM 26 DEC 1963

UNITED STATES POSTAGE FIVE 5 CENTS

Treasurer, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please send receipt or acknowledgment to
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

(1964 gen operations)

5,000.00 CR
12/30/63
RHA

ANNA H. AND ELIZABETH M. CHACE FUND COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING
1515 CHERRY STREET PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

SARAH R. BENSON
VICTOR R. BIEBER
J. STOKES CLEMENT
HAROLD EVANS
HELEN THORNE GRISCOM
FRANK S. LOESCHER
WILLIAM MORRIS MAIER
H. JUSTICE WILLIAMS
ELIZABETH YARNALL

April 29, 1964

File
Foundations

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Please accept our apologies for the delay in acknowledging the very fine 20th Anniversary Report, which was received during the rush attending the recent sessions of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

We appreciate having this report, but believe that one copy will be sufficient for our needs. It will be kept on file in the office for reference by members of the Committee.

We wish you continued success in the fine work you are doing.

Sincerely,

For the Chace Fund Committee,

Helen Thorne Griscom

Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary

HTG:lr

File
Foundations -
Chace Fund

April 3, 1964

Mrs. Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund Committee
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Griscom:

This is the time of year when we mail to contributors copies of our Financial Statement and Annual Report for the preceding year, and our current budget. This year, for a very limited number of recipients, we have included these along with other things in a hefty notebook which is enclosed; it is, after all, our 20th anniversary.

It occurs to me that other members of the Committee might be interested in the Annual Report. If so, we would be glad to furnish additional copies which you request.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
cc: Mr. Harold Evans with Annual Report

BC: Mr. Frank Loescher

May 3, 1965

Mrs. Helen Thorne Griscom
Secretary
Anna H. and Elizabeth M. Chace Fund
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Griscom:

I am pleased to enclose one copy each of our audit and program report for 1964, and our approved budget for 1965.

We are deeply grateful to the Chace Fund for its assistance to the 1964 budget of the Council. I hope that you will find in the program report the record of activities that justify your aid and your friendship.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.
Bc: Frank Loescher w/annual Report

File: Fdn
Gmra Fd & Eliza M. Chace Fund

MEMORANDUM August 16, 1965

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

It might be worth your while in a few weeks to review the correspondence file on the Chace Fund with an eye toward applying there again. From what Frank Loescher has told me, this is a place we can consider going back to every few years.

CHACE FUND COMMITTEE

Harold Evans, Chairman

Mr. Willis H. Satterthwaite
Penn Mutual Life Ins. Co.
6th and Chestnut Streets
Philadelphia

Mrs. Sarah R. (Lewis) Benson
254 West Walnut Lane
Philadelphia

Mrs. Elizabeth (D. Robert) Yarnall
425 Roumfort Road
Chestnut Hill
Philadelphia

Mrs. Ruth (James G.) Vail
6 College Avenue
Swarthmore, Penn.

Mr. John H. Wood
7 Greenwood Place
Wyncote, Penn.

Rec'd 6/2/66

THE DIVISION FUND
134 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

May 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of May 23rd has been forwarded to me from our office in Chicago. To expedite future correspondence I suggest you address me care of The Division Fund, 750 Welch Road, Palo Alto, California 94304.

I have reviewed the material accompanying your letter. It seems apparent that your statement "We need, too, to broaden the base of our support." is a gigantic understatement. The figures on Schedule 3 of your 1965 audit report indicate that of your total income of $649,000., $631,000. was supplied by nine foundations or organizations making grants to you of $5,000. or more each.

Since I do not have financial information for previous years I am unable to answer my curiosity concerning your sources of support prior to 1965. I would appreciate your comments indicating why your organization has not been able to attract funds from more contributing individuals or foundations.

The material which you sent me does indeed indicate your need for additional support for your regular program in contrast to your need for traditional funds for special projects.

As indicated above I reside in California so no useful purpose would be served by your coming to Chicago. If you have other occasion to come to the San Francisco area I would be pleased to meet with you, but I certainly would not suggest you make the trip merely to visit with me.

Your comments on all of the above will be welcome.

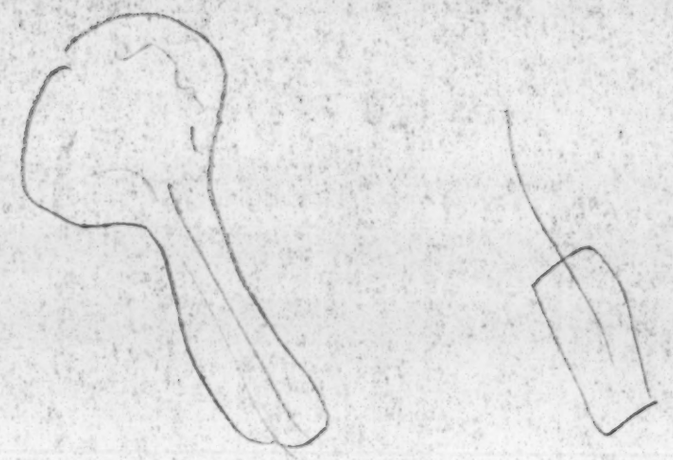
Cordially yours,

Robert H. Klein

Robert H. Klein
Treasurer

RHK:jb

Make file
division Fund



June 10, 1966

Mr. Robert H. Klein
Treasurer
The Division Fund
750 Welch Road
Palo Alto, California 94304

Dear Mr. Klein:

Please know that I am grateful for the amount of attention you have given, obviously, to the materials sent earlier. If possible, I am even more grateful for the understanding that the needs of our regular program should have priority.

Enclosed is a brief report in which I have attempted to give, in general terms, the history of our support and the main sources of it. Included, too, is some indication of our efforts to attract support from within the region. Our failure in this regard is particularly sad, not just for SRC, but for its more general implications. To some degree we are more "respectable" than the straight civil rights-oriented groups. And, if we are having this much difficulty, it is ominous and sad.

Enclosed, too, is a copy of a recent editorial from the Atlanta Magazine, which may have some bearing on the above.

Thank you for your attention and interest.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.
(Atl. Magazine article by Opie Shelton)

Cr. ref. SRC finances

SRC'S GENERAL OPERATIONS SUPPORT AND EFFORTS TO BROADEN THAT SUPPORT

Since the mid-fifties the Council has depended on a very small number of foundations for its central and on-going operation. The Field and New World Foundations have the longest record of consistent support and both continue an interest in the Council. In the late fifties Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Currier began contributing support, which has been continued through the Taconic Foundation. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund has been a contributor for approximately 8 years to projects, and a contributor to general support for the past two years. Beginning in 1960 the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of $50,000 per year for five years. That support, after considerable deliberation and concern on the part of the Foundation, was renewed this year. The requested amount of $250,000 over a five-year period was approved but altered to a six-year grant period with a rather firm indication that such support would not be continued thereafter.

It is important to note here that the overwhelming majority of national foundations have been unwilling to support programs in race relations. Most foundations have tended to limit their support to Negro education. While there are now some indications of change, this remains essentially the case. The primary reason for the small number of foundations who support SRC is related to this fact and, of course, to interest in identifiable and labeled projects.

In the past it has been out of the question that SRC could look for substantial support from within the region. Recently, we had hoped for some change in that. That hope was encouraged by a grant made by the Stern Family Fund last November. At that time we asked Stern for a grant of $20,000 for general operations. The Fund responded by making a grant of $10,000, contingent on these funds being matched in contributions of $1,000 or more from any source from within the region. We had hoped to use these conditions as a means of encouraging southern foundation support. To date, we have approached the three foundations where there was some indication that a change of policy might be in the making. Two of these were in Atlanta, one in North Carolina. The only results of a rather thorough effort has been that one foundation had invited us to become acquainted with their new foundation executive in September with the hope that something might be forthcoming in the future. Since

November the Executive Director of the Council has invested a substantial amount of time in attempting to raise these matching funds. His effort has been assisted by that of a Development Committee headed by a very vigorous chairman. The results to date are that we have raised three $1,000 contributions from individuals (all of them members of the Council). Approximately $2,000 in smaller contributions have resulted from this effort but do not fit the conditions of the grant. One corporation, headquartered in South Carolina, has made a contribution of $500 as a result of this. We are at this point very discouraged about the prospects of substantial support from southern sources. If possible, we are even more concerned about the renewed evidence of both the reluctance of southern philanthrophy to engage in this sort of work, and their interest in influencing policy.

(A comment should be made about the possibility of relatively small contributions from a number of individuals. We have worked very hard to avoid getting into the area of individual solicitations. It is, of course, an extremely time-consuming and expensive process. More importantly, there have been a very limited number of individuals within the region who would or could contribute to this area of interest. We have felt it essential to leave such sources of support to the state Councils on Human Relations and to the predominantly Negro civil rights organizations. In fact, during the past ten years we have worked directly with the Councils on Human Relations and indirectly with the other major organizations in increasing their support from these sources. This has had an incidental but extremely important benefit for the Council. It has removed us from unavoidable competition among those who must look to this source and we feel it is essential that we keep it so.)

During the past six months the new Executive Director has given priority to finding new sources of support. Some of this attention has been directed to national foundations while still giving priority to efforts within the region. There has been some reception on the part of a number of foundations which have at least a pheripheral interest in our program. Such a foundation would be, for instance, The Carnegie Corporation. In each of these instances we have, however, been generally stymied by the project orientation. In fact, the efforts to raise funds for general support have led to several rather large contributions for special projects

which are welcomed but which do not relieve the general operations needs. In several other instances we have been invited to return with another application; project-oriented and more in keeping with the interests of the foundation concerned. There is among some of these foundations a particular interest in the field of education, in its traditional sense, and we have had to resist some pressure to go into this area of program. We have resisted this because we feel others have an experience of a tradition in those areas and are the logical groups to carry out this work, and because we feel the Council has experience and interest that is unique that must be preserved.

It remains critical, therefore, that we continue to seek the support of national foundations and while we shall continue to invest considerable time in cultivating southern sources we have no reason to be optimistic about the results.

- 0 -

3

April 19, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Lewis

The Arthur Vining Davis Foundation #3 is expected to be out of the courts sometime the end of the year and are requesting interested agencies to submit brief background material, but not formal requests. They would also like to be placed on our general mailing list to receive both New South and all other publications (this has been taken care of).

The information should be addressed to Mr. Donald R. Thompson, Vice-President and Senior Trust Officer, First National Bank of Miami, P. O. Box 2500, Miami 33101. This should be done as soon as possible.

Make file

April 20, 1966

Mr. Donald R. Thompson
Vice-President and Senior Trust Officer
First National Bank of Miami
P. O. Box 2500
Miami, Florida 33101

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Enclosed are several items concerning the Southern Regional Council; a report of program for the year passed, an audit for 1965 and a list of the members of the Council.

We are certain the Arthur Vining Davis Foundation is already being overwhelmed with information and requests and we do not want to burden you unduly. We would, however, be grateful if this material could become a part of your records and if we could, at an appropriate time, carry on a further discussion with the Foundation about the possibility of support.

For many years the Southern Regional Council has made a contribution to the development of the southern region. Our emphasis, of course, has been largely in race relations but we are concerned beyond the immediate and obvious needs in this area with the development of an adequate school system for the children of this region and the development of an adequate economy and

an opportunity for this region to become a leader in the nation's life. Quite apart from selfish interests, we honestly feel that the Foundation could make no greater contribution than to be concerned with some of these areas. Also quite apart from any possibility of help directly to the Council, we would be happy to offer you and your associates any possible help that we might be able to provide.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Set up file
Arthur Vining Davis
Foundations
file in Fds section

September 1, 1967

Mr. W. R. Wright
Arthur Vining Davis Foundation
P. O. Box 2238
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Wright:

Please forgive me this delay in forwarding the enclosed proposal, and for that matter not thanking you for your visit.

We have been considerably involved in the planning of the recent urban coalition meeting and, therefore, are somewhat behind on these important matters.

I trust the enclosed proposal is adequate for the Foundation's consideration. Needless to say, we will make any changes or provide any additional information you feel necessary.

Again my sincere appreciation for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

A PROPOSAL
to the
Arthur Vining Davis Foundations
from the
Southern Regional Council

August 30, 1967

This is to respectfully request the consideration of the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations in support of a special project of the Southern Regional Council.

By way of describing the Council to the Foundation several documents are enclosed. In summary, however, the Council is a private, non-profit agency, incorporated in Atlanta in 1944. The Incorporators were the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, then Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Arthur J. Moore, retired Bishop of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, former President of Fisk University, Mr. Ralph McGill, then Editor of the Atlanta Constitution (now Publisher), and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University.

The Council proposed to be a private agency with a number of specialized skills to concern itself with regional development in the Southeastern United States. In addition it had, and continues to have, a special

interest in the situation of Negroes and other minorities in the region on the premise that a unified society with equal opportunity for all its citizens was an absolute essential for sound regional development.

The Council is a body of 100 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, races, and professions of this region. Its day-to-day affairs are governed by an Executive Committee of 15. Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, is the Council's President. Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, a physician in Charlotte, North Carolina is chairman of the Executive Committee. A full list of members is attached.

The Council has a staff of approximately 40 persons, all located in our offices in Atlanta. Among the staff are represented specialists in such areas as urban planning, penal administration, journalism, editing and research. The organization has a current budget for administration and central programs of approximately $300,000 per year. A fluctuating amount for the last two years of approximately $800,000 each year is expended on special projects. The largest functions of the Council are its information, research, and publications activities. An audit for the calendar year 1966 is enclosed.

It is in this regard that we ask the consideration of the Foundations for a one-year grant of $20,000 for special research and publication in the area of the economic status of the Negro in the southeastern region.

We propose to draw together from state and federal economic reports summary data on employment, wages, income, capital concentration and related subjects as they relate to the Negro and compare these with regional and national averages.

There is considerable value, we believe, in having this basic data collected and available. It would be circulated to appropriate colleges and universities, business leaders, Chambers of Commerce officers, and others. This would provide these interested persons with an immediate source of information on economic progress, or the lack of progress, of this minority group -- rural and urban -- in the southeast. It would serve especially, we would hope, as a means of education and stimulation to the concerned individuals in these groups particularly, and as a spur to involvement in appropriate supportive actions, private as well as public.

Of the requested amount of $20,000 we should like to budget approximately 25% for special consultants to supplement our own staff work, 10% for general operations overhead, to cover such items as postage, and the remainder for printing costs.

DRAFT

A PROPOSAL
to the
Arthur Vining Davis Foundations
from the
Southern Regional Council

August 1967

This is to respectfully request the consideration of the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations in support of a special project of the Southern Regional Council.

By way of describing the Council to the Foundation several documents are enclosed. In summary, however, the Council is a private, non-profit agency, incorporated in Atlanta in 1944. The Incorporators were the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, then Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Arthur J. Moore, retired Bishop of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, former President of Fisk University, Mr. Ralph McGill, then Editor of the Atlanta Constitution (now Publisher), and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University .

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The Council is a body of 100 Southerners representing the major ~~&&&&&~~ religious faiths, races and professions of this region. Its day-to-day affairs are governed by an Executive Committee of 15. Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, is the Council's President. Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, a physician in Charlotte, North Carolina is chairman of the Executive Committee. A full list of members is attached.

The Council has a staff of approximately 40 persons, all located in our offices in Atlanta. The organization has a current budget for administration and central programs of approximately $300,000 per year. A fluctuating ~~fluctuating~~ amount for the last ~~several~~ 2 years is approximately $800,000 each year ~~and~~ is expended on special projects. The largest (single) functions of the Council are its information, research, and publications activities. An audit for the calendar year 1966 is enclosed.

It is in this regard that we ask the consideration of the Foundations for a one-year grant of $20,000 for special research and publication in the area of the economic status of the Negro in the southeastern region.

We propose to draw together ~~&&&&~~ from state and federal economic reports summary data on employment, wages, income, capital concentration and related subjects as they relate to the Negro and compare here with regional ~~white factors in these categories and, where possible, with~~ and national averages. ~~averages.~~

Among the staff are specialists in such areas as urban planning, penal administration, journalism, editing + research.

There is considerable

~~The primary purposes, in addition to the~~ obvious value we believe in having this basic data collected available. It would be ~~to~~ circulated ~~this information~~ to appropriate colleges and universities, business leaders, Chambers of Commerce officers, and others. This would provide these interested persons with an immediate source of information on economic progress, or the lack of progress, of this minority group -- rural and urban -- in the southeast. It would serve especially, we would hope, as a means of education and stimulation to the concerned individuals in these groups, particularly ~~especially~~ business leadership and as a spur to involvement in appropriate supportive actions, ~~public~~ private as well as ~~private.~~ public.

Of the ~~proposed~~ requested amount $120,000 we should like to budget approximately 25% for special consultants to supplement our own staff work, 10% for general operations overhead to cover such items as postage, and the remainder for printing costs.

file

THE ARTHUR VINING DAVIS FOUNDATIONS

BOX 2238 • MIAMI, FLORIDA 33101

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

September 14, 1967

Rec'd 9/15/67

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of September 1, 1967 and the enclosed proposal to our Foundations.

Please be assured that your proposal will be given the most careful consideration and will be brought formally before our Trustees at the appropriate time. You will, of course, be advised of whatever action may be taken thereon.

I enjoyed very much the chance to talk with you in Atlanta last month, and I appreciate your arranging the appointment to suit my personal convenience.

Yours sincerely,

William R. Wright

William R. Wright
Executive Director

WRW/js

Rec'd 5/12/67 mf

Mueller Electric Co.

MANUFACTURERS OF ELECTRICAL TEST CLIPS
AND FLEXIBLE INSULATORS

RALPH MUELLER
SCOTT MUELLER
E. H. DE CONINGH
ALFRED A. FLYNN
ROBERT E. DOWD
E. H. DE CONINGH, JR.

1583 EAST 31ST STREET
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114
(216) 771-5225

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

May 10, 1967

Attention: Mr. Paul Anthony

Gentlemen:

The work of your Council has been brought to our attention and we wish to support it to the extent of the enclosed check for $3,000 which is an unrestricted gift for the operations you are carrying out.

This is a small family Foundation, distributing funds which become available to it, and there is very little pattern to the organizations we support. While you have our best wishes for the work you are doing, it would not be realistic to expect further gifts.

With best wishes for success in your efforts, I am

Yours sincerely,

E. H. deConingh

E. H. deConingh, President
The deConingh Foundation

EHdeC:ks
enc. check

Ck. 3,000.00
5-12-67
rh

File deConingh Fd.

CC
PA

May 12, 1967

Mr. E. H. deConingh, President
The deConingh Foundation
1583 East 31st Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Mr. deConingh:

Mr. Anthony is on a much needed vacation and I am taking the liberty of expressing the sincere thanks of the Council for your unrestricted gift of $3,000.00. Receipt followed this ltr. mj

Gifts such as these are a tremendous help to us in carrying out our operations. I am sure Mr. Anthony will want to personally acknowledge this gift when he returns.

Sincerely yours,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Make ... file ... deConingh Fd.

Requested to be put on Comp. N.S. 5/31/67 WY

FCR

May 31, 1967

Mr. E. H. deConingh
President
The deConingh Foundation
1583 East 31st Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Mr. deConingh:

Although your gift has been acknowledged by us I, too, would like to thank you sincerely for it.

It is relatively easy to raise some funds for special projects; it is extremely difficult to raise unstricted funds for our general operations. And, for an operation such as ours general operations is the heart of our agency.

While you may not wish to pursue it at length, enclosed is a copy of our program report of the Council for last year. We would like to be able to periodically send you certain of our materials.

We note, and appreciate, that your gift implies no realistic expectation of further support.

Again, our most sincere appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report, 1966)

~~Alexander, W.~~ W.A.
Indep. Aid

December 24, 1947

Dr. Will Alexander
New Hope Farm
R. F. D.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Will:

Paul Williams and I had a good talk with Clarence Pickett.

Independent Aid is managed by a Board of five of whom one is Miss Duke -- usually in Rio, that leaves four. Pickett liked what he heard about the Council. We were both confident that he would support our request. It was indicated that the remaining key figure would be Dr. Davidson, in charge of the Duke Hospital. On a Southern matter the Committee would defer importantly to Davidson.

The Committee meets January 15.

It is therefore urgent for us to convince Dr. Davidson about the Council.

I talked this morning by phone with Branscomb at Vanderbilt, and checked over with him the method of approaching Davidson.

Broughton, we know, has lately been to Davidson for money for the Committee of the South. So Broughton is not our man to approach Davidson. Neither is Hoover. Clarence Pickett could be. None of the Chapel Hill notables seemed just to suit. I suggested Spaulding, "perfect", said Branscomb. Davidson knows him well, sees him frequently, and trusts him greatly.

Could you see Spaulding and ask him to persuade Davidson?

Pickett volunteered that if Independent Aid gets interested it will not be interested in a project, but would make a contribution to the general budget of the Council.

Williams and I will in due form apply through Mrs. Fuerst for $10,000 per year for each of three years, beginning with 1948.

Dr. Will Alexander December 24, 1947

I enclose leaflets that Spaulding may wish to have on hand when he sees Davidson.

If this is not the way to do it, write or wire me what else should be done. I can of course go and see Davidson myself.

Note the urgency because of Board meeting January 15.

Advance thanks for your advise and effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM: ee

CC
Mr. Paul Williams

Foundation Request:
Independent Aid

December 13, '47

Mr. Clarence Pickett
American Friends Service Commitee
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Pickett,

This is to confirm an arrangement, made by telephone with your office some time ago, under which Paul Williams and I hope to have a few minutes of your time on Wednesday, December 17, at 11 o'clock, at your office.

We want to present a project which we hope will be of interest to Independent Aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 6, 1948

Mrs. Georgia Fuerst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Fuerst:

The Southern Regional Council wants to ask Independent Aid for some help.

We are long-established, we have friends, respect, and influence. We think we know many of the things to do to spread and speed the progress of the South. We can do only bits of those things, because we haven't the people and the travel-money and the printer's-bill money to do even a few of the things thoroughly.

Our leaflets, sent you with this letter, will give the heads of the story. The inwardness of the Council's usefulness is hard to get into leaflets. Thousands and thousands of thoughtful people in the South ache as they live within the spiritual cruelties of our divisions. They want to make wholesomeness and humaneness around them. Theirs is the conscience of the South. The Council pretty well expresses that conscience. It does not move lightly; it remembers to move responsibly. It tries to move effectively.

Here are some of the things we do:

We organize the conscience. We inherited from the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation a great number of local interracial committees, most of them federated into State Committees, and all of them tied in with the Commission. The Council, beginning in 1944, after a great series of Southwide meetings of Negro and white citizenship, took over that base, and began to build afresh upon it. We have State Divisions of the Council in South Carolina, in Florida, in Alabama, in Mississippi, and in Kentucky. Each has several hundred members, making up their own State programs, and working with local officials and agencies to get them across. We have formal affiliation with State Interracial Committees in

Texas, Georgia, and North Carolina, and a close working relationship with a similar committee in Virginia. We are organizing now in Tennessee, and we hope to reach the other three Southern States (in which we already have a good membership) fairly soon. Our own membership is 2500, of which half has been added within the past year. In addition, we reach pretty directly through State Committees another two thousand people. For all this network we counsel on program, encourage, inform, and push. Back from the net work the Council's central office receives a steady flow of information and plea. This two-way network is our basic reliance for putting knowledge and pressure where it will do the most good.

We stay in touch with the press, all over the South. We don't issue a stream of mimeod releases, to make their way into editorial waste paper baskets. We include editors in our local committees. Our local people visit them, as friendly fellow-citizens. The central office sends out people to ask the editors how things are, and what can be done, by them and by us, to push along.

We do the same thing with public officials.

We use the network of friends for getting over, from time to time, campaigns for this or that special matter. We have worked in this way on Police administration, urging cities and towns across the South to make police-work come up to professional standards, to employ Negro policemen, and to equalize for both races the penalties for crime. Just now we are working on civil rights, to build by a series of leadership meetings the public opinion upon which can be based enforcement of rights laid down by existing law, and extension of law to cover the wider freedoms that could be afforded. We have had an effect, not calculable but certainly not negligible, in getting more and more effort into education, and into equality in education for both races. We have worked for housing, and vocational schooling, health, for even services to veterans whether Negro or white, for the basis of democracy in Southern agriculture, for industry, and for self-government. We print pamphlets on these matters, and circulate them pretty well, but what is done is done by dint of getting people to meet locally, apply the pamphlet to their own communities, and work together to make changes where they live.

In 1948 we plan to build our organization modestly, to find ways of using in the South the ideas behind intercultural education, to get near the roots of police brutality through police-training, to educate in civil rights, and to touch Southern pride of state through periodic pamphlets measuring state progress in housing, technical education, land-ownership, and social-security programs. Besides these more formal things, we shall be travelling and telephoning and urging justice and decency and respect for everyone's personal pride.

I enclose a copy of an interim 1947 audit, made for our annual meeting in November. This lists the main contributions, and gives income from members and personal contributions. Since that date, we have had nearly an additional thousand as gifts from individual members.

Could not Independent Aid come to our help? Ten thousand a year for two years would go far toward enabling us to come up to what our members, in their consciences, wish done. They themselves give with encouraging generosity, but they can't yet give nearly enough.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mrs. Georgia Fuerst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, NY

~~Dear Mrs. Fuerst (about 4p)~~

Dear Mrs. Fuerst,

The Southern Regional Council wants to ask the Independent Aid for some help.

We are long-established, we have friends, respect, and influence. We think we know many of the things to do to spread and speed the progress of the South. We can do only bits of those things, because we haven't the people and the travel-money and the printer's-bill money to do even a few of the things thoroughly.

Our leaflets, sent you with this letter, will give the heads of the story. The inwardness of the Council's usefulness is hard to get into leaflets. Thousands and thousands of thoughtful people in the South ache as they live within the spiritual cruelties of our divisions. They want to make wholesomeness and humaneness around them. Theirs is the conscience of the South. The Council pretty well expresses that conscience. It does not move lightly; it remembers to move responsibly. It tries to move effectively.

Here are some of the things we do.

We organize the conscience. We inherited from the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation a great number of local interracial committees, most of them federated into State Committees, and all of them tied in with the Commission. The Council, beginning in 1944, after a great series of Southwide meetings of Negro and white citzenship, took over that base, and began to build afresh upon it. We have State Divisions of the Council in South Carolina, in Florida, in Alabama, in Mississippi, and in Kentucky. Each has several hundred members, making up their own State programs, and working with local officials and agencies to get them across. We have formal affiliation with State Interracial Committees in Texas, Georgia, and North Carolina, and a close working relationship with a similar committee in Virginia. We are organizing now in Tennessee, and we hope to reach the other three Southern States (in which we already have a good membership) fairly soon. Our own membership is 2500, of which half has been added within the past year. In addition, we reach pretty diretly though State committees another two thousand people. For all this network we counsel on program, encourage, inform, and push. Back from the network the Council's central office received a steady flow of information and plea. This two-way network is our basic reliance for putting knowledge and pressure where it will do the most good.

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We do the same thing with public officials.

Foundation Requests
Independent Rich

January 13, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

That was mighty kind of you to go and see Mr. Spaulding. I hope you will call on me and us at any time for anything we can do to help things you are concerned with.

I assume that there is nothing further to be done about Dr. Davidson. I talked with Dr. Will by long distance in Chicago yesterday. He had taken no steps in the matter, but cordially approved your steps.

If I can get to North Carolina between now and February fifth, I think I will call and see Spaulding in the hope that he will have some new, casual opportunity to talk with Davidson.

If I get to North Carolina, I hope to get to St. Augustine's.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

January 8, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I went to see Mr. Spaulding; and, while I was in his office, he called Dr. W. C. Davidson. Dr. Davidson registered himself as being favorable to your request. He thinks that the amount was too large. I feel that, if you insist on the $10,000, each of two years, you should get it. The Board will meet on February 5. If you should need me, please let me know.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:jc

Foundation Requests
Independent Aid

PERSONAL

January 20, 1948

Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual
Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

It was very kind indeed of you to answer so loyally and usefully Mr. Trigg's request for your getting in touch with Dr. Davison about the Council's request for aid from funds established by Miss Doris Duke.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Foundation Reg. with
Independent Did

January 20, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

That is a grand letter from Mr. Spaulding to Dr. Davison. Thank you very much for it.

I have written Mr. Spaulding as enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures
GSM:eb

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

January 16, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporation
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your letter of January 13. I do not feel that any further contact is necessary with Mr. Spaulding.

A copy of Mr. Spaulding's letter to Dr. Davidson is enclosed. Please return it after you have made a copy.

Please come to see us whenever you are up this way. I shall plan to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee on February 25.

With kindest regards to all, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:jhf

COPY

January 13, 1948

Dr W C Davison
Dean - Medical School
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr Davison:

This letter is in further reference to our telephone conversation concerning a contribution for the Southern Regional Council from the organization of which Mr Clarence Pickett is in charge. My understanding is that this foundation was created by Miss Doris Duke.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of approximately 2400 white and Negro leaders, who reside in the thirteen states of the South. It is non-political and is not a pressure group. It works with persons of good will in small and large communities of the South for educational, economic, and civic improvements, with special emphasis on advancement in free human relations. The Council studies the problems of the South as a whole and in individual communities, and helps local, state, and regional leaders in planning programs of general progress.

A concrete example of the work of the Council is the survey of the Negro community in Jacksonville, Florida to which the Council rendered consultatory service. Mr Richard P Daniel, a prominent attorney of Jacksonville, would give you a statement as to the changes which have resulted from this survey. Local members of the Council at Spartanburg, South Carolina made a survey of Negro Housing, which focused the attention of the entire community upon the needs in this field.

The Council has also done much to interpret the need for Negro police in communities in the South and has done much toward securing their employment in forty-five communities. Citizens of these communities, including white merchants who have businesses in Negro sections of Southern cities, testify to the fact that the protection of their businesses has improved, because the Negro knows his own people and is able to control them. The Council has done much toward disseminating information on health, education, and law enforcement and housing in the Southern States.

COPY

In other words, the Southern Regional Council's attitude is ably expressed in a prayer by Reinhold Niebuhr: "Give me the serenity to accept what cannot be changed; Give me the courage to change what can be changed. The wisdom to know one from the other."

I have tried, in this communication, to give you some idea of the work of the Southern Regional Council. Needless to say, I shall be more than grateful for any word of encouragement you may say in its behalf. I feel that any funds given this organization will bear large dividends in the field of racial understanding and goodwill.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

C C Spaulding
PRESIDENT

ccs eb

PERSONAL

January 20, 1948

Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual
Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

It was very kind indeed of you to answer so loyally and usefully Mr. Trigg's request for your getting in touch with Dr. Davison about the Council's request for aid from funds established by Miss Doris Duke.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Foundation Policy
Independent Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

January 21, 1948

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sending you a belated acknowledgment of your letter of January 6th with its appeal on behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

I have read the material with considerable interest and I shall be glad to see that your appeal is put on our agenda for consideration at the next meeting of the Board.

Since you wrote to us, Mr. C. C. Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company has been in communication with Dr. Davison concerning a possible grant for the Southern Regional Council.

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing your audit of November, 1947.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

~~Alexander, Dr. Will~~
Indep. Aid

February 16, 1948

Dr. Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm
R. F. D.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Will:

Paul Williams went to see Georgia Ferst in New York last week. Independent Aid had had its Executive Committee meeting early in February. They apparently had been greatly interested in our proposal, but by reason of the fact that they already were contributing to the Committee of the South, they postponed final action on the application of the Southern Regional Council. I understood vaguely that they now have a new Executive Committee and it will be the one which will take action.

You could do more than anybody else toward getting this one through for us. Could you go and see Spaulding and talk with him and lay plans with him? Spauling early in January telephoned Dr. Wilbert C. Davison, head of the Duke Hospital in Durham, and subsequently wrote Dr. Davison in favor of the Council's application. Dr. Davison wrote Mr. Spaulding January 16, 1948 that he, Dr. Davison, hoped very much that an appropriation would be made to the work of this splendid organization.

Evidently they need some untangling of the areas of interest of the Council and the Committee of the South.

I know you are busy, but will you please write me as to what lights you can get Davison, directly or through Spaulding, to see?

* * * *

As Margaret Price told you over the 'phone, I had a most satisfying interview with Governor Broughton. He took up the matter at once, said it was right and, quite on his own, offered to get his favorable views known to Governor Tuck of Virginia and Governor Caldwell of Florida.

I have done nothing to reach Governor Cherry, and Cherry is a member of the five-man committee which is to prepare recommendations for the meeting forty days from February 8. The other members are Governor Thurmond, Chairman; Jester of Texas; Laney of Arkansas; Tuck of Virginia; and Cherry.

If you know a way to get this idea across to Cherry, that would be fine. But, of course, Cherry is fighting Broughton, so Broughton can be of no help in that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: cy telegram to
Governors of Southern
states, dtd 7Feb48

GSM:eb

~~Alexander, Dr. Will~~
Indep Aid

March 5, 1948

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Will:

I believe you told me you would make some effort to see Clarence Pickett again about Independent Aid.

The correct spelling of Mrs. Georgea T. Furst is here given.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Foundation Request
Independent Aid

March 3, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Naturally we are sorry for our inability to get Independent Aid to come to our help.

I should be grateful if our application could be treated as not dead for good and all. We are in hopes that the Board will find it revivable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

February 25, 1948

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sorry to write that the Board of Independent Aid has found it impossible to take favorable action on your request for funds for the Southern Regional Council, by reason of having prior commitments.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11 - Foundation Requests
Jones

October 5, 1948

Mr. John Paul Jones
150 Nasau Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Jones:

I am exceedingly grateful for your very great kindness the other day in extending me so much time, consideration, and useful advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

~~6. Civil Rights - SRC Policy~~
11 - Foundation Requests
Indep. Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

October 11, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 8th and the leaflet you enclosed. I have read the statement with a great deal of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council. Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

6 - Civil Rights - SRC Policy

October 8, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

I wanted to be sure that you got a copy of this good statement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure

~~1-Alexander, Will W.~~
Indep. Aid

November 2, 1948

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Doctor Will:

I am relying on you to get Dr. Davison at Duke persuaded. I am asking Mr. Trigg to get in touch with Mr. Spaulding, but you and Wheeler should be in touch with Spaulding too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure: Copy of letter to Independent Aid, Inc.

November 2, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Early this year the Southern Regional Council applied to Independent Aid, Inc. for help. The Board turned us down. I am asking now whether Independent Aid will find it possible to help us in 1949 and, preferably, for the two-year period 1949-50.

I send a memorandum reviewing our work for the last five years. If you will be good enough to let me know what sort of document your Board ordinarily wishes to have before it, I will be happy to send along anything you wish in the way of audit reports, financial statements, list of sources of income, or budgets.

Sober reflection about the South of today can hardly fail to reveal the importance of continuing and of expanding just the work which the Southern Regional Council does. It is earnestly hoped that your Board will wish to help this program for getting improving action by effective citizens over the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Dr. Will W. Alexander
Dr. Harold L. Trigg

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
IN SEPTEMBER, 1948

The Southern Regional Council was incorporated in January, 1944, out of the stimulus to humanitarian advance in the South arising from the Richmond, Atlanta, and Durham meetings in 1942 and 1943, and on a base of the work done for twenty-odd years before by the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

During the five years since its organization, the Council has built a Southwide state and local organization, has more than trebled its membership, has stimulated and helped to shape the growth of many good causes in the South, and has printed and kept in circulation a useful small periodical and an outstanding series of topical pamphlets.

State Organizations. The Council, at its beginning, found most of the old State Interracial Committees in a weakened condition. Those in Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia have, during the last five years, shown renewed strength and activity. Three of these committees are formally affiliated with the Council, and the fourth, in Virginia, because of special links with certain of the churches, operates in technical independence but in close cooperation with us.

In South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama and Tennessee the old Committees have been altered into State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council and have grown greatly in usefulness. The only three southern states not formally organized in some relationship to the Council are Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma, and we have active members in each of those.

The State Committees and Divisions choose their own officers and operate without any monetary subsidy from this office. They consistently push in their own states for the general objectives of the Council, and they provide a series of community programs for persons of both races. They do their most effective work in bringing to the attention of public and of local officials inequalities in public and private services available to members of the two races, in adjusting acute situations and in building citizenship participation.

Membership. The Council has not greatly stressed individual membership. Nevertheless, from approximately 800 in the beginning, we have grown in five years to 2,800 persons who regularly pay us annual membership dues. Additionally, the affiliated State Interracial Committees relate us to another 2,000 persons who are not directly members of the Council. All Council members receive our monthly publication, New South. Membership is, of course, of both races and of all religious denominations.

Program. In the spirit of the Richmond, Atlanta and Durham meetings of 1942 and 1943, on the basis of which the Council was set up, our effort has been consistently to get done in the South the next practicable step in improving the condition of the people. Our membership has pleaded before city councils, county commissioners, school boards and other organs of state and local government, as well as with ministers, educators, editors, businessmen and planters for progress and fairness in health, education, housing, transportation, administration, employment and farming opportunity.

This has been done with a courtesy and dignity which respected the full stature of Negro as well as of white citizenship. We have kept open at all times in hundreds of communities a channel through which the grievances of the disadvantaged could be brought to official and, if need be, to public attention. We have also provided Negro and white leadership in the South with a steady stream of information and ideas through which comparison could be made with conditions and achievements elsewhere (within and without the South). We have urged and frequently speeded the adoption in local communities of practices and policies proven feasible in similar but distant places.

In the last ten or fifteen years large areas of the South have found their way to a cooperating citizenship which carries across the barriers of race just in course. Where formerly much effort went into providing merely a meeting ground for members of both races, the emphasis has become increasingly one of showing sensible, helpful things to do. In the doing of these things an unself-conscious community of interest and of increasing mutual understanding flow along.

We have not sought the temporary notoriety of extreme stands for this or that. We have held a pace which the South could follow. Such an effort is unspectacular and we have not found it an easy one to get money for. Nevertheless, we can claim fairly to have added greatly, in these last five years, to such store of public-mindedness, integrity and courageous leadership as the South could boast.

Publications. I believe your files contain a fairly complete set of the Council's publications down to January, 1948. I send with this the items that will bring your files up to date.

Briefly, the pamphlets are as follows:

"The South: America's Opportunity Number One." 1945. A symposium on the promise in Southern industry, agriculture, housing, business and foreign trade.

"Economic Value of the Negro to the South." 1945. What the name implies. Being enlarged and re-issued this autumn.

"Wanted: the South's Future for the Nation." 1946. This is a forerunner of Rupert Vance's great book All These People. It presents readably the main figures about population and migration and farming and industry in the South, and shows how greatly the nation would benefit if the South could be brought up to a modern standard.

"Wanted: A Healthy South." 1946. By Arthur Raper. A warning of the magnitude of the human problem confronting us in the mechanization of southern agriculture.

"By the People." 1947. The short-form account of a survey of the Negro community of Jacksonville, Florida, pushed through by Jacksonville citizens and vigorously followed into noteworthy improvements by the same citizens. The Council served as technical adviser to the survey.

"Wanted: An Educated South." 1947. An appraisal of the school system of the South, showing its differences for the two races.

"Housing in the South." 1948. How we are housed in city and country, with a measurement of the standing of the several southern states.

"Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940." 1948. The amazing growth of Negro voting, described state by state.

"To Secure These Rights." 1948. A digest for discussion groups of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

"The Condition of Our Rights." 1948. The background facts on our shortcomings in providing safety, freedom, citizenship, equality of opportunity and services for our people. A textlet to accompany "To Secure These Rights."

Several of our state organizations have put out useful leaflets of their own. The South Carolina Division printed, two years ago, a most courageous statement on Negro citizenship, by Mr. Marion A. Wright. Georgia has lately done a topical leaflet on the controversial subject of bloc voting. Mississippi got out last year a brave pamphlet giving a program for fairness in the state. Other states have put out slighter but useful material.

We have kept in print and are still selling steadily the famous old pamphlet on interracial cooperation, "America's Tenth Man," of which over 350,000 copies have been sold. We also have printed from time to time lesser pamphlets, such as "Background for Brotherhood," "The Negro Press," "Getting Along Together," and folders descriptive of the Council.

We are at work on three topics, of which pamphlets should come out soon. These are (1) Suggested revisions of the land-tenure laws of the southern states, to provide for a now literate work-force on the land the protection of written leases with reasonable security and with clauses for compensation for permanent improvements, (2) a manual for southern newspaper offices on how to handle race in the news and in headlines, and (3) the South's needs in revision of social security laws.

The monthly periodical has been used frequently to touch off informed comment in the South on some topical subject, such as Negro policemen, hospital construction, the community self-survey, or civil rights. The magazine, with the pamphlets, has been remarkably successful in evoking newspaper discussion.

For two years, in 1945-1947, the Council carried a special program on veterans' services. Some ten field agents, eight of them Negroes, were used for travel to hundreds of southern communities in the interests of the better understanding by veterans, particularly Negro veterans, of the various special services available to them. It was usual for the field agents to find the Negro veterans uninformed about where to go for aid legitimately theirs and to find the white officials willing to extend their services to the Negroes, but lacking the connections which would enable them to do so. The Council's agents supplied the connections and tried everywhere, as one of them said, to get the veterans out of the poolrooms and into GI training. We printed surveys of services to Negro veterans as they stood in Alabama, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, and in all the other states brought the situation officially to the attention of the Veterans Administration and of state and local servicing agents. The general terms of the GI Bill of Rights and continuing prosperity must deserve most of the credit for the ease, by comparison with 1919-1920, with which the South made its adjustment to the return of the veterans, but the Council can claim a modest share in opening the benefits practically to Negro ex-soldiers.

<u>Work Ahead</u>. This century, oddly like the last, insistently demands at mid-century a far-reaching enlargement of human liberty in the southern states. The nation was short on statesmanship in that other crisis, and pitched the controversy in the realm of morals, neglecting the solid economic reforms which could have brought the needed freedom, in peace. The controversy runs again in terms of morals and law, excluding the positive economic and governmental changes which must in the end do most to remove the inequalities around which the issues revolve. The Council believes that when all southerners have a basic equality, modern human and civil freedom will be little disputed. That basic equality must be achieved in fundamental things: health, housing, schooling, more industry, and more chance for farmers to own land and work it rewardingly. We do not underestimate the contribution that law and attitudes can make; we merely insist that it is particularly rewarding to build these positive things.

Now it so happens that the outline of a consistent plan is emerging, by which these things can be had. Numerous patient studies of the past few years, many of them largely the product of philanthropic effort, are coming into print. Southern government is being surveyed through a grant at the University of Alabama. The Committee of the South will begin publishing in November, 1948 what promises to be a notable series of studies on the effects of mechanization, in industrial location, in state planning, in population shifts, rural industries, and economic policy. The Institute for Research in Social Science at the

University of North Carolina is doing for the Southern Association of Science and Industry a series of monographs on Forestry, Industrial Resources, Regional Development, Wildlife, Fisheries, Climate, Soils, Recreation, Human Resources, and so on. Two of these are in print, the rest on the way.

This is all planning material. It will come out at a time when the political agitations of a just-completed campaign year can be turned into positive efforts. The Southern Regional Council will take up the job of digesting the material, working out a presentation of the things to do, sub-region by sub-region in the South, and then through its membership and its state organizations, getting action.

We have another device about readied for getting action. We have prepared and will shortly print a manual for the small community self-survey. We hope that our own people, scattered over the South, can with the manual put through careful fact-findings on their own home towns, done by important local citizens, who would then (as experience proves) automatically become a follow-up committee to fill the gaps in what their cities need.

11- Foundation Requests
Indep. Aid

COPY

Memo

November 16, 1948

To: Mrs. McKoy
From: GSM
Re: Request to Independent Aid, Inc.

Please have this in mind, and give me what she asks. I should think a good time would be December 1st. At that time we should know a little more about larger southern contributors.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

November 16, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
41 East 57th Street, Room 3400
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Thank you for your letter of November 9.

We will send up the additional information about December 1, 1948.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

C
O
P
Y

Room 3400
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

November 9, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of November 2nd, with the enclosures concerning the work of the Southern Regional Council, and also the booklets you have prepared. I shall be glad to see that your appeal for funds is brought to the attention of the Board at our next meeting.

Sometime before the end of the year we should also like to have a report concerning your financing, a list of sources of income and your current budget.

Sincerely yours

(signed)

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

11 - Foundation Request
Indep. Find

November 16, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
41 East 57th Street, Room 3400
New York 22, New York

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Room 3400
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

November 9, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

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Sincerely yours

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FILE COPY

November 2, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Early this year the Southern Regional Council applied to Independent Aid, Inc. for help. The Board turned us down. I am asking now whether Independent Aid will find it possible to help us in 1949 and, preferably, for the two-year period 1949-50.

I send a memorandum reviewing our work for the last five years. If you will be good enough to let me know what sort of document your Board ordinarily wishes to have before it, I will be happy to send along anything you wish in the way of audit reports, financial statements, list of sources of income, or budgets.

Sober reflection about the South of today can hardly fail to reveal the importance of continuing and of expanding just the work which the Southern Regional Council does. It is earnestly hoped that your Board will wish to help this program for getting improving action by effective citizens over the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Dr. Will W. Alexander
Dr. Harold L. Trigg

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
IN SEPTEMBER, 1948

The Southern Regional Council was incorporated in January, 1944, out of the stimulus to humanitarian advance in the South arising from the Richmond, Atlanta, and Durham meetings in 1942 and 1943, and on a base of the work done for twenty-odd years before by the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

During the five years since its organization, the Council has built a Southwide state and local organization, has more than trebled its membership, has stimulated and helped to shape the growth of many good causes in the South, and has printed and kept in circulation a useful small periodical and an outstanding series of topical pamphlets.

State Organizations. The Council, at its beginning, found most of the old State Interracial Committees in a weakened condition. Those in Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia have, during the last five years, shown renewed strength and activity. Three of these committees are formally affiliated with the Council, and the fourth, in Virginia, because of special links with certain of the churches, operates in technical independence but in close cooperation with us.

In South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama and Tennessee the old Committees have been altered into State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council and have grown greatly in usefulness. The only three southern states not formally organized in some relationship to the Council are Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma, and we have active members in each of those.

The State Committees and Divisions choose their own officers and operate without any monetary subsidy from this office. They consistently push in their own states for the general objectives of the Council, and they provide a series of community programs for persons of both races. They do their most effective work in bringing to the attention of public and of local officials inequalities in public and private services available to members of the two races, in adjusting acute situations and in building citizenship participation.

Membership. The Council has not greatly stressed individual membership. Nevertheless, from approximately 800 in the beginning, we have grown in five years to 2,800 persons who regularly pay us annual membership dues. Additionally, the affiliated State Interracial Committees relate us to another 2,000 persons who are not directly members of the Council. All Council members receive our monthly publication, New South. Membership is, of course, of both races and of all religious denominations.

Program. In the spirit of the Richmond, Atlanta and Durham meetings of 1942 and 1943, on the basis of which the Council was set up, our effort has been consistently to get done in the South the next practicable step in improving the condition of the people. Our membership has pleaded before city councils, county commissioners, school boards and other organs of state and local government, as well as with ministers, educators, editors, businessmen and planters for progress and fairness in health, education, housing, transportation, administration, employment and farming opportunity.

This has been done with a courtesy and dignity which respected the full stature of Negro as well as of white citizenship. We have kept open at all times in hundreds of communities a channel through which the grievances of the disadvantaged could be brought to official and, if need be, to public attention. We have also provided Negro and white leadership in the South with a steady stream of information and ideas through which comparison could be made with conditions and achievements elsewhere (within and without the South). We have urged and frequently speeded the adoption in local communities of practices and policies proven feasible in similar but distant places.

In the last ten or fifteen years large areas of the South have found their way to a cooperating citizenship which carries across the barriers of race just in course. Where formerly much effort went into providing merely a meeting ground for members of both races, the emphasis has become increasingly one of showing sensible, helpful things to do. In the doing of these things an unself-conscious community of interest and of increasing mutual understanding flow along.

We have not sought the temporary notoriety of extreme stands for this or that. We have held a pace which the South could follow. Such an effort is unspectacular and we have not found it an easy one to get money for. Nevertheless, we can claim fairly to have added greatly, in these last five years, to such store of public-mindedness, integrity and courageous leadership as the South could boast.

Publications. I believe your files contain a fairly complete set of the Council's publications down to January, 1948. I send with this the items that will bring your files up to date.

Briefly, the pamphlets are as follows:

"The South: America's Opportunity Number One." 1945. A symposium on the promise in Southern industry, agriculture, housing, business and foreign trade.

"Economic Value of the Negro to the South." 1945. What the name implies. Being enlarged and re-issued this autumn.

"Wanted: the South's Future for the Nation." 1946. This is a forerunner of Rupert Vance's great book All These People. It presents readably the main figures about population and migration and farming and industry in the South, and shows how greatly the nation would benefit if the South could be brought up to a modern standard.

"Wanted: A Healthy South." 1946. By Arthur Raper. A warning of the magnitude of the human problem confronting us in the mechanization of southern agriculture.

"By the People." 1947. The short-form account of a survey of the Negro community of Jacksonville, Florida, pushed through by Jacksonville citizens and vigorously followed into noteworthy improvements by the same citizens. The Council served as technical adviser to the survey.

"Wanted: An Educated South." 1947. An appraisal of the school system of the South, showing its differences for the two races.

"Housing in the South." 1948. How we are housed in city and country, with a measurement of the standing of the several southern states.

"Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940." 1948. The amazing growth of Negro voting, described state by state.

"To Secure These Rights." 1948. A digest for discussion groups of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

"The Condition of Our Rights." 1948. The background facts on our shortcomings in providing safety, freedom, citizenship, equality of opportunity and services for our people. A textlet to accompany "To Secure These Rights."

Several of our state organizations have put out useful leaflets of their own. The South Carolina Division printed, two years ago, a most courageous statement on Negro citizenship, by Mr. Marion A. Wright. Georgia has lately done a topical leaflet on the controversial subject of bloc voting. Mississippi got out last year a brave pamphlet giving a program for fairness in the state. Other states have put out slighter but useful material.

We have kept in print and are still selling steadily the famous old pamphlet on interracial cooperation, "America's Tenth Man," of which over 350,000 copies have been sold. We also have printed from time to time lesser pamphlets, such as "Background for Brotherhood," "The Negro Press," "Getting Along Together," and folders descriptive of the Council.

We are at work on three topics, of which pamphlets should come out soon. These are (1) Suggested revisions of the land-tenure laws of the southern states, to provide for a now literate work-force on the land the protection of written leases with reasonable security and with clauses for compensation for permanent improvements, (2) a manual for southern newspaper offices on how to handle race in the news and in headlines, and (3) the South's needs in revision of social security laws.

The monthly periodical has been used frequently to touch off informed comment in the South on some topical subject, such as Negro policemen, hospital construction, the community self-survey, or civil rights. The magazine, with the pamphlets, has been remarkably successful in evoking newspaper discussion.

For two years, in 1945-1947, the Council carried a special program on veterans' services. Some ten field agents, eight of them Negroes, were used for travel to hundreds of southern communities in the interests of the better understanding by veterans, particularly Negro veterans, of the various special services available to them. It was usual for the field agents to find the Negro veterans uninformed about where to go for aid legitimately theirs and to find the white officials willing to extend their services to the Negroes, but lacking the connections which would enable them to do so. The Council's agents supplied the connections and tried everywhere, as one of them said, to get the veterans out of the poolrooms and into GI training. We printed surveys of services to Negro veterans as they stood in Alabama, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, and in all the other states brought the situation officially to the attention of the Veterans Administration and of state and local servicing agents. The general terms of the GI Bill of Rights and continuing prosperity must deserve most of the credit for the ease, by comparison with 1919-1920, with which the South made its adjustment to the return of the veterans, but the Council can claim a modest share in opening the benefits practically to Negro ex-soldiers.

Work Ahead. This century, oddly like the last, insistently demands at mid-century a far-reaching enlargement of human liberty in the southern states. The nation was short on statesmanship in that other crisis, and pitched the controversy in the realm of morals, neglecting the solid economic reforms which could have brought the needed freedom, in peace. The controversy runs again in terms of morals and law, excluding the positive economic and governmental changes which must in the end do most to remove the inequalities around which the issues revolve. The Council believes that when all southerners have a basic equality, modern human and civil freedom will be little disputed. That basic equality must be achieved in fundamental things: health, housing, schooling, more industry, and more chance for farmers to own land and work it rewardingly. We do not underestimate the contribution that law and attitudes can make; we merely insist that it is particularly rewarding to build these positive things.

Now it so happens that the outline of a consistent plan is emerging, by which these things can be had. Numerous patient studies of the past few years, many of them largely the product of philanthropic effort, are coming into print. Southern government is being surveyed through a grant at the University of Alabama. The Committee of the South will begin publishing in November, 1948 what promises to be a notable series of studies on the effects of mechanization, in industrial location, in state planning, in population shifts, rural industries, and economic policy. The Institute for Research in Social Science at the

University of North Carolina is doing for the Southern Association of Science and Industry a series of monographs on Forestry, Industrial Resources, Regional Development, Wildlife, Fisheries, Climate, Soils, Recreation, Human Resources, and so on. Two of these are in print, the rest on the way.

This is all planning material. It will come out at a time when the political agitations of a just-completed campaign year can be turned into positive efforts. The Southern Regional Council will take up the job of digesting the material, working out a presentation of the things to do, sub-region by sub-region in the South, and then through its membership and its state organizations, getting action.

We have another device about readied for getting action. We have prepared and will shortly print a manual for the small community self-survey. We hope that our own people, scattered over the South, can with the manual put through careful fact-findings on their own home towns, done by important local citizens, who would then (as experience proves) automatically become a follow-up committee to fill the gaps in what their cities need.

Addition Self Survey - 100 Jacksonville
Race in News
Fellowship of the Concerned

DESK COPY: GSM

December 6, 1948

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
Room 3400, 41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

I promised to send you, before the end of this year, some facts about the Council's financing.

Here is:

1. Statement of relative income for 1947 and 1948 and estimates for 1949, with a breakdown by sources of income.

2. Our treasurer's report of estimated income and expenses for 1948 and 1949.

3. A statement of relative expenditures, 1947 and 1948, with estimates for 1949.

On sources of income, some elaboration will be useful. The initials "WSCS" stand for Women's Society of Christian Service, one of which exists, with its own small treasury, for each conference area of the Methodist Church.

The annual membership meeting of the Council on November 10, 1948 and the Board meeting the next day gave great attention to the problem of raising a much larger proportion of the Council's income from southern sources. Dr. Howard Odum at the University of North Carolina offered to be one of a hundred people giving $250 to the Council. Among those who have already agreed to join with Dr. Odum are Mr. Leonard Haas, an Atlanta attorney,

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Mr. Charles Smith, of Arlington, Virginia, Mr. Paul Williams, president of the Council, Mr. J. M. Tydings, of Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky, and myself.

The Council is currently approaching 200-odd southern people with the request that they match Dr. Odum's gift. President Rufus Clement of Atlanta University and President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College have each undertaken to give $100. We have written each of the 3,000 members of the Council, asking for an extra contribution of not less than $10. In addition, we are planning an intensive campaign for large contributions from individuals and business firms in one area of the South. All of which is to say that the Council frankly faced its need for much more money from the South. I think the prospects are quite good for getting $15,000 or $20,000 during the early part of 1949 from southern sources.

Our membership meeting spontaneously adopted a budget of $75,000 for 1949, notwithstanding the apparent deficit afflicting the budget of approximately $50,000 which the staff proposed for 1949.

You may recall from earlier correspondence that the last sum available to the Council from the Julius Rosenwald Fund is the $25,000 for 1949. It happens also that 1948 was the final year of our five-year grant from the General Education Board. It is mainly because of the loss of these two sustaining contributions that we must turn now for additional funds from the South and also for other Foundation support.

The Council is doing an indispensable job, and one which clearly cannot as yet be fully paid for from within the South. We feel justified, therefore, in asking Independent Aid to provide us with $5,000 toward our 1949 budget.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11-Foundations Request
Independent Aid

September 16, 1949

Miss Georgia Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Furst:

This is a useful pamphlet and it is going to do a lot of good.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreed to mail it out to all its members.

Our effort just now is to get it widely read by people who can, in local communities, work a sort of running audit of their papers against the little green book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

11 - Foundations
Request
Independent Aid

August 29, 1949

Mrs. Georgia Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Our former assistant here, Mrs. Margaret Price Mullins, wrote me that you had been extremely helpful and kind to her in her (successful) efforts to find a job in the New York area.

Thank you a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

May 2, 1949

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

We are sorry Independent Aid cannot help us.

Thank you and the Board for the time put in on our request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11- Foundation Requests - Indep. Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

April 27, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In response to your recent appeal for funds for the Southern Regional Council, I am very sorry to write that the Board has found it impossible to take favorable action.

I hope that you will find other means of raising the budget required for your work.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

11- Foundation Requests
(Indep. Aid)

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

April 20, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of April 18th with the enclosed leaflet concerning the Atlanta meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

11 - Foundation Requests -
Independent Aid

April 19, 1949

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

You will be interested in the enclosed editorial from this morning's Constitution, which draws directly upon the current issue of our Council's little magazine.

An Associated Press release about the "pattern of violence" was carried, to our knowledge, on April 17 or 18 in the New York Times, Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta Journal, Charleston News and Courier, Charlotte Observer, the Greensboro Daily News, the Savannah Morning News, Montgomery Advertiser, and the Knoxville News Sentinel. Doubtless it was used also in many other southern papers not accessible to us.

A few days ago the Atlanta Constitution did another most useful editorial based on our December-January issue of New South about equal school facilities. I send also a copy of that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Paul D. Williams

11- Foundation Requests
Lucky Aid

April 18, 1949

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

You will be interested in the enclosed leaflet.

Our Council and its affiliated Georgia Committee played a leading part in organizing and staffing the meeting. It all went with earnestness. We expect that similar local meetings will be organized widely over Georgia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11- Foundation Requests
Indep. Aid

April 13, 1949

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Here are a couple of new things from our Council. In the pamphlet with the map, we tried to put our case succinctly. The March New South, with its "Pattern of Violence" article, will be of some importance in alerting the South to the spread of Klan activities.

I do hope Independent Aid can help us this year. We would not be on its doorstep annually, but we do need strength now. The current controversy in the South can be turned to constructive things by the vigorous setting out of the Council's program of positive Southern effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Paul D. Williams

cc: Paul D. Williams

11 - Foundation Request
Indep. Aid

April 12, 1949

Mr. Clarence Pickett
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Pickett:

We are in hopes that our Council's request to Independent Aid, Inc., for $5,000 for this calendar year will come before the Board soon. Mrs. Furst has been supplied with the various items she wished.

I do hope it can go through this time. It is of critical importance for the South now to press forward in reforms. Our Council organizes the conscience of the South about this. If we were to starve, the field would be left for extremists only.

We are making a mighty effort to find a much greater share of our support from within the South, but we can't do it all in one year. What we have asked from Independent Aid is honest and merited.

How you can manage your new matters in the Near East and attend to this too I don't know, but I bespeak all the help you can give us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

11- Foundation Requests - Indep Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

March 23, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 18th and for the Council's manual for the Home Town Survey.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

3/18/49

11 - Foundation Requests - Indep. Aid

March 18, 1949

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

I send you a copy of the Council's manual for the Home Town Survey, and several copies of our leaflet describing the method.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

(5 circulars with manual)

11-Foundation Requests
(Independent Aid)
2/22/49

FOUNDATION REQUESTS

Cross Reference Sheet

Elizabeth Taylor has in her desk file the correspondence with:

Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th St.
New York 22, N. Y.

(Mrs. Georgea T. Furst)

--pending action on our request for funds

The correspondence is in the brown metal file on the small table beside my desk, in a folder titled:

"Independent Aid, Inc."

11 - Foundation Requests - Indep. Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

February 9, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of February 7th. I was interested to read the New York Times story about your latest issue of the New South. I shall see that the copies of the leaflet are circulated to the members of our Board.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

2/8/49

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
Room 3400, 41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

I send you several copies of our latest issue of New South. Here is, also, the New York Times story about it. The AP put out a similar general release which was widely carried, North and South.

We sent copies of the leaflet to each Southern Governor, to each State Superintendent of Schools, each state agent in charge of Negro education, and each of the thousand county superintendents of schools in the South. We have already had a large number of orders for additional copies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

December 27, 1950

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

We thought you might like perhaps to have several copies of this Collier's article which features Mrs. Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned.

We are preparing report material for you on the Fellowship of the Concerned. We continue to be warmly grateful for the help which Independent Aid gave to that effort and the more recent grant also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Independent Aid Inc

Mechanics and Farmers Bank

Durham, North Carolina

J. H. WHEELER
VICE PRESIDENT-CASHIER

December 6, 1950

Mrs. Norma Huff, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Huff:

This will acknowledge your letter of December 4 advising that Independent Aid has allotted $1,000 to the Council for its general budget.

Dr. Davison telephoned me yesterday stating that this was as much as he could get for us at the present time, but that he was saying to me unofficially that if we are unable to find sufficient funds elsewhere, the door was open to a second application from us. I am sure that he does not want to be quoted on this matter but I thought that you should have the information.

This will also acknowledge your check in the amount of $48.65 in payment of my travel expense to the Atlanta meetings. Although I should like very much to attend the Executive Committee meeting on December 16, it seems certain that I shall not be able to do so.

Reply by NH 12/11/50
re D.C. Finances

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Wheeler

J. H. Wheeler
Vice President-Cashier

JHW/vr

Southern Regional Council
DEC 7 1950

12/4/50 $1,000.00

to Genl Budget

from Independent Aid, Inc.

where is original letter?

Independent Aid

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

School of Medicine
Office of the Dean
Reply to Undersigned

23 November 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate the information which you have sent me and shall present it to the board of Independent Aid at their next meeting.

Thanking you for your interest, I am

Yours sincerely,

WCDavison

Wilburt C. Davison

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

November 20, 1950

Dr. Wilburt C. Davison
School of Medicine
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Davison:

This is sent to you at Mr. John H. Wheeler's request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

November 20, 1950

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

The Southern Regional Council applies to Independent Aid, Inc., for a grant of $5,000.00.

The kind of work the Council does is laid out fully in the attached memorandum. It will be seen that our beginnings run back to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its closely related organization, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. As a body of responsible Southern people united in a belief in the orderly growth of democratic understanding within the South, we have avoided the role of agitation and have sought to get helpful things done in our own cities and localities. Because we are a network of active and conscientious citizens, we can do much toward putting into effect the best ideas about economic and popular development. Our small monthly magazine, New South, regularly instructs our members (and quite a lot of newspaper editors) as to likely ways for getting progress. We are thus in a peculiarly good position to apply the findings of research and planning bodies such as the Committee of the South. Indeed, we are the only organization in the South which regularly gets white and Negro consensus in meeting the region's needs.

Just at present we are working on the follow-up of a statement approved by our Board November 7, which is summarized in the attached article from the New York Times of November 10. We will busy our State Divisions and our local membership in trying to get this policy understood and acted upon by school boards and other public bodies across the South.

From its beginning in 1944 until last year, the Council worked on an

annual budget of $55,000.00 or $60,000.00. When the Julius Rosenwald Fund closed, that left us without their yearly grant, which had generally been $25,000.00. We have reduced our expenditures to somewhere around $35,000.00 a year, and we have worked desperately to increase the proportion of our income coming from within the South and from non-foundation sources. In the last twelve months the Council has raised in small sums (five, ten, twenty-five dollars) from among its members and their friends, about $10,000.00. We are working now on a campaign to increase our ten-dollar Sustaining Membership in such a way as to yield, we hope, an annual membership revenue of a good deal more than that figure. About two-thirds of our income in the last twelve months has come from non-foundation sources. Specifically, in the first ten months of 1950 we received a little over $5,000.00 from church bodies, $5,050.00 from foundations, $3,000.00 in large personal contributions from people or firms of means, $2,000.00 from four trade unions, and $2,350.00 in miscellaneous contributions. From within the South, and mainly from our own membership, we were given $8,840.00 in quite small sums.

Here is a copy of our annual audit. I believe your files will show a copy of the Treasury's letter establishing our tax-exempt status.

Although we are doing well in increasing our Southern and membership support, it is still not possible for us to carry even our minimum program without some help in good amounts. We have been getting help during the last year from a number of new sources. The American Friends Service Committee lately gave us a thousand dollars. The Marshall Field Fund just the other day covered the cost of printing New South in 1951. The William C. Whitney Foundation has helped us this year. The four trade unions are new sources of income to us.

Put in a nutshell, the case is this: here is an organization, respected and listened to within the South, and devoted to constructive aims. Because it is not agitational, it finds it hard to raise money. Yet its point of view is more needed in the South today than ever before. Many forces draw our citizenship apart. The Council almost alone works at building within the South a united citizenship that divides on issues and not on race. We have come a good way in finding our means from our members. But for a year or two as yet, we cannot close the gap.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Independent Aid

Nov 17? '50

John Wheeler called. Said several things.

1. He has spoken with Dr. Davidson concerning our appeal to Independent Aid.

2. He learned that they are having a meeting November 29.

3. Upon learning that you were in New York, he suggested that you go immediately to see Georgea Furst.

4. Dr. Davidson requested that we send about a two page appeal to Georgea Furst as soon as possible, with a copy to Dr. Davidson. Mr. Wheeler said that Dr. Davidson was extremely fuzzy about the difference between SRC, the Southern Conference, and the Committee for the South. He suggested that the letter specifically define SRC and tell how it is different from these other organizations.

   Mr. Wheeler suggested that the Council be mentioned as unique among these organizations in its program, and that it ~~xxx~~ me mentioned that it is the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Association for the Prevention of Lynching. A well selected sample of publications should be included.

5. He definitely suggested that you see Georgea Furst in addition to writing the letter.

6. Mr. Wheeler said that Dr. Davidson avoids being known as closely associated with Independent Aid, but that Mr. Wheeler believes that he carries no small weight.

7. Mr. Wheeler will be in New York Monday and perhaps Tuesday. If there is anything he can do for us on this let him know.

$50.00 from Wheeler

copy of whitney memo - wheeler to Davis
blue card

Independent Aid

July 20, 1950

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

We are grateful for this good notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Independent Aid

ROOM 3400
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

June 7, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of June 2nd and for the copy of the NEW SOUTH that was enclosed. I shall be interested to read your article about African students in Southern colleges.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

Independent Aid

June 2, 1950

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

This issue of New South has a little note about African students in Southern Colleges which I thought would be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Independent Aid:
Re - Fellowship
by Onward

May 1, 1950

Mrs. Georgia T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Thank you for your letter of April 28.

In Dr. Mitchell's absence from the city, I am forwarding the four additional reprints of the Herald-Tribune article which you have requested.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary

Room 3400
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 28, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of April 26th and for the re-print from the April 15th Herald-Tribune. It might be interesting to my Board to receive copies of this material, and I should appreciate very much receiving four (4) additional re-prints, if they are available.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 26, 1950

Mrs. Georgia Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Here is as nice an account of the Council as has ever appeared in print.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Indep. Aid

April 26, 1950

Mrs. Georgia Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

Here is as nice an account of the Council as has ever appeared in print.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Indep. aid

ROOM 3400
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

March 28, 1950

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 23. We are always glad to hear of the progress the Southern Regional Council is making.

Sincerely,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
MAR 30
Southern Regional Council

Independent Aid

March 23, 1950

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

When we get helped, we like to brag a bit to our helpers.

I want to call you attention to the March 28, 1950 (southern) issue of The Reporter, out tomorrow. The Council was consulted a good deal by the magazine staff in working up the issue. We helped on the general plan, and they took our suggestions as to subjects of a good number of articles, and here and there, chose writers whom we could point out. Indeed, we can find a good many paragraphs scattered here and there that seem close kin to things we have got out to the public ourselves.

'Tis an inconspicuous service but the kind of thing we like to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

February 22, 1950

Mrs. Georgia Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

This new article about the Fellowship of the Concerned should be of interest.

We are grateful for Independent Aid's help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

sending: The Woman's Press, February 1950.

February 7, 1950

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

How very nice indeed to be in the office on Saturday Morning and open the mail and find your welcome letter and the check for a whole five hundred dollars.

We are most grateful for Independent Aid's appropriation. It will help very substantially toward getting the Fellowship of the Concerned under way.

Our most cordial appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Independent Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

February 2, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I know that you will be delighted to hear that it was found possible to make a small grant available for the work of the Southern Regional Council's project, The Fellowship of the Concerned. I am enclosing a check for $500.00 to be used for that purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Indep. Aid

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

January 17, 1950

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to thank you for sending the material that came with your letter of January 13.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to send me three additional copies of the leaflet "The Fellowship of the Concerned."

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I sent these off immediately Airmail
AGR

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

11- Foundation Requests - Indep. Aid

January 13, 1950

Mrs. Georgea Furst
c/o Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

I am so glad you and Mr. Byrd had an opportunity to talk.

Independent Aid's files contain a good deal about the Council's general program. It has not altered greatly since those long letters.

We feel reasonably secure about getting enough this year and next from church and other groups to enable us to carry along our regular organization. There are many other things we would like to do but would have to have extra money for.

I describe two of these to you and ask for Independent Aid's help to keep either or both efforts going in this current year 1950 and preferably for both 1950 and 1951.

RACE IN THE NEWS

I send two or three more copies. We got this out last September. It is ably written by a newspaper man. It has taken beautifully. The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association mailed it out in September to every daily paper in the South. When Time Magazine picked it up, the S.N.P.A. sent out a reprint of the Time story. We have heard of quite considerable change in many southern newspapers as soon as the pamphlet came out, but we have not had the money for any systematic check-up or for anything other than a thin cover of urging our friends by mail to go and see their editors and ask for early adoption of the rules of the book.

As a further measure of circulation, I begged fifty dollars from Hodding Carter, forty dollars from the Negro Masons, and ten dollars from an Atlanta Negro lawyer; and with that hundred dollars, I am struggling to mail the pamphlet to each of the two thousand-odd weekly newspapers in the thirteen southern states.

I know that issuing a pamphlet is only a beginning. The follow-up is what counts. I am doing all I can through the mails to encourage people to take on that follow-up.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

follow-up job; but the results could be very greatly stepped up if I could employ even a single person to travel from town to town and contrive local pressure. I don't want my man to go and see the editor himself in most cases. Rather, it would be his business on reaching a town to find out from both the Negro and the white communities the things praiseworthy and blameworthy which the local papers do in the field of racial news. Then, he could get a carefully chosen group together and call on the editors.

Our experience has been that such a committee gets results at once. But, we need to correspond with people who have been part of such committees and in some way, from time to time, take the temperature of the southern press on these matters. We are trying to work out a measuring device that will give us, in column inches, proper and improper headlines, use of pictures and courtesy titles, etc. an arithmetical figure as to how well a paper is doing. Every one is agreed that this Race in the News pamphlet has given a hefty push to a movement richly rewarding all over the South in greater respect of each race for the other. This is the time to make the movement roll. If I had enough to pay somebody four thousand a year, plus his travel, plus another thousand a year toward secretarial service for him and to cover postage and communications, a total of $7,500 a year, I could get the maximum of good out of it. One year might do it. Two would give me almost a dragnet.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

The red-printed leaflet, and pages 2 and 3 of New South, September 1949, which I enclose make that story plain. It is a really remarkable opportunity. It is already reaching thousands of women through existing organizations. They are not women who will pay membership dues into something like the Southern Regional Council. They wish to work through their church groups. They are already sending in their names, scrawled in pencil on sheets of mimeographed paper, saying that they are willing to play an active local citizen's part in even-handed justice in their towns. The next step is a card index of all those names and their counties. Then a map. The list can grow to scores of thousands. With a little stirring and prodding, it can yield a good number of names in every county in the South. With that list, things can be made to happen--preventatively and curatively.

Mrs. Tilly needs a blessedly competent secretary. She has none because there is no money. Mrs. Tilly herself works at home with a list and a typewriter until eleven and twelve night after night.

Doing that job right will take the following, at least:

Salary for Mrs. Tilly	$3,000.00
Salary for Mrs. Tilly's secretary	2,400.00
Travel	800.00
Communications	350.00
Stationery and supplies	300.00
Postage	400.00
Printing	500.00
Rent	300.00
Total	$8,050.00

That ought to be a three year program at eight thousand dollars a year.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The South is beginning to move. These are two only of the many richly rewarding opportunities to organize and stimulate and speed action by southern people themselves toward what is right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ROUGH DRAFT

Mrs. Georgea Furst
c/o Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

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I know that issuing a pamphlet is only a beginning. The follow-up is what counts. I am doing all I can through the mails to encourage people to take on that follow-up job, but the results could be very greatly stepped up if I could employ even a single person to travel from town to town and contrive local pressure.. I don't want my man to go and see the editor himself in most cases. Rather, it would be his business on reaching a town to find out from both the Negro and the white communities the things praise worthy and blame worthy which the local papers do in the field of racial news. Then he could get a carefully chosen group together and call on the editors.

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Put along in above

~~Much of that program is built about Mrs. M. E. Tilly's paraonality~~. Mrs. Tilly ~~is not young, and to protect her from her own driving energy, she~~ needs a blessedly gompetent secretary. She has none because there is no money. Mrs. Tilly herself works at home with a list and a typewriter until eleven and twelve night after night.

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Salary for Mrs. Tilly	$3,000
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Total	$8,050

That ought to be a three year program at eight thousand dollars a year.

The South is beginning to move. These are two only of the many richly rewarding opportunities to organize and stimulate and speed action by southern people themselves toward what is right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

GM.

Independent Aid, Inc

ROOM 3400
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

January 3, 1951

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your recent letter and for sending several copies of the Collier's article featuring Mrs. Tilly's work for the FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED. I shall be glad to see that this material is circulated to my Board.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

Fdn File

Dear Mrs. Furst,

A report to you on the Fellowship of the Concerned is overdue.

Here are various items:

1. A narrative account, by Mrs. Tilly.
2. Some further facts on the ~~[illegible]~~ Fellowship's activity.
3. Another copy of the Colliers article.
4. An account of money received and spent for the Fellowship of the Concerned.
5. My own suggestions as to next steps, ~~including~~ ~~[illegible]~~ and a request for really substantial aid.

We are grateful for Independent Aid's critical help, both to the Fellowship program and to the Council as a whole.

Sincerely,

received by SRC

Fundal walkers' [illegible]

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Statement of Income and Expense

March 1949 to January 10, 1951

INCOME:

Independent Aid, Inc.	$500.00	
Miscellaneous Methodist Contributions*	500.00	
Board of Missions, Methodist Church	200.00	
Cash, collected at Southwide Meeting	771.85	
R. A. Dowling, Jr. Dothan, Ala.	100.00	
Miscellaneous Individual Contributions	548.76	
TOTAL INCOME		$2,620.61

EXPENSES:

Southwide Meeting of Church Women, September 8,9, 1949	1,570.63	
Office Supplies	102.80	
Postage	34.02	
Travel	89.52	
~~Mrs. Tilly's salary~~ Salary Mrs M E Tilly, one month	150.00	
Stenographic help	95.33	
TOTAL EXPENSES		2,042.30
SURPLUS		578.31

* These contributions were sent after Mary Margaret McBride's program, on which Mrs. Tilly discussed the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Notes toward a report on Fellowship of the Concerned...

1. Somewhat over 3,000 women have signed the pledge to sit in the courts and serve as local resource persons in time of tension. Their names are on file in Mrs. Tilly's office. Every southern state is represented among the signatures, although Georgia and Kentucky have been much more fully developed than the others.

2. Mass mailings by the Fellowship of the Concerned include the following:

a. The initial mailing followed the Atlanta Southwide meeting in September, 1949, at which Mrs. Roosevelt was the guest of honor. Women leaders attending the meeting submitted lists of persons over the South to whom the pledge should be sent. As a result, the Fellowship acquired its basic membership.

b. At the end of 1949, all members of the Fellowship were sent the first descriptive leaflet outlining a local program for the improvement of justice.

c. In August, 1950, all members of the Fellowship were requested to send in progress reports of their accomplishments at the local level. Responses were received from approximately 150 towns, reporting instances in which church women had exerted wholesome influence on the administration of justice.

d. A ~~report~~ summary of the progress reports received is now being prepared for mailing to all members of the Fellowship, together with the second leaflet describing the origins and purposes of the program.

3. During 1950 Mrs. Tilly has spoken to the following groups on the Fellowship of the Concerned:

Council of Women (interfaith), Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Council of Women, Detroit, Michigan
Council of Church Women, Louisville, Kentucky
" " " " Raleigh, N. C.
Birmingham, Ala.
New Orleans, La.
Nashville, Tenn.
Johnson City, Tenn.
Memphis, Tenn.
Council of Negro Women, Lexington, Ky.
" " " " Greensboro, N. C.
" " " " Camden, S. C.
Methodist Church Women, Little Rock, Ark.
" " " Columbia, Ky.
Methodist Church Women of the Southeast, convening in Savannah, Ga.

The Fellowship of the Concerned has been adopted as an official part of the program of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of The Methodist Church. WSCS workshops throughout Georgia this spring will have reports on Fellowship activity.

4. Publicity: Articles about the Fellowship of the Concerned have appeared in Collier's, Woman's Press (published by the YWCA), Light (published by the Bapt Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention), and other church publications. An article is soon to appear in World Outlook, the missionary organ of The Methodist Church.

Dale

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

A Brief Report to Independent Aid Inc.,

Of The Work Of The Fellowship of the Concerned,-

A Project of the Southern Regional Council.

"The Fellowship Of The Concerned" is a loosely knit organization without officers. It came into being in September, 1949, out of the concern of Southern church women over what was happening in the courts.

Today in the office of the Southern Regional Council there are card index files of the names of over three thousand women who have pledged to sit in the courts to see how law is administered in their communities and to give support to law enforcement agencies. These women are in our large Southern cities, Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Louisville and others ; they also live in county seats and in rural communities, such as Dewey Rose, R. F. D.

The goal of such groups in every county seat and every town and city where there are police courts, has not been reached simply because of lack of funds for travel and secretarial help.

The reports from these church women are varied. Several have written ~~that~~ to this effect: "It is well for church people to sit in the courts, for the judge and the jury need the support of the church. They have plenty of pressure from other forces." An illustration from Donelsonville is typical: ~~In illustration, we have this,~~ "Our judge was elected on a promise that he would punish to the limit of the law all drunken drivers brought before him. He did not fulfill this promise, so we got some ministers to go with us to sit in the court when some of these cases were coming on the calendar. When the judge saw us he said to us, "This is the first time I have had any support from you who elected me. I have had plenty of pressure from the other side."

The presence of church women in the courts ~~may have~~ has provided strength and courage in othe instances . They have been present when civil rights of the accused might have been in danger and have sent us reports of fair and just trials. The y do not claim that their presence was responsible for the fairness of the trials but they did say, "We thanked both the judge and the jury and told them we had high respect for the court."

Sometimes courageous action has been taken. In a collision between cars driven by a Negro and an officer of the law at the convergence of two highways, in Thomaston, Ga., the wife of the officer was killed. Both the officer and the Negro were hurt and both were taken to the hospital, but a guard from the sheriff's office was placed at th e door of the Negro's room.

The town newspaper carried an inflamatory story against the Negro, and the circuit judge announced over the radio that the Negro would be tried for murder. A church group went to the scene of the accident and saw that the officer had run over a "Stop" sign, ~~and~~ It was very clear that the officer and not the Negro was at fault. They called on the newspaper to change the story, and they went to see the judge. They called the employer of the Negro's wife, who said to them, "There's nothing that can be done. You will get some cheap lawyer who will do nothing." "No," they replied, "we will get the best lawyer in the county and we will pay him nothing, for he , too, is as much responsible as we that no injustice in this county takes place".

They did secure the lawyer and at his demand the guard was removed from the Negro's door. The story is not ~~all ended~~ yet finished, but at least the Negro will not be punished for a wreck he did not cause.

Jury service has come to be of concern to visiting groups. ~~A suggestion has been made~~ Suggestions have come from Louisville, Ky., Columbia, S.C., and Jackson, Miss., that there should be some educational qualification for those who serve on juries. ~~Talking to a judge about this, he said,~~ A Fulton County judge had this to say: "There ought to be other requirements also. In a panel of sixty names given me from which to draw twelve 'good and tried men', I found twelve of them had been convicted of felonies."

We quote other excerpts from local reports: "We found our court gave us a picture of our community we did not know existed". "The court mirrors human tragedy and human need. Sit in them and you will find jobs the church must do in its own neighborhood". "Visit the court and you will find a new field of action awaiting you. You will find people that need you -- A friend at court is always needed". Sometimes it is needed to find a scholarship to send a boy or girl away from home environment. One group found two college girls before a judge charged with being drunk on the streets. These girls had no money for the fine and were going to accept the sentence of thirty days at the prison farm rather than let their parents know. Just what their fate might have been if church women had not been present to help out, it is not hard to picture.

The Atlanta Council of Church Women found that housing played quite a part in the city's crime record. Through the aid of one of the Atlanta papers, a tour of slum areas was made. The paper carried the pictures and the story. Then a co-ordinating council of all the women's organizations of the city was formed to face the housing problems. The result - a Slum Clearance Committee was appointed in the city council and splendid work has been done.

INARTICULATE PEOPLE standing voiceless and helpless before judges have brought in the request from church women, stirred by the picture, that efforts be made to have Public Defenders and social workers attached to every city court.

From a mill village (Cedartown, Ga.) we have the following story that reveals the fact that a visit to the court leads to other lines of action: "About six of us have visited our court; two of us have helped with juvenile cases. Three of our women voted for the first time, though middle aged, and others took colored women to vote. Four of us helped our Community House children entertain the colored nursery children."

We have other calls for women who are "concerned" and whenever the calls come, we go to the files for names and put through a call and women answer the call for extra work. It was necessary to have the voice of a white woman to

speak before the Fulton County commissioners in the interest of a Negro housing project. We called one of the "Fellowship of the Concerned". She replied, "I know that I should do it, but my neighbors are against it -- I'll do it". On the day of the hearing, she was the first to speak and spoke so forthrightly that no opposing voice was lifted and the project went through. When she told us about it, she said, "I prayed and prayed and I never had such an experience; it was a spiritual rebirth".

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Statement of Income and Expense
March, 1949 to January 10, '51

INCOME:

Independent Aid, Inc.	$500.00	
Miscellaneous Methodist Contributions*	500.00	
Board of Missions, Methodist Church	200.00	
Cash collected at Southwide Meeting	771.85	
R. A. Dowling, Jr., Dothan, Ala.	100.00	
Miscellaneous individual contributions	548.76	
TOTAL INCOME		$2,620.61

EXPENSES

Southwide Meeting of Church Women, Sep. 8, 9, '49	$1,570.63	
Office supplies	102.80	
Postage	54.02	
Travel	89.52	
Salary, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, one month	150.00	
Stenographic help	25.33	
TOTAL EXPENSES		$2,042.30
SURPLUS		578.31

* These contributions were sent after Mary Margaret McBride's program, on which Mrs. Tilly discussed the Fellowship of the Concerned.

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED - SUGGESTIONS AS TO NEXT STEPS AND A REQUEST TO INDEPENDENT AID, INC. FOR SUBSTANTIAL FURTHER AID.

The Fellowship of the Concerned has done a lot of good already, and certainly on a minimum of funds. Mrs. Tilly is deeply interested in it, and is prepared to make it practically her full-time activity, if ways can be found to sustain a broad enlargement of the program. It is really a most unusual thing; going down channels already cut, and pulsing activity and understanding where little was before. It has lived on less than a shoestring. And it depends for the timeBeing on the special knack Mrs. Tilly has in calling forth response from the Church woman.

Clearly it ought to be expanded. It can and should reach nearly all of the Southern States. It cannot grow into that much of an enterprise without steady and flexible underpinning. That means it must have some clerical staff, and some travel money for Mrs. Tilly; it must be able to summon an annual meeting of the leading women; and it ought to have a competent preson as assistant and in some sense understudy for Mrs. Tilly.

Here is what we estimate these things would cost:

A meeting of the women leaders, early in 1951 and again in 1952. Experience proves that to have such a meeting there must be expense-money available for eighteen or twenty of the women (many of them Negro women) at an average of $100.00. Per year	$1000.00
Travel for Mrs. Tilly, six trips at $150.00, Per year	900.00
A clerical assistant	2600.00
Travel for assistant	300.00
Salary for Mrs. Tilly. Her present compensation is $1,800 a year from the Southern Regional Council, plus $600.00 a year from the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. She works for the job and (obviously) not for money, but she ought to be assured of a combined salary in excess of this $2,400. In all fairness, it should be as much as $4,000, of which the Fellowship of the Concerned should bear $2,400, the Southern Regional Council from its general budget $1,000 (for her services in field organization for SRC) and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation $600. Added annual expense for Mrs. Tilly's salary	2400.00
Postage	200.00
Printing and supplies	450.00
TOTAL ANNUAL COST	7850.00

It would take at least two years for this expansion to be completed. We therefore propose a two-year program, at a total cost of $15,700.

We are in hopes that Independent Aid, Inc., will finance the major part of such an undertaking.

The Fellowship of the Concerned has done a lot of good already, and certainly on a minimum of funds. Mrs. Tilly is deeply interested in it, and is prepared to make it practically her full-time activity, if ways can be found to sustain a broad expansion of the program. It is really a most unusual thing; going down channels already cut, and pulsing activity and understanding where little was before. It has lived on less than a shoestring. And it depends for the future simply on the special knack that Mrs. Tilly has in calling forth response from the Church women.

Clearly it ought to be expanded. It can and should reach nearly all of the Southern States. It can't grow into that much of an enterprise without steady and flexible underpinning. That means it must have some clerical staff, and some travel money for Mrs. Tilly. And it must be able to summon an annual meeting of the leading women. And it ought to have a pretty competent person, as ~~understudy~~ assistant and ~~alter-ego~~ in case she cannot undertake for Mrs. Tilly.

Here is what we estimate these things would cost.

A meeting of the women leaders, early in 1951 and again in 1952, Experience proves that to have such a meeting there must be expense-money available for eighteen or twenty of the women (many of them Negro woemn), at an average of $50.00 . Per year	1000.00
Travel for Mrs. Tilly, six trips at $150.00	900.00
a clerical assistant ~~Clerical salary~~	2600.00
Travel for ~~clerk~~ assistant	300.00
Salary for Mrs. Tilly Her present compensation is 1800 a year from the Southern Regional Council, plus 600 a year from the Georgia Committe on Interracial Cooperation. She works for the job and (obviously) not for money, but she ought to be assured of a combined salary in excess of this 2400. In all fairness, it should be as much as 4000, of which the Fellowship of the Concerned should bear 2400, the SRC 1000 (for her services in field organization directly for SRC) and the Georgis Committee on Interracial Cooperation 600. Added expense on Mrs. Tilly's salary	2,400.00

~~New so~~ Leaflet (item 3) pledge sheet

Added personal solicitation

from its general budget

7,200.00

January 12, '51

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Furst,

A report to you on the Fellowship of the Concerned is long overdue. Here are various items:

A narrative account, by Mrs. Tilly
Some further facts
A copy of the Collier's article
An account of money received by SRC for the Fellowship project, and spent for it
Printed materials

We are grateful for Independent Aid's critical help, both to the Fellowship program and to the Council as a whole.

Sincerely,

Executive Director

A BRIEF REPORT TO INDEPENDENT AID, INC., OF THE WORK OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED, - A PROJECT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

by Mrs. M. E. Tilly

"The Fellowship of the Concerned" is a loosely-knit organization without officers. It came into being in September, 1949, out of the concern of Southern church women over what was happening in the courts.

Today in the office of the Southern Regional Council there are card-index files of the names of over three thousand women who have pledged to sit in the courts to see how law is administered in their communities and to give support to law-enforcement agencies. These women are in our large cities - Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Louisville and others; they also live in county-seats and in rural communities, such as Dewey Rose, R.F.D.

The goal of such groups in every town and every county-seat and city where there are police courts, has not been reached simply because of lack of funds for travel and secretarial help.

The reports from these church women are varied. Several have written to this effect: "It is well for church people to sit in the courts, for the judge and the jury need the support of the church. They have plenty of pressure from other forces". An illustration from Donelsonville is typical: "Our judge was elected on a promise that he would punish to the limit of the law all drunken drivers brought before him. He did not fulfill this promise, so we got some ministers to go with us when some of these cases were coming on the calendar. When the judge saw us he said to us, 'This is the first time I have had any support from you who elected me. I have had plenty of pressure from the other side'".

The presence of church women in the courts has provided strength and courage in other instances. They have been present when civil rights of the

accused might have been in danger and have sent us reports of fair and just trials. They do not claim that their presence was responsible for the fairness of the trials but they did say, "We thanked both the judge and the jury and told them we had high respect for the courts".

Sometimes courageous action has been taken. In a collision between cars driven by a Negro and an officer of the law at the convergence of two highways in Thomaston, Georgia, the wife of the officer was killed. Both the officer and the Negro were hurt and both were taken to the hospital, but a guard from the sheriff's office was placed at the door of the Negro's room.

The town newspaper carried an inflammatory story against the Negro, and the circuit judge announced over the radio that the Negro would be tried for murder. A church group went to the scene of the murder and saw that the officer had run over a "stop" sign. It was very clear that the officer and not the Negro was at fault. They called on the newspaper to change the story, and went to see the judge. They called the employer of the Negro's wife, who said to them, "There's nothing that can be done. You will get some cheap lawyer who will do nothing". "No", they replied, "we will get the best lawyer in the county and we will pay him nothing, for he, too, is as much responsible as we that no injustice in this county take place".

They did secure the lawyer and at his demand the guard was removed from the Negro's door. The story is not yet finished, but at least the Negro will not be punished for a wreck he did not cause.

Jury service has come to be a concern to visiting groups. Suggestions have come from Louisville, Kentucky, Columbia, South Carolina, and Jackson, Mississippi that there should be some educational qualification for those who serve on juries. A Fulton County, Georgia, judge had this to say" There ought to be other requirements also. In a panel of sixty names given me from

which to draw twelve 'good and tried men', I found twelve of them had been convicted of felonies".

We quote other excerpts from local reports: "We found our court gave us a picture of our community we did not know existed". "The court mirrors human tragedy and human need. Sit in it and you will find jobs the church must do in its own neighborhood". "Visit the court and you will find a new field of action awaiting you. You will find people that need you - a friend at court is always needed". Sometimes it is needed to find a scholarship to send a boy or girl away from home environment. One group found two college girls before a judge being charged with being drunk on the streets. These girls had no money for the fine and were going to accept the sentence of thirty days at the prison farm rather than let their parents know. Just what their fate might have been if church women had not been present to help out, it is not hard to picture.

The Atlanta Council of Church Women found that housing played quite a part in the city's crime record. Through the aid of one the Atlanta papers a tour of slum areas was made. The paper carried the pictures and the story. Then a coordinating council of all the women's organizations in the city was formed to face the housing problems. The result - a Slum Clearance Committee was appointed in the city council and splendid work has been done.

INARTICULATE PEOPLE standing voiceless and helpless before judges have brought in the request from church women, stirred by the picture, that efforts be made to have public defenders and social workers attached to every city court.

From a mill village at Cedartown, Georgia we have the following story that reveals the fact that a visit to the court leads to other lines of action: "About six of us have visited our court; two of us have helped with juvenile cases. Three of our women voted for the first time, though middle aged, and others took

colored women to vote. Four of us helped out Community House children entertain the colored nursery children".

We have other calls for women who are "concerned" and whenever the calls come, we go to the files for names and put through a call and women answer the call for extra work. It was necessary to have the voice of a white woman to speak before the Fulton County, Georgia, commissioners in the interest of a Negro housing project. We called one of the "Fellowship of the Concerned". She replied, "I know that I should do it but my neighbors are against it - I'll do it." On the day of the hearing, she was the first to speak and spoke so forthrightly that no opposing voice was lifted and the project went through. When she told us about it, she said, "I prayed and prayed and I never had such an experience; it was a spiritual rebirth".

Council of Church Women,	Johnson City, Tenn.
" " "	Memphis, Tenn.
Council of Negro Women,	Lexington, Ky.
" " "	Greensboro, N.C.
	Camden, S.C.
Methodist Church Women	Little Rock, Ark.
" " "	Columbia, Ky.
Methodist Churchwomen of the Southeast, convening at	Savannah, Ga.

The Fellowship of the Concerned has been adopted as an official part of the program of the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. W.S.C.S. workshops throughout Georgia this spring will have reports on Fellowship activity.

Articles about the Fellowship of the Concerned have appeared in Colliers, Woman's Press (published by the Y. W. C. A.), Light (published by the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention), and other church publications. An article is soon to appear in World Outlook, the missionary organ of the Methodist Church.

Mrs. Tilly will go shortly for an extended speaking trip in Mississippi, increasing the activity of the Fellowship in that State.

A 1951 Southwide Meeting is under consideration.

January, '51

PAGE (s) MISSING

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Somewhat over three thousand women have signed the pledge to sit in the courts and serve as local resource persons in time of tension. Their names are on file here in the Council. Every Southern State is represented among the signatures, though Georgia and Kentucky have been much more fully developed than the others.

Mass mailing by the Fellowship of the Concerned include the following:

a. The initial mailing which followed the Atlanta Southwide meeting in September, 1949, at which Mrs. Roosevelt was the guest of honor. Women leaders attending the meeting submitted lists of persons over the South to whom the pledge should be sent. As a result, the Fellowship acquired its basic membership.

b. At the end of 1949, all members of the Fellowship were sent the first descriptive leaflet outlining a local program for the improvement of justice.

c. In August, 1950, all members of the Fellowship were requested to send in progress reports of their accomplishments at the local level. Responses were received from about 150 towns, reporting instances in which church women had exerted wholesome influence on the administration of justice.

d. A summary of the progress reports received is now being prepared for mailing to all members of the Fellowship, together with the second leaflet describing the origins and purposes of the program.

During 1950 Mr. Tilly has spoken to the following groups on the Fellowship of the Concerned:

Council of Women (interfaith), Milwaukee, Wis.
Council of Women, Detroit, Mich.
Council of Church Women, Louisville, Ky.
" " " Raleigh, N.C.
Birmingham, Ala.
New Orleans, La.
Nashville, Tenn.

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Statement of Income and Expense
March, 1949 to January 10, '51

INCOME:

Independent Aid, Inc.	$500.00	
Miscellaneous Methodist Contributions*	500.00	
Board of Missions, Methodist Church	200.00	
Cash collected at Southwide Meeting	771.85	
R. A. Bowling, Jr., Dothan, Ala.	100.00	
Miscellaneous individual contributions	548.76	
TOTAL INCOME		$2,620.61

EXPENSES

Southwide Meeting of Church Women, Sep. 8, 9, '49	$1,370.65	
Office supplies	102.80	
Postage	54.02	
Travel	89.52	
Salary, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, one month	150.00	
Stenographic help	25.33	
TOTAL EXPENSES		$2,042.30
SURPLUS		578.31

* These contributions were sent after Mary Margaret McBride's program, on which Mrs. Tilly discussed the Fellowship of the Concerned.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

January 12, '51

Dear Mr. Wheeler,

I need some advice.

We have been getting up a report to Independent Aid about the use made of the 500 they gave us in mid 1950 for the special project called The Fellowship of the Concerned. Since then, as you know, they gave us a thousand for the general budget.

The recent article in Collier's and many other signs have made it seem that the Fellowship of the Concerned would grow mightily if it had enough money to make it stable in its clerical work and to provide some sort of assistant to Mrs. Tilly.

So in making the report on the Fellowship I coupled in a request for more funds, for it, from Independent Aid. But I have held back from sending in that request, to consult you. Would we be wisest to ask for several thousand for this, with a goodish chance of getting it; or should we ask for another thousand or so for our general budget, which is starving to death? I am to be in Durham about Jan. 25, and in N.Y. a couple of days later, and I'll hope to see both you and Mrs. Furst, (at Independent Aid). But if you can puzzle over this meanwhile, and write me what you think, I'll be extremely grateful. We ought to move while there is interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Independent Aid

ROOM 3400
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

January 15, 1951

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 12, and for the enclosures. I am glad to have the material you enclosed for our records here.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room #432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

ROOM 3400
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

DT ✓
GSM ✓

RECEIVED
FEB 15 1951
Southern Regional Council

February 13, 1951

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of February 8, written on behalf of the Fellowship of the Concerned. It would be completely out of line to suppose that Independent Aid could undertake a $15,700 project, even for a two year operation.

I will be glad, however, to bring your request to the attention of the Board when it meets again sometime in May.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

February 8, 1951

Mrs. Georgea Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

I sent to Independent Aid., Inc., on January 12 a report on the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The Southern Regional Council would like now to appeal for substantial aid to that program.

I attach a budget for a two-year operation.

I have not supposed that Independent Aid., Inc., would wish to put up the whole sum involved ($15,700 for the two years), but the Fellowship of the Concerned has proven value and promise a-plenty for us to feel justified in asking for a major part of the money needed.

I am sure Mrs. Tilly would be willing to go up to New York for an interview with you or with any members of your Board, if that would be helpful to Independent Aid in deciding.

Mrs. Tilly has within the last ten days been to a series of church women's meetings over Georgia at which the women reported on the results of their visits to the courts. We are all greatly impressed with what is being accomplished.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED - SUGGESTIONS AS TO NEXT STEPS AND A REQUEST TO INDEPENDENT AID, INC. FOR SUBSTANTIAL FURTHER AID.

The Fellowship of the Concerned has done a lot of good already, and certainly on a minimum of funds. Mrs. Tilly is deeply interested in it, and is prepared to make it practically her full-time activity, if ways can be found to sustain a broad enlargement of the program. It is really a most unusual thing: going down channels already cut, and pulsing activity and understanding where little was before. It has lived on less than a shoestring. And it depends for the time being on the special knack Mrs. Tilly has in calling forth response from the church women.

Clearly it ought to be expanded. It can and should reach nearly all of the Southern States. It cannot grow into that much of an enterprise without steady and flexible underpinning. That means it must have some clerical staff, and some travel money for Mrs. Tilly; it must be able to summon an annual meeting of the leading women; and it ought to have a competent person as assistant and in some sense understudy for Mrs. Tilly.

Here is what we estimate these things would cost:

A meeting of the women leaders, early in 1951 and again in 1952. Experience proves that to have such a meeting, there must be expense money available for eighteen or twenty of the women (many of them Negro women) at an average of $50. Per year.	$1,000.00
Travel for Mrs. Tilly, six trips at $150. Per year	900.00
A clerical assistant	2,600.00
Travel for assistant	300.00
Salary for Mrs. Tilly. Her present compensation is $1,800 a year from the Southern Regional Council, plus $600 a year from the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. She works for the job and (obviously) not for money, but she ought to be assured of a combined salary in excess of $2,400. In all fairness, it should be as much as $4,000, of which the Fellowship of the Concerned should bear $2,400, the Southern Regional Council from its general budget $1,000 (for her services in field organization for SRC) and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation $600. Added annual expense for Mrs. Tilly's salary	2,400.00
Postage	200.00
Printing and supplies	450.00
TOTAL ANNUAL COST	7,850.00

It would take at least two years for this expansion to be completed. We therefore propose a two-year program, at a total cost of $15,700.

We are in hopes that Independent Aid, Inc., will finance the major part of such an undertaking.

Independent Aid

May 9, 1951

Mrs. Georgea T. Furst
Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Furst:

How very nice to have today your letter of May 7 with its most kind and welcome contribution of $1000 from Independent Aid for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

It will assure the success of the September meeting of church women which Mrs. Tilly has been hoping to have, and with what besides has been found and can be found, we will get Mrs. Tilly additional clerical aid.

The Fellowship of the Concerned continues to be a very useful program, and we are deeply grateful for Independent Aid's support of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

INDEPENDENT AID, INC.
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

May 7, 1951

DearDr. Mitchell:

At a recent meeting of our Board your request on behalf of the Fellowship of the Concerned was considered. As I told you in an earlier letter it was impossible for the Board of Independent Aid to award the entire sum that you felt was required for Mrs. Tilly's work with the Fellowship of the Concerned. We hope, however, that you will find other means of raising the balance of the $7,850 annual budget so that Mrs. Tilly may look forward to increasing her activities and adding to her staff. Our check in the amount of $1000 NH is enclosed with this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Georgea T. Furst

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room #432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

MAY 9 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Doris Peike

October 18, 1951

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Hi! Look here. We sent you September 26 a copy of our request to the New York Foundation.

Here is another copy.

Milton Kulick called me yesterday and said that he had wind of probable success toward money help.

I continue to think our scheme is a mighty good one and continue to be grateful for your indispensable help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;ec

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1951
Southern Regional Council

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

JACOB BLAUSTEIN, *President*
IRVING M. ENGEL, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
HERBERT B. EHRMANN, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
GUSTAVE M. BERNE, *Treasurer*
MAURICE GLINERT, *Associate Treasurer*
EDWARD A. NORMAN, *Secretary*
JOHN SLAWSON, *Executive Vice-President*

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, *Honorary President*
HERBERT H. LEHMAN, *Honorary Vice-President*
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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*
JOSEPH WILLEN, *New York, Vice-President*

CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT • EDWIN J. LUKAS, *Director*

October 16, 1951

Dear George,

Naturally I am delighted that Independent Aid came through with a conditional grant.

I will discuss with Georgea Furst the prospect for the implementation of the findings of the Commission and will, at the same time, impress upon her the fact that the study phase of the project will not be protracted beyond the actual necessities of the situation.

I did not hear from you as to whether you made a formal presentation to the New York Foundation as I suggested a few weeks ago. I would appreciate your keeping me in touch with the situation so that I may be guided accordingly. I haven't yet heard from Mrs. Levy, so I will remind her again of your financial needs in the study.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EJL/al
Cc. to Mr. Milton Kulick

THE *Doris Duke* FOUNDATION

FORMERLY INDEPENDENT AID, INC.

THIS FOUNDATION is incorporated as a non-profit organization under the laws of the State of Delaware.

PURPOSE

The foundation's interests are primarily in the fields of education and welfare. It does not operate directly, but makes grants to other organizations and institutions.

FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

SOCIAL WELFARE

EDUCATION

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH

FINE ARTS

This Foundation operates on an annual grant, therefore, support for any undertaking is provided only on a year-to-year basis. Successful projects may, in certain cases, be subject to review and subsequent renewal.

APPLICATIONS

Applications may be made in writing or by interview with the Secretary.

Offices of the Foundation are in the Fuller Building, 41 East 57 Street, New York City, 22. Interviews may be made by appointment. Plaza 3-7231.

The Foundation has withdrawn from support of the following:

- Building and Endowment Funds
- Fellowships and Scholarships
- Grants-In-Aid to Individuals
- Sectarian Activities
- Publications

MEETINGS

The Board of Directors meets quarterly. Only those appeals received at least four weeks in advance of the meeting date are considered.

GEORGEA T. FURST
Secretary-Treasurer

OCTOBER 1951

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

May 3, 1954

The woman who is now in charge of the Doris Duke Foundation is Miss Theiss, 41 East 57th Street. I don't know her initials and know only that she did child welfare work in New York for a long time.

GSM

JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

May 10, 1954.

Dear George:

Since you were so kind as to call us "family" while you were in Hay. last time, may I transfer to use of your first name all of the respect and admiration which seems to require "Dr. M." –

Your suggestions re. punting sound so delightful and exactly the way we hope to see the country – will try to do – especially the strawberries and clotted cream!

Re: Miss Sophie Van S. Thies, Secretary –

She retired about a year ago from the State Charities Aid Association, where she was in charge of the adoption service, with title of assistant secretary.

JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

She was apparently very good at adoption, but not so good about "ces" — (my informant being Negro.) — apt to have stereotyped notions; the girl I asked is of the opinion that Miss Van T. needs a lot of education — Sounds like a perfect case for <u>you</u> — Is that enough of a line? can check some more if you wish.

Regards,

Gene.

August 28, 1954

Miss Sophie Van S. Thiess
Secretary
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Thiess:

I only saw today, in making up a list of ordered pamphlets, your most kind letter of August 4. We do appreciate your liking the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

September 9, 1954

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
Secretary
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Van Thies:

The Southern Regional Council wishes to propose to the Doris Duke Foundation a project helpful in this time of transition in the South.

Early in May of this year, with funds made available by the Fund for the Republic, our Council served as convener of a select gathering of Southern people who explored, painstakingly, the various things that the group brought out as helpful at this juncture in Southern life. I enclose a copy of the report of the Williamsburg meeting. (Incidentally, not a public document.)

If you will turn to pages eight and nine, you will see there, described under Item C, a first rough proposal of an information service. It is this project as it has grown in subsequent discussions which we would like to lay before the Doris Duke Foundation. —(insert P 8 - C - Wallenstein)

SRC'S INFORMATION FUNCTION:

Since the beginning of the Council in 1944, and in the days of the old Interracial Commission before it, this office has performed an important function in interpreting the South to individuals and groups that are influential in public opinion. This information function is in heavy demand by the following broad categories:

(1) Private and public agencies. Governmental, religious, labor, and civic organizations whose activities touch on the Southern racial scene frequently call on the Council for information and advice on which they can plan their programs soundly.

(2) News media. Newspaper men, magazine writers, radio and television programmers turn to the Council for authentic backgrounding in Southern race relations. Correspondents of the New York Times, Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Time, Newsweek, Harpers, the press wire services, as well as Southern newspaper men stop by here or telephone long distance many times in each year for briefing on matters within the Council's field of interest. By ill luck, too many of these and other publications send in a succession of young fellows but newly immersed in the South and needing literally days of educating on what it is all about. This steady drum beat of inquiry rises to peaks whenever there is some special news about the South, and we are swamped for weeks with inquiries from the news media.

(3) Foreign visitors. We have given an impressive sum total of hours and days to the stream of foreign visitors brought over in recent years by the State Department and other agencies. Many of these visitors make a bee-line for this office, and here get accurately laid out for them the geography, history, and current status of matters racial in the South. Secondary importance, perhaps, but a needed service.

Because we have kept in harness a few people who could answer these inquiries, we have been thus useful. But the organization has been too small to carry this load without neglecting other things that it should be doing.

INFORMATIONAL FILES:

What the Council has been able to do in the information field is back-dropped by what it is able to maintain on file as a running record of developments all over the South. Specifically, we have an extremely able man, Harold Fleming, as Assistant Director for Information and research; and one girl sociologist with scissors and subscriptions to eight or ten Southern papers (white and Negro) who cuts and files clippings, reads the current releases, digs into the Census, and sets up on hurried demand the facts that must be had. Fleming has to be in touch with the press and magazines, take some lead of working with the state people, and put in a great

deal of time on policy thinking. The informational files should be greatly enlarged, thoroughly systematized, and continuously processed to reveal the significant trends which are in them unperceived.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS:

Fortunately, we are about to be armed with a greatly expanded engine of fact-gathering about the South. The grant from the Fund for the Republic, described in the attached release, goes mainly into establishing in each of twelve Southern states (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky) paid staff under a volunteer citizen's organization. Obviously, as these organized movements get going in the states (most of them around November 1, 1954) they will have their programs in action in each state and can yield up to this central office an inclusive and delicately adjustable flow of fact and policy trend. Not so fortunately, we are armed with no means of bringing together and digesting this flow of information. The Fund for the Republic was willing to stake us to the necessary money for assisting state programs for three years, and less by a good deal than the minimum we need for coordinating that work from the central office.

RESEARCH INTERPRETATION:

There is another whole phase of the job that is, perforce, allowed to go by the board. That is what we call research interpretation. The Southern Regional Council has no ambition to become an engine of original research. We think that should be done by universities and other independent bodies, but it is sad to see the research field not yielding to the Council and to the South the needed essence. The truth is that until very recently indeed, the great bulk of research in inter-group relations has been done in Northern and Western places. The situations and the findings are cousins to what we have here, and with a little interpretation could be made quite useful within the South. This Council has a special knack of putting the academic language of outside research findings into the homely phrases which make it meaningful across the South. We would like to grow substantially in that service.

There is another aspect of the same thing. Our state action programs now a'borning will encounter, by the score and the hundreds, situations whose solution could be furthered if existing research knowledge were available; they will turn up new situations the answers to which could be worked out quite

helpfully by research people presently available in Southern colleges and universities. So, there should be modest staff in this office equipped with a knowledge of the leading research in the field and an understanding of the techniques and the personalities involved in the various institutions whose services would be available; who could piece together from our own and other on-going action programs the trends; and help plan in which areas research within the South should be launched. Ideally, such a program would be quite large; we should have three or four highly skilled people and a principal social scientist, reading what is available already and what comes up currently, rewriting it for Southern use; and singling out, in cooperation with our own field people, the new thinking as to which inquiries should be begun. That is a dream, and we would propose something much more modest.

NEW SOUTH:

This combined service of information and interpretation, sketchily performed as it has been in the past, has a convenient organ in our small monthly magazine, New South. We use it to bring the South abreast of what is going on within the area. The daily and weekly press in the South do a poor job of informing the region of change in the field of race relations. When there is something up, there may be a spot of news. But you won't find a Nashville paper or a Dallas paper, or a Birmingham paper persistently observing and recounting the development of a movement in Greensboro, the attitudes and community relations behind it, the mounting series of events over a run of months.

That is a job which we do. Experience has shown us that it is this kind of analytical informing which leads communities to copy what is done somewhere else. Southern towns hold back from being the first. If we can show them that a thing right to do has been done in four towns and has been accepted, then town number five takes hold and acts in the same way. I could cite instance after instance in matters of police administration, the conduct of courts of law, the handling of Negro news in the daily press, elections or appointment of Negro citizens to local office, and so on. New South as yet is no great shakes circulation-wise. We print forty-five hundred copies of each issue. But it goes to all the leading papers in the South and to a choice 3,000 people who carry the conscience of the region on these matters, and it makes a dent. We will be requiring those who join our re-organized state movements to become, also, subscribers to New South. We expect its subscription list will grow to six or even ten thousand within a year

or so. Thus it will be an established organ, with a reputation for accuracy and sobriety, reaching those people across the South who are interested in getting change accomplished.

A project of providing the Council with minimum service in information and interpretation could be a compact and separable unit within the Southern Regional Council. We would be glad to undertake that the method of filing should be worked out in cooperation with someone in one of the great university libraries in the South. And we would further undertake that, in the event of the disbandment of the Southern Regional Council in any unhappy circumstances not now anticipated, the entire collection would be turned over as an organized body of fact to the chosen university. We know that the library at Duke University has a particular interest in material of this kind from over the South. With agreement all around we would be happy to covenant that the Duke University Library should be the ultimate repository of the collected material. Indeed such a long-range purpose could be furthered and safeguarded by giving the collection a distinctive name within the Southern Regional Council.

The question will arise whether this proposed service duplicates the work of the office recently established at Nashville, Tennessee, with assistance from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, to assist Southern newspapers to do a more adequate job of reporting developments in the special field of the public schools and the compliance with the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation.

We are in touch with that effort and will be a recipient of its materials. It is working out a relationship with research people in order that the news as gathered by them may be carried into the research needs of scholars. It is, specifically and narrowly, an undertaking in the field of the public schools in the South as matters of race relate to them. Our proposal wouldn't duplicate what they are doing, but would be additional to that effort and much broader in scope.

The truth is that the Council cannot fully accomplish its proper task without the advantage of a more adequate information service. With it we would feel secure in contributing soundly, reasonably, and accurately, to the growth within the South of modern attitudes on the questions of special interest to the region and its people.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
INFORMATION SERVICE

PROPOSED BUDGET:

Social Scientist	$ 6,500.00
Clerical Assistants	6,000.00
Materials, books, periodicals	500.00
Travel and communications	2,000.00
Annual Total	$15,000.00
Three year Total	$45,000.00

SUMMARY:

This proposal will provide three distinct services to the Southern area:

1) It will meet the current pressing need for an information service which will gather, correlate, interpret, and disseminate a running account of events taking place in the South.

2) It will provide for the interpretation of research findings in the field of social relations which is important to the peaceful transition from a segregated system to an unsegregated one.

3) It will establish a permanent file of information ~~at a Southern University~~ which will be of inestimable value to scholars, action agencies, and newspaper people.

Important among the areas to be covered by such a service would be: the administration of justice, police practices, housing, health, education, employment opportunities, labor union practices, governmental participation, and the attitudes and practices of church groups and other voluntary organizations on matters of race.

No group or organization is better set up to organize this proposed service than the Southern Regional Council with its long and respected record of work and publishing in the field of race relations and Southern progress.

The Doris Duke Foundation can make a real contribution to the furtherence of democratic practices in the South at this critical time of transition when the mores of the South are changing and where we seek social transition without social disorganization.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/a
Enclosure

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
9/27/54
Southern Regional Council

September 24, 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Miss Theis asked me to acknowledge your letter of September 22nd. She will be glad to see you on Tuesday, October 19, at 11:00 A.M. If this is not a convenient time for you, why don't you telephone the office upon your arrival in New York and we will try to arrange some other hour during the day. The telephone number is Pl.3-7231.

I have noted this for attention
eb.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland
Secretary to Miss Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

September 22, 1954

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
Secretary
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Van Thies:

I get a ride to New York from the Herald Tribune Forum, for the evening of October 18.

If I came to see you on the morning of the 19th, could I hope to catch you there?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 14, 1954

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Thies:

You very kindly said I might come to see you Tuesday morning, October 19th at 11:00. The Herald-Tribune Forum, without letting me know ahead of time scheduled a hold-over session for the speakers on that same Tuesday morning, beginning at 10:00 at Hunter College. As they pay the freight for getting me up there, I feel obligated to go. Howsoever, I have found a way to arrive in New York Sunday night, the 17th, which gives me the morning of the 18th somewhat free.

I will call your office Monday morning and see whether it will be possible for me to come during the course of Monday morning, or whether it would be agreeable for me to come at some other time when you would be available. And, if need be, I will depart from the Trib's meeting to get to your office on Tuesday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

October 30, 1954

Dictated October 29

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
Secretary
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Thies:

You will be glad to know that the Field Foundation has made an allocation to the Southern Regional Council for expansion of our magazine, New South, totaling $15,000 to be distributed during 1955-56-57, in the amount of $7,000 in January, 1955, $5,000 in January, 1956, and $3,000 in January, 1957. This assures our getting out the magazine in improved form.

So the more shall we be in need of the expanded flow of information and the staff for the interpretive job that we applied to the Doris Duke Foundation for.

I do greatly hope that the Doris Duke Foundation can find a way to come to our aid in this matter for at least a year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 29, 1954

(Dictated November 24)

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

How very much we appreciate the Doris Duke Foundation's grant of $10,000 for our information service for the coming year.

We quite understand that the grant is made without any commitment as to later extension to this program.

The check comes in at just the right time. We had a meeting of our Board November 10, and a good deal of uneasiness was expressed there about the difficulties this central office confronted in providing a policy lead to our fledgling twelve state organization The Doris Duke Foundation has made, we believe, a most strategic contribution.

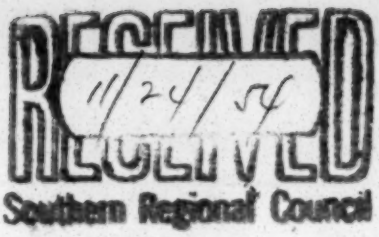
We will be letting you know as to progress with the information service.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.



November 19, 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very glad to be able to tell you that The Doris Duke Foundation made a grant of $10,000 toward your Information Service. The Foundation asked me, however, to tell you that this grant is for this coming year with no commitment as to the next two years during which you need support for the continuation of this special project.

With very best wishes to you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room #432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

(Enc.)

February 25, 1955

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Van Thies:

I send you a couple of copies of the January and February issues of New South. You will see that each reflects already the more costly job of printing and makeup which the Marshall Field grant enables; and we expect that in the coming months we can bring about a notable improvement in coverage with the proceeds of the Doris Duke Fund's mighty helpful grant.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encls.
GSM/eab

May 20, 1955

TO: HCF

This is Katherine Stoney's official figuring of the arrangements about the Duke grant.

/eab
Encl.

August 1, 1955

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Thies:

Here is a recent quarterly report from the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

AUG 8 1955

August 5, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending us the Quarterly Report of the Southern Regional Council. Miss Theis is on vacation and will return after Labor Day at which time I will call the Report to her attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland
Secretary to Miss Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Sep 9. '55

RHA
from
GSM.

On Sept. 27 I will be meeting the Davis Duke & the Waterhall Field people.

Please give me about Sept 19 a breakdown of what we have spent from the two funds.

GSM.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

GSM to KS May 6, '1

Subject to your views, HCF and GSM can agree on the following use of the Doris Duke grant

We think it important to be able to offer each person coming on our payroll chargeable to this project a full year's work. To that end, we suggest regarding the cut-off date of the project as March 15, 1956, though there would still be in the grant enough to carry forward for their full twelve months any additional persons employed from that grant (and presumably such persons would go on about June 1, '55) I will be asking the DD people for renewed funds in 1956, in any case. But even if not got, there would still be the sum available to complete the year's guarantee of work for the others.

Subject to that arrangement, we propose that the 10,000 be budgeted for expenditure as follows

Constable, 12 mos from Mar 15 '55	4000
Replacement for AH, coming on about June 1, at 4000, one half of such salary to be charged to DD	2000
A clerk, entirely chargeable to DD, 12 mos from about June 1	3000

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Total	9000
Materials	500
Balance of the 10,000 (500) to cover equipment, social security, and small unforeseen incidentals	500
TOTAL	10,000

This has the net effect of relieving SRC's general budget by seven months of one half of a 4,000 salary during the calendar year 1955 and of relieving our F for R budget year (to September 30, 1955) of a little in excess of 700 (presuming our intent to replace AH at an early date)

TO: GSM

FROM: KS

Re - Duke Grant

I thinkthe follow figures will show you the exact state of the Duke grant as related to your proposal made in conference with Harold.

Amount of grant		$ 10,000.00
Allocated from grant for Salaries	$ 9,000.00	
Spent to date	458.24	
	8,541.76	
Allocated for salary, JC 10½ mos.	3,499.96	
Allocated for salary, clerk 12 mos	3,000.00	
Allocated for ½ salary, research 12 mos.	2,000.00	
	8,499.96	
Balance for salary	8,541.76	
Allocated for salary	8,499.96	
Surplus on salary, J.C. (not for full year)	41.80	
Allocated for materials	$ 500.00	
Spent to date	284.18	
Balance	215.82	
Allocated for other expenses	500.00	
Speht for equipt. $120.60		
Spent for SS 9.16		
Allocated for SS 170.00		
299.76	299.76	
Balance for other expenses	$ 200.24	

Duke Grant

as of May 1, 1955

Org. amt -		10,000.00
spent - salary (+SS)	467.40	
Eqpt	120.60	
materials	284.18	
		872.18
Bal -		9127.82

Proposal -

Salary - Constable to 3/15 - 1956 - 16½ mos @ 33333	3499.96
salary - Clerk	3000.00
½ sal - Research	2000.00
	8499.96

Bal due on mat.	215.82
~~Bal due on SS -~~	
~~Bal needed for SS.~~	
Bal due on extra - 37340	
less - needed for SS 17000	
20340	

SS - for above	170.00
Bal due for extra	203.40
	9089.18
plus extra on sal for J.C. - because not quite up.	38.64
	9127.82

PRESENT STATUS
OF THE
DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION GRANT
SEPT. 15, 1955

TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANT			$10,000
ALLOCATED FOR SALARIES			
SALARIES PAID TO SEPT. 15, 1955		9,000.00	
EDITONAL ASSISTANT (6 mos.)	1.958.18		
RESEARCH ASSISTANT (1/2 mo.)	37.37		
CLERK (2 1/2 months)	441.00		
TOTAL SALARIES PAID		2,436.55	
			6,563.45
ALLOCATED FOR BOOKS & SUBS.		500.00	
TOTAL SPENT TO SEPT. 15, 1955		362.66	
BALANCE FOR BOOKS & SUBSCRIPTIONS			137.34
ALLOCATED FOR OTHER EXPENSE		500.00	
EQUIPMENT	120.60		
SOCIAL SECURITY	48.75	169.35	
BALANCE FOR OTHER EXPENSES			330.65
BALANCE IN DUKE GRANT SEPT. 15, 1955			7,031.44
SALARIES FOR SEPT. 30, 1955			
EDITORAL ASST.	166.66		
RESEARCH (½)	83.33		
S. S.	5.00		
			254.99
		BALANCE OCT. 1,	6,776.45

C & S SAVING 6,850.00

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

TO Jan 1, 1956

4 | 4000 = 1,000 edit Asst

4 | 2000 = 500 Res. Asst

4 | 2400 = 600 Clerk

Total Salaries	2,100
S.S.	42
Books + Subs (est)	100
Equipment, etc	200
Total Exp to 1-1-56	2442

6776.45
2442.00
4334.45 - Anticipated Carryover

11,500.00 (Allows 1500 for increases)
4,334.45
7,165.55 - Request

September 19, 1955

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Thies:

I get a trip to New York September 27th, 28th, and 29th, mostly to do a job for the Northern Presbyterians.

I would like to come in and report on what we have been doing with your help.

Would there be a suitable time on the 27th, or perhaps on the morning of the 28th of September?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 9th)

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SEP 24 1955

September 22, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of September 19th. I shall be happy to see you Tuesday, September 27, at 11:00 A.M., if this is convenient for you.

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RA.

September 26, 1955

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

I ask your pardon for not giving you earlier a reasonably detailed report of our progress under the much appreciated grant of $10,000 this year from the Doris Duke Foundation, to strengthen our flow of informational material. It has been only lately that we have completed the staff which the grant enabled us to take on, and therefore it is only in the last few weeks that we have reached peak activity in the program.

The first step in putting the program into effect was the employment in March 1955, of Mr. John Constable as Editorial Assistant. A youngish North Carolinian, who went through the high school at Winston Salem and on to Chapel Hill, from which he graduated in 1950. A graduate degree in journalism from the University of Georgia. Three years in the Navy. Worked a while on a county weekly in Georgia, and took a job with the Atlanta Constitution in 1952, where he worked until he joined us. He has been invaluable in the miscellaneous informational work of the Council, and in helping to get out the magazine.

Early this month we took on Miss Florence Irving as Research Assistant. Another North Carolinian. She went to high school in Raleigh and on to Spelman College in Atlanta, and then for a graduate degree in business administration at the University of Chicago. She held government jobs for three years, worked in private business and the Raleigh branch of the NAACP, and has taught at A. and T. College in Greensboro for the last five years. Has had a long association with the American Friends Service Committee in the North Carolina area, and abroad. Miss Irving is skilled in analysis of other people's research, which is a much used skill in this office. She is hard at work now, sorting, reorganizing, and cataloging our considerable body of reference materials (documents, books, periodicals, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings). The Library of Duke University has agreed that they will take over this collection at some unstated future date when the Council may be able to deposit it in this way. Miss Irving is to make a trip later on in the year to the Duke Library, with a view to setting up the files in a way adaptable to the system in use in that library.

Though we are only thus lately fully staffed in the information service, we have perforce drawn on an understaffed service for a great volume of fact. You can imagine that in these particular months in the South the Council's general staff has been called upon for any amount of field work, speechmaking, consultation with individuals and organizations, and contacts with the press. All of this is helpful in proportion as the staff persons are informed of the stage of progress reached elsewhere in the South and in the nation.

The Marshall Field Foundation gave us three years of support for the publication of New South, on a diminishing program of $7,000, $5,000 and $3,000, beginning with 1955. We send copies of this year's issues, and you can see that it has at least overcome the drabness of our years of austerity. The Doris Duke Foundation grant has helped us enormously in improving the content and editorial preparation of the magazine. Such major articles as the February one on higher education, the April one on parks, and the May one on baseball are obviously the result of careful study and analysis. The drawing together of soundly documented precedents for integration is a uniquely effective way of stimulating further change in the South. We got each issue of New South out to the apt public officials and others with a special interest or responsibility in the field dealt with. And it goes to the South's leading newspaper editors and to key persons chosen by our affiliated state organizations.

The information service is helpful to our developing state organizations. We have twelve of them at work now with paid staff. A few are more than a year old, but most are younger than that, and with new staff they need and use quite a lot of teaching and fact in how to get their own programs understood in the twelve states.

Again we do a thriving business in informing press people. We are habitually turned to by newspaper men and magazine writers for both facts and interpretation of the Southern scene. This is an unparalleled opportunity to get a constructive viewpoint before a mass audience. During 1955, the Assistant Director for Information and the Editorial Assistant have devoted many hours to this kind of briefing. The days and weeks immediately following the May 31st ruling of the Supreme Court were a time of particularly intensive work with the press. Obviously, the existence of up-to-date reference files and the availability of seasoned information staff are the keys to effective use of these opportunities.

Pretty much all of that part of the stream of foreign visitors to this country who have an interest in racial or Southern matters end up in this office. Files, materials, and informed staff are essential to meeting their needs.

One more service is getting out to our staff people and to the Board members and other interested persons a not inconsiderable flow of published materials. Some we buy in quantity, some are made available to us without purchase. It takes a nice judgment and no small amount of critical effort to get appropriate distribution of these documents and pamphlets reporting the experience of others in favor of desegregation.

Now for some fiscal accounting: The grant of $10,000 was made for the calendar year 1955. Internally we allocated $9,000 for salaries, $500 for books and subscriptions, and $500 for other expenses. As of September 30, 1955, we will have spent:

Salaries	$2,686.54	
Books and Subscriptions	362.66	
Equipment and Social Security	174.33	
Total		$3,223.53

Prospective balance as of October 1, $6,776.47.

Anticipated expenditures for the months of October, November, and December in this calendar year come to $2,442. This gives us a prospective carry-over into the calendar year 1956, of $4,334.47. At our present level of expenditures, which is about what we wish to maintain for the program, we are paying out a little more than $800 a month. The balance available in calendar year 1956 should therefore run us five months into that year, or through May.

The program ought, if at all possible, to be carried at least through the calendar year 1956. This continues to be a crisis period in the South and the Council would lose its rudder if it were not able to receive and classify the flow of fact and interpretation which the Doris Duke Foundation grant makes possible.

To carry it through the coming year (allowing modest and just salary increases for the principal persons employed in the program) would cost $7,200 over and above what will remain unspent in the fund January 2, 1956.

In short, you have given us the funds to carry the program through May 1956. We would like to run it forward through December 1956, and the additional expense of doing that is $7,200. We are quite aware that in making the original grant to us, the Doris Duke Foundation specifically did not commit itself to any further support for the project, but it is doing a useful job at a time when there is great need, and we earnestly hope that the Foundation will see its way clear to help us with it through 1956. (We are willing to undertake not to address ourselves to the Doris Duke Foundation for any further aid for this program after the coming calendar year.)

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. New South, Jan-Aug '55

cc: RA ✓

PRESENT STATUS
OF THE
DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION GRANT
SEPT. 15, 1955

TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANT			$10,000
ALLOCATED FOR SALARIES			
SALARIES PAID TO SEPT. 15, 1955		9,000.00	
EDITONAL ASSISTANT (6 mos.)	1.958.18		
RESEARCH ASSISTANT (1/2 mo.)	37.37		
CLERK (2 1/2 months)	441.00		
TOTAL SALARIES PAID		2,436.55	
			6,563.45
ALLOCATED FOR BOOKS & SUBS.		500.00	
TOTAL SPENT TO SEPT. 15, 1955		362.66	
BALANCE FOR BOOKS & SUBSCRIPTIONS			137.34
ALLOCATED FOR OTHER EXPENSE		500.00	
EQUIPMENT	120.60		
SOCIAL SECURITY	48.75	169.35	
BALANCE FOR OTHER EXPENSES			330.65
BALANCE IN DUKE GRANT SEPT. 15, 1955			7,031.44
SALARIES FOR SEPT. 30, 1955			
EDITORAL ASST.	166.66		
RESEARCH (½)	83.33		
S. S.	5.00		
			254.99
		BALANCE OCT. 1,	6,776.45

C & S SAVING 6,850.00

Balance in Duke Grant Sept. 15, 1955 — 7,031.44

Salaries for Sept. 30, 1955

Editorial asst.	166.66	
Research (1/2)	83.33	
S.S.	5.00	
		254.99
		6,776.45

254.99 Bal. Oct. 1,

~~Savings 6,850.00~~

C+S Saving 6,858.00

Present Status of the
Doris Duke Foundation Grant
Sept. 15, 1955

Total Amount of Grant			$10,000.
Allocated for Salaries		9,000.00	
Salaries paid to Sept. 15, 1955			
Editorial Assistant (6 mos.)	1,958.18		
Research Assistant (1/2)	37.37		
Clerk (2 1/2 months)	441.00		
Total Salaries paid		2,436.55	
Balance for Salaries		~~6,563.45~~	6,563.45
Allocated for Books & Subs.		500.00	
Total spent to Sept. 15, 1955		362.66	
Balance for Books & Subscriptions		~~137.34~~	137.34
Allocated for Other Expense		500.00	
Equipment	120.60		
Social Security	48.75	169.35	
Balance for Other Expenses		~~330.65~~	330.65

October 4, 1955
(Dictated October 3rd)

HCF:

When I saw Miss Theis, I reached the conclusion that it would be helpful on the occasion of Miss Irving's visit to the Librarian at Duke for her to seek out, possibly by appointment, Dr. Wilburt Davison, Head of the Duke Hospital. He is a member of the Board of the Doris Duke Foundation. And in Southern matters a most influential one.

It would probably assist our application if he had that much contact with the work underway. Will you be careful to try to arrange this when Miss Irving goes up to Duke.

GSM/eab

October 17, 1955

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

We would greatly like it if you would plan a Southern tour, and make some stops at places that would put you in touch with what the Southern Regional Council is doing. I am sure that there are many other things you would want to include in a Southward run.

If you came on the train, convenient stops would be Richmond, Charlotte, Atlanta, Montgomery, and New Orleans. Southward from Richmond you would need to take the Southern Railroad into Charlotte and into Atlanta, and so on down.

At Richmond you would get a friendly welcome from John Marion, who is the Executive Director of the newish Virginia Council on Human Relations, 100 East Franklin Street, telephone number 3-8538.

At Charlotte, the man would be Harry S. Jones at 121 East Third Street, Room 209, telephone number FRanklin 6-6833.

Atlanta contains our central office, and also the office of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation of which Mr. Guy Wells is the Executive Director. Same building with us here at 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., telephone number ALpine 4063.

In Montgomery the Alabama Council on Human Relations is run by a young Methodist clergyman named Robert Hughes, with offices at Room 206, Moore Building, Court Street, telephone number 2-0450.

In New Orleans, the Louisiana Council has an office at 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, telephone number MAgnolia 4295. The Executive Director is Milton C. Vigo.

If you wanted to go out into Texas or Arkansas, I could give you the names of people there.

Correspondingly, if you went back toward New York via the Mississippi Valley, we have an office at Louisville for the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. Mr. Hugh Brimm is for the moment the part-time Director with offices at 1319 Heyburn Building, telephone number not presently available.

Virginia would give you a good picture of the upper South. North Carolina would show a mixture between upper South tendencies and lower South hangovers. In Atlanta we could tell you about the whole South. And the Georgia Committee could explain this state. In Montgomery you would be near the old Plantation Belt of the South so important historically to understanding present trends. I am sure Mr. Hughes would be glad to drive you out in the country and let you see how that society was organized twenty years back.

New Orleans is a joy in itself. I find Louisiana a pretty complicated nut to crack, but Mr. Vigo would be glad to explain the whole state to you.

We have got other offices in Daytona Beach, Florida, and Jackson, Mississippi, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Little Rock, Arkansas, and you would be welcome at any of them at all.

Anyway, if you will come down, we will get you more instructed than you probably want to be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 31, 1955

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Theis:

Week before last, the Attorney General of Georgia, one Eugene Cook, made a speech to the Georgia Peace Officers Association. Most of it was an ill-based diatribe against the NAACP. But toward the end he took a passing swipe at us. We issued some public replies which are enclosed, and have circulated to people influential in opinion making over the state the longer manuscript, a copy of which is also enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

NOV 7 1955

November 4, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for copies of the material issued in reply to Attorney General Cook's attack. I read them with interest and admired the ability to exercise such restraint.

I had meant to write earlier to thank you for the detailed itinerary you made out for me. Perhaps some day I'll have a look in at one or two of the Councils. If I do I shall of course let you know in advance.

Best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

December 14, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. H. C. Fleming

FROM: Florence B. Irving

This is a convenient time for supplying you with a brief progress report since December 12th marked the completion of a quarter's association with the Southern Regional Council. A considerable portion of this period was one of orientation in which it was possible to become better acquainted with the Council's objectives and its areas and methods of action. Quantitatively this seemed to have been an unproductive interval, but it was no doubt basic for a comprehensive understanding of the work to be done.

Initial activities included an examination of our newspaper clippings, materials files and pamphlets. It was necessary to classify the latter and effect an inventory and a physical transfer to newly acquired metal pamphlet files. The inventory disclosed that we have approximately fifteen hundred titles in our pamphlet collection. The classification was according to subject areas which you, John Constable and I decided would best fit our needs. In addition to the metal pamphlet files, catalogue units have been secured, and the construction of wall shelves to supplement our bookcases is planned.

A trip to the Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina was arranged for November 22, 1955 in order that I might confer with the staff on methods of handling our materials and the correlation of our system with theirs. Conferences were held with the Librarian, Dr. B. E. Powell, and with Mrs. C. Pierce, Reference Librarian, Miss Covington, Director of Subject Cataloguing, and Miss Merritt, Head of Technical Processing. Information on a number of valuable techniques and sources of information was gathered, and the cataloguing of our collection has been in process since returning from Duke University.

The visit to Duke University also afforded opportunities for talking with Dr. W. C. Davison, dean of the Medical School (and a member of the board of the Doris Duke Foundation) and Dr. H. Shelton Smith, a member of the Divinity School Faculty who works closely with the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Though Dr. Davison's time was rationed, he was cordial and quite interested in having first hand information on our activities. Dr. Smith was more interested in discussing the tenor of race relations in the South, making some optimistic prophecies, and praising the Council.

Considerable headway has been made in the clipping of the backlog of periodicals (as well as current ones) and the classification and filing of these items. Much of the credit for this is due to Miss Yvonne Southall who was transferred to the Research Office early in November (November 7th?) and who assists generallywith the activities of the office.

Since Mid-November many of the letter requests for information have been turned over to the Research Office. An average of three per day have been answered during this time. Approximately half of these letters seem to emanate from students or persons who do not identify their association or purpose and merely seek specific publications of ours and/or guidance in obtaining desired information. Most of the other letters are from teachers, community leaders (apparently) and organizations that seemingly wish information which may promote thought, discussion, and action on pertinent questions affecting racial conditions in the South. Some of these requests require the compilation of a report from information we have in our collection or from local libraries. The necessity for individual research in each instance is reduced since I am attempting to keep current the bibliography and the lists in areas of employment, professional associations, interracial advisory committees, desegregated institutions, etc., maintained by the previous research assistant. In addition to the mail requests some telephone inquiries (from individuals, a local newspaper, press associations) have been handled. Also a few persons (such as Mrs.

Birnie, Dr. Richardson) have come directly to the office for information.

The Research Office services requests made by the staff of the Council. To date, the majority of these have come from Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Fleming and have included inquiries on such matters as desegregated public schools, integrated golf courses, dismissals of ministers, segregation laws, etc. The major report under way now (and practically complete) is the compilation of all civil rights cases involving Southern communities that have been heard in the courts since 1944. Items are also being considered for New South's "Clouded Crystal Ball" feature. Other miscellaneous duties have included writing publishers and organizations for publications and information desired by the Council.

GROUPS SERVICED DIRECTLY BY RESEARCH OFFICE

Methodist Publishing House, Dallas, Texas

League of Women Voters of Georgia

Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, Norfolk, Virginia

United Press

Atlanta Constitution

America's Textile Reporter

HIGHER INSTITUTIONS AT WHICH FACULTY OR STUDENTS WERE SERVICED

Mercer University

University of Georgia

St. Augustine's College

Meredith College

Yale University

University of Pennsylvania

State Teachers College (Lowell, Massachusetts)

East Montana School of Education

Foundation - Duke

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis,
The Doris Duke Foundation,
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street,
New York 27, NEW YORK.

December 15th, 1955.

Dear Miss Theis,

Two items in this letter: (1) Some further report, (2) request that our September 26th, '55 come up officially, as a request for an additional grant for the informational service provided by SRC with the proceeds of the former grant.

By way of a further report:

We rented in our present building an additional office, installed Miss Florence Irving in it, and later provided her with an assistant, Miss Yvonne Southall. Got in some new filing cases for the pamphlets and clips, dug out a couple of fumed-oak bookcases, and ordered some shelving. So this Service has its own unit of space, and personnel, and some spirit of being a special part of the Council.

Miss Irving duly went up to the Duke Library, in late November. The Librarian, Dr. B. E. Powell, was most cordial, and arranged for her to talk at length with the Reference Librarian, the Director of Subject Cataloguing, and the Head of Technical Processing - three different ladies, who were generous in explaining their techniques and cataloguing methods.

Miss Irving also, at my request, sought an interview with Dr. Davison, who though busy most kindly gave her not a few minutes of time, and heard with evident interest of the special collection which Miss Irving works at.

(I hazard a guess that the Librarian at Duke was glad of an opportunity to introduce in the person of Miss Irving, who had quasi-official status, the edges of integration in the servicing of the Library).

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis,
The Doris Duke Foundation.

December 15th, 1955.

The new little office has catalogued a collection of some 1500 pamphlets, done mountains of back filing on clippings, and is keeping us current with the information contained in twenty-odd leading periodicals in this field. They sort away several hundred clippings a month.

We get used, as desired.

The Supreme Court decision on recreational facilities brought a rush of business: the Mayor of Atlanta, the Atlanta Constitutions, the A. P. and the U. P. all had to know in a hurry just what other cities in the South had done about golf courses and parks, and how the legal decisions stood.

Time Magazine, and the U.P. came in for info. on desegregated schools at military bases.

The little office digs up the dope for, and answers the letters from some 60 inquiries a month, coming from students, school board people, ministers, and organizations - mostly on racial questions. Takes time, but the people evidently appreciate having the facts.

A good many people need round-up info.; how many towns and cities have done this, or that? How many have citizens' committees at work on the schools question? We can give the answers - now!

SRC itself makes the major use of the service - as we had always intended. It helps enormously in getting out New South; it serves us all in doing articles for outside publications, and it puts the punch-facts into the (too many) speeches that we get called on to make.

So we think we have a good thing going, its use is expanding rapidly (and certain to keep on growing), and we have good people, and a good link with Duke Library, for an ultimate disposition of the collection.

By way of further request:

We will run out of funds, in April or May of 1956. The need for the service provided continues, and grows. It would take another 7,000 to run it through calendar 1956. We do now ask your Board to be good enough to consider providing such a sum for 1956. It is to be remembered that your grant and one from the Marshall Field Foundation tie in together; they help New South, and you help the backlog of information which makes New South (and our other informational services) do their job.

Appreciatively yours,

GSM:rl.

(Dr.George S. Mitchell, Exec.Dir.)

PRESENT STATUS OF THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION GRANT

December 15, 1955

TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANT				$10,000.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1955				3,223.55
BALANCE, OCTOBER 1, 1955				$ 6,776.45
Balance allocated for salaries, Oct. 1, 1955		$6,313.46		
Salaries: October 1-December 31, 1955				
Editorial Assistant	$1,083.32			
Research Assistant (½)	499.98			
Clerk	675.00	2,258.30	$2,258.30	
BALANCE FOR SALARIES AS OF JANUARY 1, 1956		4,055.16		
Balance allocated for Books & Subscriptions, October 1, 1955		137.34		
Books & Subscriptions: October 1-December 31, 1955		25.81	25.81	
BALANCE FOR BOOKS & SUBSCRIPTIONS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1956		111.53		
Balance allocated for other expenses, October 1, 1955		325.65		
Office supplies & equipment	141.69			
Social Security Taxes	105.17	246.86	246.86	
BALANCE FOR OTHER EXPENSES AS OF JANUARY 1, 1956		78.79		
Total disbursements: October 1-December 31, 1955				$ 2,590.97
SURPLUS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1956				$ 4,245.48

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED DEC 22 1955

December 19, 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of December 15, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. Your appeal will be referred for review.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland
Secretary to Miss Sophie Van S. Theis

Dr. G.S.Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

January 17, 1956

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

We are endlessly grateful to the Doris Duke Foundation for its grant and check.

We think your help is doing somewhere near its full measure of good. But a promise to do some good with some money is not always rewarded with the money.

As the beginning of a thank you, I send you a copy of a recent Quarterly Report to the members of our Board of Directors.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

Foundations
D. D.

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED JAN 16 1956

January 12, 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am very glad to be able to tell you that The Doris Duke Foundation at its recent meeting made a grant of $7,000 for the Information Service of the Southern Regional Council. The Foundation asked me to tell you that this is a terminal grant. Enclosed, herewith, is the check.

With all good wishes to you with your many problems, I am,

CR $7,000.00
rha

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Dr. G. S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

(Enc.)

P.S. Please send us a Treasurer's Receipt for our files

Foundations - Doris Duke

MEMO

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

RE: DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION grant

I notice that in Sophie Van S. Theis' letter sending the $7,000, she said that her Board made the gift as a terminal grant. So that is the end of money from that source for the research program. But let us conspire for alternative continuation.

GSM

To RHA
from GSM

I have talked with HCF about the matter of our buying a duplicator. Costs 350 or a bit less, time you get the tax in it. I suggest we take half the cost out of our regular SRC office suppl ies and equipment budget for fiscal 55-56; and t'other half out of the Doris Duke 1955-56 grant. HCF is ok. If our budget is just in awful shape HCF would put of a larger proportion; I hope not GSM

Jan 24. '56 GSM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Comparison of 1955-56 Budget with Actual
Income and Expenditures as of December 31, 1955

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

	Budget 1955-56	Actual as of 12/31/55	Percent of Budget realized
INCOME:			
Contributions from Individuals, organization , churches, etc.	$ 14,000.00	$ 1,542.00	11.0 %
Dues	500.00	26.00	5.2 %
New South Subscriptions	6,000.00	1,666.00	27.7 %
Sale of Literature	3,000.00	368.96	12.3 %
Honoraria	1,000.00	200.58	20.0 %
Interest Income	800.00	300.00	37.5 %
Fund for the Republic	25,000.00	25,000.00	100.0 %
Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds	12,100.00	12,100.00	100.0 %
Surplus 1954-55 (Estimated)	2,500.00	2,500.00	100.0 %
Sub Total	$ 64,900.00		
Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget	28,180.00	-0-	-0-
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	$ 43,703.54	46.9 %

	Budget 1955-56	Actual as of 12/31/55	Percent of Budget expended
EXPENSES:			
Salaries	$ 61,600.00	$ 15,143.75	24.5 %
Social Security Tax	800.00	163.01	20.3 %
Travel	7,500.00	1,674.35	22.3 %
Printing New South & Postage	6,500.00	1,332.17	20.4 %
Printing other	2,000.00	53.90	2.6 %
Rent	1,680.00	420.00	25.0 %
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	705.21	28.0 %
Postage	2,000.00	272.41	13.0 %
Books and Subscriptions	300.00	52.23	17.0 %
Accounting Fees	500.00	140.00	28.0 %
Insurance & Miscellaneous Expense	300.00	80.95	27.0 %
Office Supplies	2,900.00	342.54	11.8 %
Annual Meeting & Exec. Com. Meetings	2,000.00	1,099.06	54.9 %
Special Meetings in Connection with Women's Work	2,500.00		0.0 %
Consultants Fees		507.50	--
Office Alterations (1954-55)		200.00	--
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	$ 22,187.08	23.8 %

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Staff Forecast of Income for Remainder
of Current Fiscal Year (October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956)
And Statement of Income Received to Date

Budget for 1955-56		$ 93,080.00
* Amount received from individuals organizations, foundations, subscriptions, miscellaneous sources to date	$ 17,250.00	
Surplus 1954-55 (Cash Balance)	2,500.00	
Fund for Republic	25,000.00	
Unallocated State Funds	4,000.00	
Carry over from Duke & Field Funds	9,000.00	
Sub Total on hand	$ 57,750.00	
** Amount clearly expectable	16,600.00	
Total Amount raised or expectable as of this date		$ 74,350.00
Contributions to be raised during remainder of fiscal year		$ 18,730.00

* Amount raised to date:	
Marshall Field	$ 5,000.00
Duke Fund	7,000.00
Whitney Fund	1,000.00
Small Foundations	300.00
Episcopal Church	1,000.00
Personal Contributions	300.00
Associate Members	50.00
New South Subscriptions	2,000.00
Honoraria	300.00
Interest	300.00
TOTAL	$ 17,250.00

** Amount expectable:	
Churches	$ 2,000.00
New South	4,000.00
Honoraria	700.00
Board Members	700.00
Interest	500.00
Sale of Literature	1,000.00
Small Foundations	700.00
Labor Organizations	7,000.00
TOTAL	$ 16,600.00

January 18, 1956

Balance on Hand January 1, 1956		4,245.48
January, 1956 - [redacted] Gen. Duke Grant		7,000.00
Total available Jan - Dec, 1956		11,245.48

Disbursements to June 30, 1956

Salaries	4,850.00	
S.S. Tax Expense	97.00	
Books & Subs.	231.60	
Office Supplies	75.24	
Office Equipment	477.53 or 208.10	
Total Disbursements 6/30/56		5,731.37
		5,461.94
Balance available to Dec. 30, 1956		5,514.11
		5,783.54
Salaries to Dec 30, 1956	4,850.00	
S.S. Tax expense	81.00	
	4,931.00	4,931.00
Balance available for Other expenses to Dec. 30, 1956		583.11
		852.54

January 1956 - Dec. 31, 1956 11,245.48

allocated for Salaries $9,700.00 - ———

Salaries 1/1/56 - 6/30/56

Managing Editor	2,500.00	
Research asst. 1/2	1,000.00	
Clerk	1,350.00	4,850.00

4850.00

Balance available for Salaries July 1 - Dec. 31/56 1,545.00

Total available for Other Expenses

Other Expenses:

Books & Subscriptions	231.60	
Office Supplies	75.24	
Office Equipment	208.10 ~~or 411.53~~	
Social Security Tax Expense	97.00	
	881.37	
	97.00	

Balance of S.S. to Dec. 31, 1956 81.00

81.00
2.25
83.25

75.00
37.50
112.50

77.50
62.50
62.00
125.00
37.50
1397.50

1075.00
52.14
103.50
155.64

275.00
81.00
103.50

February 25, 1956

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

I greatly enjoyed our conversation on Friday of last week, and I'm glad at long last to have made your acquaintance.

If at any time we can supply advice or information which will assist the Foundation, I hope you will call on us.

Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

June 5, 1956

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

Thank you for your pleasant letter of May 29th, returning the memorandum on the proposed Housing Study. I quite understand your feeling and that of your Board Members about the project.

Although the idea was not a feasible one, I am glad that it provided an occasion for me to talk with you again. I enjoyed our conversation and appreciate your seeing me on such short notice.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 29, 1956

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your call the other day and the various bits of information you passed on to me. I have had an opportunity to talk informally with Members of the Board about the little memorandum you left on the Proposed Housing Study Project. The Members of the Board were very much interested but are of the opinion at this time that the housing problem is one that is too big for this Foundation. We are already involved in a great variety of projects and it seems better not to spread any wider at this time. I am returning the memorandum thinking that you may have use for it elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

(Enc.)

June 25, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. H. C. Fleming

FROM: Florence B. Irving

The only written report submitted to you previously covered the period from September 12 to December 14, 1955. I am indicating herein activities of the research office for the six months between December 15, 1955 and June 15, 1956.

Routine tasks have included the clipping of periodicals, classifying and filing of these clips, the filing of materials, and the cataloguing and filing of pamphlets. Ten papers and at least seven magazines have been clipped regularly, while there is the occasional clipping of others. We also file a number of clippings which are sent into the office from various states and keep the entire issue of at least a half dozen publications. Though there is little duplication in the clippings, the volume on hand for 1956 is already equal to all of those filed for 1955. This is apparently due to the prevalence of race in the news and more extensive clipping.

At the time of the last report the pamphlets had been partially catalogued by subject matter. We have now catalogued more than 1500 titles by subject and cross-indexed these according to author. Our pamphlets, exceeding 1500 since there are sometimes two copies of a single issue, are contained in 60 metal pamphlet files and on some shelves of a bookcase.

The lack of shelving and storage space will soon present a problem. Shelves for the pamphlets have been frequently discussed, but are not yet built. One and one-half drawers in file cabinets are available for the filing of clippings and there is a similar amount of space for materials. Most of the available space for clippings will be used in 1956. There is no floor space for additional files.

The other physical needs which are most pressing for the research office are

a thorough cleaning (including window washing, scrubbing and waxing of floor, painting of walls) and a floor fan (there is no surface available for any other type).

A large volume of the informational requests made by outsiders have been handled by the research office. These demands have come primarily by letter, but there are also phone calls and personal visits. Our heaviest volume of letter requests came during February and March. Those desiring information included students, teachers, Y's, church organizations, civic and human relations groups. In some instances our publications or the materials we have for distribution met the needs of these people; in other instances summaries were drawn from our files. I would estimate that approximately 200 letter and personal requests have been answered in the present period.

There is also the servicing of persons in the office other than yourself. Mr. Routh and Mrs. Tilly average several requests per week, while those from Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Constable are irregular. In addition to making files available, we have gathered information for our special researchers (Mrs. Price, Mr. Anthony).

Several lists have been compiled or kept current. These include reports on pro-segregation activity, economic pressure, desegregation in public schools, desegregating colleges, pro-segregation groups, open recreation facilities, Negro councilmen.

Upon the request of Mr. John Hope we drew together information on each of the states that consultants have visitied and supplied them with briefing statements for their conferences. Usually clippings and other materials were sent along with the statements. We occasionally fill other requests for Mr. Hope.

In March, April, and a portion of May a great deal of time was allotted to our survey on desegregation. At least 200 cases of integration (exclusive of elementary and secondary schools) were found in our files. A dozen local persons

were interviewed and some 150 letters and 200 questionnaires were sent out. There was better than a 50% response to the questionnaires. About 25% of the letters were answered, but only half of these contained useful information. We are continuing to record cases of desegregation for subsequent addition to the report.

In view of the progress in pamphlet cataloguing and the completion of the desegregation survey, the research office can now assist in the voting study or proceed with other major projects.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

July 6, 1956

GSM--

Here is an extensive rough draft toward a report for Sophie Theis. I have made no effort to suggest a final, wrap-up paragraph, mainly because I don't know what, if anything, we should say. Do with this as you will.

HCF

~~CURRENT~~ STATUS OF THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION GRANT

June 30, 1956

Balance, January 1, 1956				$ 4,245.48
Additional Grant, January, 1956				7,000.00
Total available, January 1-December 31, 1956				$11,245.48
Disbursements, January 1, 1956 to June 30, 1956				
Salaries:				
Managing Editor	$ 2,500.00			
Research Assistant (1/2)	1,000.00			
Clerk	1,350.00			
Total Salaries		$ 4,850.00		
Social Security Tax Expense		97.00		
Books and Subscriptions		231.60		
Office Supplies		75.24		
Office Equipment		208.10		
Total disbursements, June 30, 1956			$ 5,461.94	
Proposed, July 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956				
Salaries:				
Managing Editor	$ 2,500.00			
Research Assistant (1/2)	1,125.00			
Clerk	1,425.00			
Total Salaries		$ 5,050.00		
Social Security Tax Expense		85.00		
Books and Subscriptions		200.00		
Office Equipment		100.00		
Office Supplies		100.00		
Communications		150.00		
Miscellaneous		98.54		
Total, July 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956			5,783.54	
				$11,245.48

~~July 12, 1956~~

CURRENT STATUS OF THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION GRANT

June 30, 1956

Balance, January 1, 1956	$ 4,245.48
Additional Grant, January, 1956	7,000.00
Total available, January 1 - December 31, 1956	$11,245.48

Disbursements, January 1, 1956 to June 30, 1956

Salaries	$ 4,850.00	
S. S. Tax Expense	97.00	
Books and Subscriptions	231.60	
Office Supplies	75.24	
Office Equipment	208.10	$5,461.94

~~Salaries~~, July 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

~~Salaries~~				
Managing Editor	2,500.00			
1/2Research Assistant	~~1,000.00~~	1,125.00		
Clerk	~~1,350.00~~	1,425.00		
S. S. Tax Expense	~~81.00~~	85.00	4,931.00	10,392.94

Balance available for other expenses from July 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956 $ 852.54

RHA - Suggest following breakdown, subject GSM's approval:

Salary increases		
Research Asst	(250 annually)	125.00
Clerk	(150 ")	75.00
		200.00
Books + Subs		100.00
Ofc Equip		100.00
Ofc Supplies		100.00
		650.00
Communications		150.00
		800.00
Misc		52.14
		852.14

Copy to HCF

July 17, 1956

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

I never feel that I do enough to keep the Doris Duke Foundation informed of the usefulness of its grant to the Southern Regional Council for an Information Service.

Here is some narrative and a report taken from our auditor's figures on expenditures thus far, and the proposed rate of expenditure during the remainder of this calendar year:

The end of June, midyear 1956, seemed to us an appropriate time to give you some further account of the information activities made possible by the Doris Duke Foundation's aid.

The first six months of this year were a critical time in the South, and perhaps the busiest period in the Southern Regional Council's history. The existence of a well developed reference and information unit within the Council was a priceless asset in meeting the demands upon us constructively.

Our reference files, under the management of Miss Florence Irving, have a wealth of newspaper clippings, periodicals, and research materials, carefully indexed, and in constant use. Clippings added so far in 1956 already exceed in volume the total intake for 1955. More than 1500 pamphlets are catalogued and cross-indexed by title and author. Our other materials files have been enriched by a steady flow of documents and reports from our affiliated state organizations.

Advantaged by this repository of current information, our staff members have served a large proportion of the wave of newsmen and magazine writers that has recently inundated the South; have provided sound consultation and advice to agencies on their policies and programs; have briefed our quota of foreign visitors; and have given substance to New South and other SRC publications. Following are some of the highlights:

New York Times Survey

In the late winter and early spring, the New York Times assigned a dozen of its top reporters to the South. The result was a special supplement which comprehensively reviewed race relations in the Southern states. We were able to assist this influential assessment, both in the initial planning stages and in the fact-finding period. Without a well armed and manned information service, we should have forfeited a large part of this opportunity.

Other Major Publications

During the past six months, major treatments of the South have appeared in such publications as Life, Collier's, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Time, Newsweek, The Reporter, and on the wires of the Associated Press and United Press. We have made our files and our staff available to the writers for these and other periodicals, at a time when sound reporting was of the essence. We have also been called upon to assist the television news bureaus of the major networks.

Mail Requests

Every working day brings inquiries from students, teachers, church organizations, YM and YWCA's, civic and human relations groups. We have responded with the called-for letters, materials, and summaries from our files. A number of running lists are kept current, such as records of desegregation in public schools, colleges, recreation facilities, election of Negroes to public office, instances of economic pressure, and the like.

Assistance to Other SRC Programs

The whole of SRC's operation is informed and aided by its information facilities. Professional staff are frequently called on to make speeches and prepare articles, some of them for important audiences; clearly the reference files are essential to their filling these assignments effectively.

Under the direction of Mr. John Hope II, of Fisk University, a team of social scientists, mostly Negro, make their special knowledge and skills available to the state organizations affiliated with SRC. These consultants are briefed in advance of state visits by the research assistant, so that they may be of maximum assistance to state boards and staffs.

The printing of New South has been, in large measure, subsidized by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation. But in content and editorial preparation, it has rested mainly on the personnel and information flow assisted by the Doris Duke Foundation. Thus the voice of the interracial movement in the South has spoken with added effectiveness during the difficult months just passed.

A recent grant from the Fund for the Republic has made possible a special fact-finding effort. The grant enables us to employ part-time the talents of university people and others for field investigation. Projects are underway in the fields of suffrage, industrialization, pro-segregation activities, and desegregation experiences. Yet while the special grant provides fees for the collection of such facts, it does not strengthen our central staff, which must analyze the data and prepare such reports and publications as are indicated. For this, again, we are dependent on the information unit within the Council made possible by the Doris Duke Foundation grant.

Status of the Doris Duke Foundation Grant - June 30, 1956

Balance, January 1, 1956				$ 4,245.48
Additional Grant, January, 1956				7,000.00
Total available, January 1-December 31, 1956				$11,245.48
Disbursements, January 1, 1956 to June 30, 1956				
Salaries:				
Managing Editor	$2,500.00			
Research Assistant (½)	1,000.00			
Clerk	1,350.00			
Total Salaries		$ 4,850.00		
Social Security Tax Expense		97.00		
Books and Subscriptions		231.60		
Office Supplies		75.24		
Office Equipment		208.10		
Total disbursements, June 30, 1956			$5,461.94	

Proposed, July 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

Salaries:				
Managing Editor	$2,500.00			
Research Assistant (½)	1,125.00			
Clerk	1,425.00			
Total Salaries		$ 5,050.00		
Social Security Tax Expense		85.00		
Books and Subscriptions		200.00		
Office Equipment		100.00		
Office Supplies		100.00		
Communications		150.00		
Miscellaneous		98.54		
Total, July 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956			$5,783.54	
				$11,245.48

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED AUG 3 1956

August 1, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me the report on the activities of the Southern Regional Council. I found it informative and interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

December 10, 1956

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

This little bit of forehandedness would have been quite impossible without our special fact-gathering service which the Doris Duke Foundation so generously helped.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. "Summary of Events Leading up to Montgomery, Ala. Bus Ruling"

A REPORT TO THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
from the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 13, 1957

In 1954 the Southern Regional Council requested assistance from the Doris Duke Foundation to make possible an enlarged and systematic program of information services, interpretation of research findings, and permanent reference files. In November, 1954, the Foundation made a grant of $10,000 for this purpose. A second grant of $7,000 was made in January, 1956. These grants have been of invaluable aid to the Council in meeting the heavy demands upon it during this period of heightened tension and change in the South. Following is a summary account of what has been accomplished during 1956. A financial report is also attached.

Personnel

During March, 1955, a young Southern newspaperman, John Constable, was appointed to the SRC staff as editorial assistant with particular responsibility for the SRC magazine, New South. This addition to the staff made possible expansion of the hard-pressed information program and provided the time and talent necessary for the production of an effective publication. Following Harold Fleming's appointment as Executive Director of the Council, Mr. Constable was recently named Director of Information.

In September, 1955, SRC acquired the services of Miss Florence Irving as Research Assistant. Miss Irving, who taught at A & T College, Greensboro, North Carolina, for five years, was well trained for the task of reorganizing, and maintaining the considerable body of reference materials collected by SRC over a number of years. This done, she has proceeded to establish a permanent and growing research office which, constantly augmented, serves as the nerve center of the entire SRC operation. One-half of Miss Irving's salary has been paid from the Doris Duke Foundation grant. From this same source, a salary was possible for an information clerk who worked with Miss Irving until recently.

This significant increase in central office staff has made possible an expansion of the amount and quality of the information services performed.

The Research Office

For a number of years SRC has collected newspaper clippings, pamphlets, and similar materials dealing with race relations in the South. As the Council expanded and state affiliates were established, the influx of information items was considerably increased. However, the value of these materials was greatly reduced since it was not possible to keep them in an orderly fashion. Beginning in 1955, Miss Florence Irving was able to catalogue, cross-index, and file this substantial amount of material and to process reference materials as they are received. There is a current intake of approximately 500 clippings per month from ten newspapers and seven magazines received by SRC, plus clippings, reports,

and similar materials sent from state offices and other interested sources. To date some 2,000 pamphlets have been filed, indexed and cross-indexed. These files and reference materials now serve as the information and memory functions for all SRC activity.

The research office compiles background material for the state affiliates as it is needed. This material -- pertaining to bus desegregation, interracial sports programs, the orderly entrance of Negro students into state universities, etc. -- provides a background for similar action in other states and communities. The various SRC consultants look to the research office for briefings on states or communities served -- their background, previous interracial activities, leaders, resistance activity -- prior to going into the area. In short, it has been possible to build an efficient information service which is in constant demand for staff and program efforts.

Mail Inquiries

At the rate of approximately 60 per month, SRC receives requests for information from students, educators, ministers, newsmen, and other community leaders interested in the Southern scene. These inquiries range from "term-paper" requests to requests for documentary evidence of the workability of integration. While still a very distinct minority, there is a growing number of Southerners -- ministers, teachers, city officials -- who know the right and moral course and who desire to act accordingly. But to do so these individuals need information. Thus SRC considers this service of arming opinion-makers with the facts as a vital part of its program.

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During 1956 SRC received a grant from the Fund for the Republic for a special fact-finding program. These funds made it possible to carry out special projects involving fact-finding and research talent beyond the limits of the staff. These fact-finding projects were possible because of the fundamental work which was being accomplished by the routine SRC information and research activities.

Under this grant, by way of example, SRC undertook a survey of instances of integration in the South following the Supreme Court decision of 1954. The book, Integration North and South, showing more than 1,100 instances of successful integration in the South, was the result of this study. This publication has received wide national and southern attention and has been invaluable in giving a positive tone to the Southern movement toward a desegregated society. It would have been impossible to carry out this survey in the time allotted without the background material collected and catalogued by the information staff. In the same manner studies have been made of Negro suffrage, pro-segregation organizations, Southern industrialization, and labor and race relations.

News Media Services

Interpreting the racial picture to the South and to the nation is an indispensable part of the Council's work. Only in this way can informed public opinion be brought to bear on this issue. During 1956, drawing on the background

materials and the cumulative knowledge of the information staff, SRC has served Southern and national news media. In addition to Southern newspapers, they include the Saturday Evening Post, The Christian Science Monitor, the Wall Street Journal, the Associated Press, Life, U. S. News and World Report, New Statesman and Nation, Time, Look, Newsweek, Collier's, The Reporter, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, NBC Television News, Ed Murrow's "See It Now," and the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

In addition to responding to specific requests for information, SRC frequently compiles background or newsworthy information for use by the press. A recent example of this service was the Council's report of its survey showing that 21 Southern cities had quietly ended segregation on their municipal transit systems. This information received considerable space in national and Southern news media at a time when incidents of violence in Montgomery and elsewhere were dominating the headlines. SRC newsclippings and transportation reports first revealed these 21 cities.

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During 1956 SRC has been called on to supply information and advice to a number of other agencies interested in race relations in the South. These include requests from the World Council of Churches, AFL-CIO, the American Jewish Congress, YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Committee of the South, American Friends Service Committee, and the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian social action agencies.

A measure of this role is the fact that in January, 1957, 24 social action agencies, meeting in Atlanta, requested that SRC serve as a clearing house of joint field activities in the South.

Foreign Visitors Program

During 1956, at the rate of six to ten a month, the SRC was host to visitors from 21 countries. These visitors -- newsmen, government officials, students -- travel under State Department and private fellowships or exchange programs. Briefing these persons who have access to world opinion is considered an integral part of the SRC program, with vital international implications. Their inquiries could hardly be met without the facilities which, uniquely, SRC affords.

New South

A basic part of the information program is the publishing of the monthly magazine, New South. The Marshall Field Foundation made a three-year grant for the printing of the magazine beginning in 1955. These funds have been applied only on the cost of printing and distributing the publication. Funds from the Doris Duke Foundation have been used to provide content and editorial skill in the preparation of the magazine. The salary of the New South editor has been met from Doris Duke Foundation funds and the entire information and

research operation, which the Doris Duke Foundation made possible, has served as the basis on which an effective and accurate magazine could be issued. This improvement is reflected somewhat in subscriptions to the magazine, which have increased by approximately 40 per cent during the last 18 months.

Summary

During 1956, with the aid of the Doris Duke Foundation grant, SRC has been able to establish a functioning information unit. This unit, compiling, cataloging, and disseminating information, is indispensable in the current effort to build a more democratic South. By its effectiveness the information unit has become not only the underpinning of all SRC activity, but has enabled us to serve other Southerners, foreign visitors, the major news media of the country, and the other social action agencies interested in the welfare of the South. For having made these actions possible, the Southern Regional Council is deeply grateful to the Doris Duke Foundation.

Financial Report - Doris Duke Foundation

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Clerk	1,350.00			
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Total Salaries		$4,973.06		
Social Security Tax Expense		82.17		
Books and Subscriptions		103.65		
Office Supplies		98.01		
Office Equipment		23.66		
Communication		139.70		
Total disbursements, December 31, 1956			$5,420.25	$10,882.19
Balance, January 1, 1957				$ 363.29

cc: Mr. John Weiss of request
Fund for the advancement of Ed.

February 14, 1957

AIR MAIL

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
Secretary
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

December 31st having marked the end of the Doris Duke Foundation's assistance to our information service, we thought you should have a rather detailed report of the activities which this aid has made possible.

We are a little later than we would wish to be in sending the enclosed report, but we have been undergoing a transition within the Council that has absorbed much of the staff's time and energy. As you may know, Dr. Mitchell has recently retired as Executive Director and the Council has done me the honor of naming me to succeed him. Although we shall sorely miss Dr. Mitchell's leadership, we expect the work of the Council to continue unabated -- in fact, on an expanded basis if possible. I am not sure the enclosed report fully conveys our sense of the importance of the work which the Doris Duke Foundation's grants have made possible. One measure is the fact that these functions have become an integral part of the Council's operation and there is no thought of abandoning them if we can possibly avoid it.

Please accept our deepest appreciation to you and to the Board of the Foundation for this invaluable assistance. I hope that I may have the opportunity to talk with you again on some early visit to New York.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.
"South of Promise"

A REPORT TO THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
from the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 13, 1957

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Communication		139.70		
Total disbursements, December 31, 1956			$5,420.25	$10,882.19
Balance, January 1, 1957				$ 363.29

PH to see
H.

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

February 18, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the detailed report on the use of The Doris Duke Foundation's grants for the Council's enlarged and systematic program of information, interpretation of research findings etc.

I read the report with considerable interest and hope to be able to give a brief summary of it at our next meeting of the Board.

Congratulations to you on your appointment and congratulations to the Southern Regional Council for being able to have your services.

Sincerely yours,

Sophie Van S. Theis

Sophie Van S. Theis

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

March 21, 1957

Miss Sophie Van S. Theis
Secretary
The Doris Duke Foundation
Forty-One East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Theis:

I enjoyed our conversation a few weeks ago. Since my return to Atlanta, I have raised some of the questions which we discussed with Mrs. M. E. Tilly of our staff. She has some ideas on ways of meeting the needs of church people in the lower South which, I think, are worthy of serious consideration.

Mrs. Tilly is to be in New York on Monday and Tuesday, April 8th and 9th. Would it be possible for her to see you on one of these days? If you can arrange an appointment for her, we will both be grateful.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

April 4, 1957

Mrs. May E. McFarland
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. McFarland:

Thank you for your letter informing me that Miss Theis is away from the office.

Your assumption that Mrs. Tilly wished to discuss a proposed appeal is entirely correct, and we will follow your suggestion.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 27, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to acknowledge your letter to Miss Theis asking for an appointment for Mrs. Tilly of your staff. Miss Theis is away from the office and the date of her return is uncertain.

I presume Mrs. Tilly is desirous of discussing a proposed appeal. May I suggest that the request be sent in and it will be presented for review.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	PAID		Southern Regional Council, Inc.	4/10/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

WE WERE PROFOUNDLY SORRY TO LEARN TODAY OF MISS THEIS'S DEATH. PLEASE CONVEY OUR HEARTFELT SYMPATHY TO HER FAMILY AND TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE FOUNDATION.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

From St. Louis Post-Dispatch
New York Times

MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1957.

SOPHIE THEIS, 70, ADOPTION EXPERT

Former Official of State Aid Association Dies—Served Doris Duke Foundation

Von Behr

Miss Sophie van Senden Theis

Miss Sophie van Senden Theis, who served for forty-five years with the Child Adoption Committee of the State Charities Aid Association, died Saturday evening of cancer at her home, 358 West Twenty-second Street. She was 70 years old.

Miss Theis had been executive secretary of the Child Adoption Committee for thirty-six years until her retirement in 1952. At that time she became executive secretary and treasurer of the Doris Duke Foundation, which makes grants for social welfare work.

During her long career with the development of child-care services, Miss Theis was instrumental in strengthening the position of adoption in relation to the total child welfare program.

Joining the Child Adoption Committee after her graduation from Vassar College in 1907, she was primarily concerned with finding homes for dependent and abandoned children. In doing this she spent much time informing her fellow workers and the public of the needs of children if they were to become productive citizens.

In 1939 Miss Theis helped to organize and served as secretary for the New York City Committee on Child Welfare, set up by the State Charities Aid Association. She had served on several occasions as an adviser in child welfare for public and private agencies here and in other countries.

Aided Serbian Group

Miss Theis spent several months during 1923 in Yugoslavia with the Serbian Committee on Child Welfare. Six years later, under the auspices of the Southwest Social Service Institute of Dallas, she conducted a series of institutes in Texas.

"How Foster Children Turn Out," which Miss Theis wrote in 1924, became widely used as a basic textbook. Ten years ago, in collaboration with Frances Lockridge, she wrote "Adopting a Child."

Miss Theis frequently initiated public information programs on aspects of child adoption and allowed the use of the Child Adoption Committee as a training center for workers from other agencies. In 1947 she received an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from Russell Sage College.

Upon her retirement in 1952, Miss Theis was made an honorary vice chairman of the Child Adoption Committee.

She is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Ruth Kahler and Mrs. Martin Muller, and two brothers, Otto and Henry.

April 15, 1957

Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is a proposal which we hope and believe the Doris Duke Foundation will regard as an important opportunity.

As you will see, the grant requested will not in any way be applied to the operating budget of the Southern Regional Council. The Council will merely be the instrumentality for a much needed service to religious groups in the deep South.

We shall be grateful to the Foundation for its consideration of this project on its merits.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

April 15, 1957

MEMORANDUM

A Proposal to the Doris Duke Foundation from the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council asks the Doris Duke Foundation to consider a one-year grant of $5,000 to make possible a program of special assistance to church people in five deep South states. The funds would be used to pay modest stipends and travel expenses for a dedicated, able, and respected churchwoman in each of the five states, these persons to bring leadership and inspiration to other churchwomen, ministers, and religious lay leaders in the communities within their states.

We wish to emphasize at the outset that this grant would in no way assist the general operating budget of the Southern Regional Council. The Council simply happens to be an appropriate instrument through which this needed service to religious forces in the deep South can be financed and administered. The Council has traditionally exerted great care to respect the autonomy of church groups with which it has worked over the years, and similarly in this instance would avoid giving any heavily organizational cast to these services.

We are fortunate in having on our staff, as Director of Women's Work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, whose name and work will be familiar to the Foundation. Mrs. Tilly is a Methodist churchwoman, widely known and respected in the South for her work with church people of the several faiths and denominations on behalf of human rights. She has consistently worked within the established religious channels to bring purpose and effectiveness to the religious conscience that operates so powerfully among Southern people. The program here proposed is based on Mrs. Tilly's perception of the special need in these five states and would be directed by her.

The unique role of churchwomen in advancing recognition of equal human dignity in the South has long since been demonstrated and accepted. It has been evident since the early 'twenties through the work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and more renently the Fellowship of the Concerned, an informal association of churchwomen serviced by the Southern Regional Council.

Today more than ever before, the leavening influence of courageous, deeply motivated churchwomen is needed within the religious life of the South. Our region is faced with a tremendous challenge -- to redefine the status of its Negro citizens as required by the Supreme Court's segregation decisions. Unfortunately, in the deep South particularly, outmoded but powerful political systems, deep-seated prejudices, and traditional economic patterns have combined to prevent the emergance of moderate leadership on this question. Even within the churches, these negative forces, reinforced by strong

pressures, have stunted the positive local leadership that normally is to be expected on a moral issue of this kind. A relatively small group of courageous ministers and laymen and a larger group of dedicated churchwomen represent the hope of the churches in meeting this crisis of conscience. These women, because of their devotion to this work and their relative freedom from the practical pressures which affect the men in our society, play a vital part in interpreting the moral questions to their congregations and to the community at large.

Through Mrs. Tilly's work, the Southern Regional Council has sought to strengthen and assist the churchwomen's leadership. Two Southwide meetings of selected leaders, representing the three faiths and the various denominations, have been brought together for inspiration and planning. These regional meetings have been followed by state meetings to carry the determination and planning achieved to the working level. What is needed now is follow-up, community by community, by a skilled and accepted person in each of the states. As indefatigable as Mrs. Tilly has shown herself to be, such a task obviously far exceeds the time and physical resources of any one person.

Hence the present proposal to make possible the part-time program services of a well qualified churchwoman in Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana. In each of these states there is one or more persons eminently suitable to carry on this function. In South Carolina, for example, Mrs. Tilly can secure the services of a former president of the United Church Women of the state and former president of the state Parent-Teachers Association. Such a person would bring influence and dignity as well

as guidance to those local church groups which request her help. The women who would carry on the work in the other four states are of comparable stature and ability.

The proposed budget for this program well illustrates the amount of devotion which would be put into the work. The $5,000 requested would be applied at $1,000 per state for a period of one year. Of this amount, $50 per month would represent compensation for the consultant, and the remaining $400 per year would be applied to travel expenses. Neither of these budgetary designations should be considered in its ordinary usage. The remuneration of $50 per month would actually represent the cost of twice-a-week maid service for each of the women who would be away from home a great deal. The $400 travel allowance would be used for the most modest and immediate travel needs, such as bus and train fare, seldom representing overnight lodging, meals, and the other more costly expenses. No allocation is requested for Georgia, since Mrs. Tilly and several voluntary helpers are now carrying out these functions in that state, financed by the Southern Regional Council.

We earnestly believe that there are few opportunities to secure so much devoted and productive effort at so modest a cost. When one considers the critical problems facing the South and the large role in their solutions that religious forces must ultimately play, it is hard to conceive of a better investment of $5,000.

We greatly hope that the Doris Duke Foundation will enable the Southern Regional Council to render this service.

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

April 26, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In behalf of the Board of Directors of The Doris Duke Foundation I wish to thank you for your expression of sympathy on the death of Miss Sophie Theis who has done so much for social welfare.

Sincerely yours,

Wilburt C. Davison

Wilburt C. Davison, M.D.
Vice-President
The Doris Duke Foundation

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

May 13, 1957

Mrs. Leta MacDonald
The Doris Duke Foundation
41 East Fifty-Seventh Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. MacDonald:

Thank you for your cordial note informing me that our latest request to the Doris Duke Foundation could not be favorably considered at this time.

We continue to be grateful for the Foundation's past assistance to the work of the Council and hope that some aspect of our program may, in the future, again merit its support.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED MAY [illegible]

May 6, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At a recent meeting of the Foundation careful consideration was given to the request of the Southern Regional Council "to make possible a program of special assistance to church people in five deep South states." I am sorry to write you it was the thinking of the Committee that this appeal does not come within the area of programs on which the Foundation is concentrating.

The Foundation appreciates the work of the Council and is glad to have had a share in helping with some of the projects.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Leta MacDonald

(Mrs.) Leta MacDonald

Mr. H. C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

File

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 3, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of February 26th and the Annual Report of the Southern Regional Council. Thank you very much for sending this.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

(Mrs.) May E. McFarland

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 30, 1963

Mrs. May E. McFarland, Secretary
The Doris Duke Foundation, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. McFarland:

This is to place before the Doris Duke Foundation a proposal for support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's work in behalf of better human relations in the South has had your long and valued interest and we hope that you may be able to give this request your consideration.

The Council is confronted this year with a financial problem that has stricken many other institutions as well. We have received generous -- sometimes even unsolicited -- grants for special projects. The basic structure of the Council, which supports these projects, with program as well as with administration, is, however, inadequately financed.

As you may note, for example, from page 3 of our 1963 budget (enclosed), our Voter Education Project alone has more funds than has our central operations; I might add that the size of the Voter Education Project is now substantially larger even than the budgeted figure. Three-fourths or more of these funds go directly to the support of the voter registration efforts of Negro organizations, and all the funds aid these efforts.

To all of its programs, the Council brings skilled staff and a reservoir of experience built through years of work in the South. This has yielded the public confidence which makes possible the effectiveness that our special projects and our general programs now have. In the present climactic days of the southern civil rights struggle, these assets are needed more than ever.

Our general operations budget supports this base, as well as -- with rare exceptions -- all our publications, our research and information services, and our field consultation services. It includes, in other words, the information services to which you contributed so generously in 1956.

Our prospects for 1963 are that income for general operations will be $15,000 - $20,000 below the budgeted requirement of $178,481. We are hoping that you may be in a position to assist us this year in meeting this deficit.

We are enclosing several exhibits. If you should require additional information in order to reach a decision, please let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

MJ - pls make sure
Ford Foundation
is not on any
Jour mailing lists
or complimentary
New South

Not on
New South
nor
Research Lists
9/10/63
MMJ

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION
41 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1963

File

September 11, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of August 30th, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am sorry to write you the Foundation is already heavily committed to various activities.

Sincerely yours,

May E. McFarland

May E. McFarland

Mr. L.W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Foundations - Duke

GSM--

Here are a few notes on information activities which you might draw on in writing the Doris Duke Foundation.

(1) Our information files have been greatly improved, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ all the while in heavy use. Florence Irving reports a now-catalogued pamphlet collection of 1500 titles, to say nothing of the incorporation of several hundred clippings a month into the clip files. (See Florence's memo to me, attached, as of general interest.)

(2) A good account of Florence's trip to Duke in her memo.

(3) Major service to the press and others following the Supreme Court's recreation ruling of November 7. We extracted from our files precedents of desegregated golf courses and other recreational facilities in Southern cities. This dope made available to:

Mayor of Atlanta
Atlanta Constitution
Associated Press
United Press

(4) Other as istance to TIME, and to Lee Nichols, preparing UP series on desegregated schools on Southern military bases.

(5) Research assistant is processing information requests at the rate of about 60 per month from teachers, students, community leaders, organizations. (See Florence's memo.)

(60) Preparation of roundups on interracial advisory committees, communities desegregating schools, displaced parsons, church statements, etc., for use of staff members or ~~xxxxxxx~~ other agencies.

(7) Assembling of experts on Southern housing for edification of the research director of the Committee on Race and Housing.

(8) Detailed advice on film script dealing with school desegregation in St. Louis -- a major film project financed by the F. for R.

(9) Steady distillation and editing of most useful information for presentation in NEW SOUTH.

(10) Preparation of major article on ~~xxxix~~ Southern resistance movements for THE ANNALS' special edition on segregation.

(11) Even our enemies praise us. From Augusta Courier of October 31:

> The council's research staff and those who prepare the propaganda are highly skilled, well educated people who are armed with huge sums of money to effectuate the programs in Georgia and other Southern states. Their work is well under way and excellently coordinated.

May the Doris Duke Foundation help keep us armed with the (more accurately) modest sums we have had!

HCF

Miss Sophie Van S. Thies
Secretary
Doris Duke Foundation
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

(1)

Dear Miss Van Thies:

The Southern Regional Council wishes to propose to the Doris Duke Foundation a project helpful in this time of transition in theSouth.

Early in May of this year, with funds made available by the Fund for the Republic, our Council served as convener (merely) of a select gathering of Southern people who explored, painstakingly, the various things that the group cast up as helpful at this juncture in Southern life. I enclose a copy of the report of the Williamsburg meeting. (Incidentally, not a public document.)

If you will turn to pages eight and nine, you will see there, described under Item C, a first rough proposal of an information service. It is this project as it has grown in subsequent discussions which we would like to lay before the Doris Duke Foundation.

Rewrite

Since the beginning of the Council in 1944 and in the days of the old Interracial Commission before it, this office has performed an important function in interpreting the South to people influential in national opinion. I instance in passing the impressive total of hours and days given to the stream of foreign visitors brought over in recent years by the State Department and other agencies. Many of them make a bee-line for this office, and here get laid out for them the geography and history and status of matters racial in the South. Far more important is what we do with reporters and journalists and book writers. The New York Times, Herald Tribune, the Christian Science Monitor, Time magazine, Newsweek, the people at Harpers, the National Press Wire Services, as well as Southern newspaper men, stop by here or telephone expensively long distance many times in each year for summaries of the matters of special interest to the Council. By ill luck, too many of these publications -- and of others similarly interested -- send in a succession of young fellows but newly

immersed in the South and needing literally days of educating on what it is all about. This steady drum beat of inquiry rises to peaks whenever there is some special news about the South, and we ~~will be~~ are swamped for weeks with answering inquiries for the news media.

Because we have kept in harness a few people who could answer these inquiries, we have been thus useful. But the organization has been too small to carry this load without neglecting other things that it should be doing.

What we are able to do in this regard, and it is quite important, is backdropped by what we have been able to do in the way of keeping in our files a miscellany of news and facts from all over the South. To be specific, that is the part-time services of one girl with scissors and subscriptions to eight or ten Southern papers (white and Negro) and a green filing cabinet. There is never time to bring the clip files into order ahead of an emergency. What happens is that the devil breaks loose in "Squeekunk" and everybody is after the Southern Regional Council with reference to the situation in "Squeekunk." If there is a good deal in the files, that is luck. If there isn't, we get on the phone and call trustworthy people in and near "Squeekunk" and piece together a passable picture of what is going on. Unsystematic, less accurate than it should be, and haphazard. Our informational files should be neatly ordered, greatly enlarged, ~~and~~ constantly reviewed and, of course, indexed to reveal the greatly important trends which are in them unperceived.

SRC's Information Function

Since the beginning of the Council in 1944, and in the days of the old Interracial Commission before it, this office has performed an important function in interpreting the South to individuals and groups that are influential in public opinion. This information function is in heavy demand by the following broad categories:

(1) Foreign visitors. We have given an impressive sum total of hours and days to the stream of foreign visitors brought over in recent years by the State Department and other agencies. Many of these visitors make a bee-line for this office, and here get accurately laid out for them the geography, history, and current status of matters racial in the South.

(2) News media. Newspaper men, magazine writers, radio and television programmers turn to the Council for authentic backgrounding in Southern race relations. Correspondents of the New York Times, Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Time, Newsweek, Harper's, the press wire services, as well as Southern newspaper men stop by here or telephone long distance many times in each year for briefing on matters within the Council's field of interest. By ill luck, too many of these and other publications send in a succession of young fellows but newly immersed in the South and needing literally days of educating on what it is all about. This steady drum beat of inquiry rises to peaks whenever there is some special news about the South, and we are swamped for weeks with inquiries from the news media.

(3) Private and public agencies. Governmental, religious, labor, and civic organizations whose activities touch on the Southern racial scene frequently call on the Council for information and advice on which they can plan their programs soundly.

Because we have kept in harness a few people who could answer these inquiries, we have been thus useful. But the organization has been too small to carry this load without neglecting other things that it should be doing.

Informational Files

What the Council has been able to do in the information field is backdropped by what it is able to maintain on file as a running record of developments all over the South. Specifically, that consists of the part-time services of a girl with scissors and subscriptions to eight or ten Southern papers (white and Negro), unpublicized information collected in the course of routine travel and correspondence, and material culled from such periodicals and professional literature as come our way. However, There has been neither time nor staff to do the needed job of gathering, digesting, and ordering this storehouse of news and fact about the Region. The informational files should be greatly enlarged, thoroughly systematized, and continuously processed to reveal the significant trends which are in them unperceived.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Fortunately, we are about to be armed with a greatly expanded engine of fact-gathering about the South. The grant from the Fund for the Republic, described in the attached release, goes mainly into establishing in each of twelve Southern states (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky) paid staff under a volunteer citizen's organization. Obviously, as these organized movements get going in the states (nearly all of them around October 1, 1954) they will have their programs in action in each state and can yield up to this office, centrally, an inclusive and delicately adjustable

flow of fact and policy trend. Not so fortunately, we are armed with no means of bringing together and digesting this ~~information~~ invaluable flow of information. The Fund for the Republic was willing to stake us to the necessary money for assisting state programs for three years, and much less than the bare minimum of money for coordinating that work from the central office. Specifically, we have an (extremely able) man, Harold Fleming, as Assistant Director for Information and Research; and one girl sociologist to cut and file the clippings, read the current releases, dig into the Census, and cast up on hurried demand the ~~xxxxxx~~ facts that must be had. And Fleming has to be in touch with the press and the magazines, take some of the load of working with the state people, and put in a great deal of policy thinking.

"RESEARCH INTERPRETATION"

~~Then~~ There is another whole phase of the job that is, perforce, allowed to go by the board. That is what we call research interpretation. The Southern Regional Council has no ambition to become an engine of original research. We think that should be done by universities and other ~~individual~~ independent bodies, but it is sad to see the research files not yielding to the Coundil and to the South the needed essence. The truth is that until very recently indeed, the great bulk of research ~~time~~ in the field of inter-group relations has been done in Northern and Western places. The situations and the findings are cousins to what we have here, and with a little interpretation could be made quite useful within the South. This Council has a special knack of putting the highly academic language of outside research findings into the homely phrases which make it meaningful across the South. We would like to grow substantially in that service.

There is another aspect of the same thing. Our state action programs now a'borning will encounter, by the score and the hundreds, situations a solution to which could be furthered if existing research knowledge were available to them; and will turn up new situations the answers to which could be worked out quite helpfully by research people presently available in Southern colleges and universities. So, there should be modest staff in this office

equipped with a knowledge of the leading research in this field, + an understanding of the techniques and the personalities involved in the various institutions whose services would be available; and piecing together from our own and other on-going action programs ~~in the situation/ of things appearing here and there in such a way as~~ to ~~make a~~ the trends, as to which trends research within the South should be launched. Ideally, such a program would be quite large; ~~Ideally,~~ we should have three or four highly skilled people and a principal social scientist, reading what is available already and what comes up currently, rewriting it for Southern use, and ~~xxx~~ singling out, in cooperation with our own field people, the new thinking as to which inquiries should be begun. That is a dream, and we would propose something much more modest.

NEW SOUTH

This combined service of information and interpretation, sketchily performed as it has been in the past, has a convenient organ in our small monthly magazine, New South. We use that to bring the South abreast of what is going on within it. The daily and weekly press in the South do a poor job of informing the region of change in the field of race relations. When there is ~~an operation~~ something up, there is a spot of news. But you won't find a Nashville paper or a Dallas paper, or a Birmingham paper persistently observing and recounting the development of a movement in Greensboro, the attitudes and community relations behind it, the mounting series of events over a run of months. That is a job which we do. And experience has shown us that it is this kind of analytical informing which leads ~~the~~ communities to copy what is done somewhere else. Southern towns hold back from being the first. ~~They are copy cats.~~ If we can show them that a thing right to do has been done in ~~seven~~ four towns and has been accepted, then town number ~~eight~~ five takes hold and acts in the same way. I could cite instance after instance in matters of police administration, the conduct of courts of law, the handling of Negro news in the daily press, elections or appointment of Negro citizens to local office, etc. New South is as yet no great shakes circulation-wise. We print ~~four or~~ forty-five hundred copies of each issue. But it goes to all the leading papers in

PROPOSED ASSISTANCE
TO S-R-C - Info Service

Soil Scientist	$6500.00
Clerical Assistance	6000.00
Materials, books, periodicals	500.00
Travel + Communications	2000.00
ANNUAL TOTAL	15000.00
THREE-YEAR TOTAL	45,000.00

the South and to a choice 2,000 or 3,000 people who carry the conscience of the region on these matters, and it makes a dent. We will be requiring those who ~~become members of~~ join our re-organized state movements to become, also, subscribers to New South. So we hope its subscription list will grow to ~~eight~~ six or ~~ten~~ even ten thousand within a year of so. Thus it ~~becomes~~ an ~~organ,~~ established organ, ~~and~~ with a reputation for accuracy and sobriety, will be reaching just those people across the South who are interested in getting change accomplished.

A project of providing the Council with minimum service in information and interpretation could be a compact and separable unit within the Southern Regional Council. We would be glad to undertake that the method of filing should be worked out in cooperation with someone in one of the great university libraries in the South. And we would further undertake that, in the event of the disbandment of the Southern Regional Council in any unhappy circumstances not now anticipated, the entire collection would be turned over as a ready organized body of fact to the chosen university. We know that the library at Duke University has a particular interest in material of this kind from over the South. And with ~~the Foundation's~~ your agreement, we would be happy to covenant that that library should be the ultimate repository of that collected material. Indeed such a long-range purpose could be furthered and safeguarded by giving the collection a distinctive name within the Southern Regional Council.

BB

The truth is the Council can hardly accomplish its proper task without the advantage of a service of this kind. ~~And~~ With ~~which~~ it we could feel secure of contributing ~~[illegible]~~ soundly, reasonably, and accurately, to the growth within the South of ~~Northern~~ modern attitudes on ~~the~~ the questions of special interest to the Southern Regional Council.

As to what the service would cost, here is a budget.

~~HCF (see over)~~

~~GTH (see over)~~

~~KS (see over)~~ (See next page)

Insert #1 (page 2)

Specifically, we have an extremely able man, Harold Fleming, as Assistant Director for Information and research; and one girl sociologist with scissors and subscriptions to eight or ten Southern papers (white and Negro) who cuts and files clippings, reads the current releases, digs into the Census, and ~~digs~~ gets up on hurried demand the facts that must be had. Fleming has to be in touch with the press and magazines, take some load of working with the state people, and put in a great deal of time on policy thinking.

Insert II

SUMMARY:

This proposal will provide three distinct services to the Southern area:

1) It will meet the current pressing need for an information service which will gather, correlate, interpret, and disseminate a running account ~~news~~ of events taking place in the South.

2) It will provide for the interpretation of research findings in the field of social relations which is important to the peacful transition from a segregated system to an unsegregated one.

3) It will establish a permanent file of information at a Southern University which will be of inestimable value to scholares, action agencies, and newspaper people.

Cont'd next sheet.

Grant #2

SUMMARY: ~~This proposal will provide three distinct services to the Southern area.~~

~~1) There is a current pressing need~~ for an information service which will gather, correlate, interpret, and disseminate news of events taking place in the South. 2) The interpretation of research findings in social relations is important to the peaceful transition from a segregated system to an unsegregated one. 3) A permanent file of information at a Southern University will be of inestimable value to scholars, action agencies, and newspaper people.

Areas to be covered by such a service would ~~include~~ be: Important among the the administration of justice, police practices, housing, health, education, employment opportunities, labor union practices, governmental participation, and the attitudes and practices of church groups and other voluntary organizations on matters of race.

No group or organization is better set up to organize this proposed service than the Southern Regional Council with its long and respected record of work and publishing in the field of race relations and Southern progress.

The Doris Duke Foundation can make a real contribution to the furtherence of democratic practices in the South at this critical time of transition when the mores of the South are changing and where we seek social transition without social disorganization.

Sincerely

~~Respectfully submitted,~~

George S. Mitchell
Exec. Director.

8/28
dictated 8/26

INSERT BB * DORIS DUKE LTR

The question will arise whether this proposed service duplicates the work of the office recently established at Nashville, Tennessee with assistance from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, to assist Southern newspapers to do a more adequate job of reporting developments in the special field of the public schools and the compliance with the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation.

We are in touch with that effort and will be a recipient of its materials. It is working out a relationship with research people in order that the news as gathered by them may be carried into the research needs of scholars. That is, specifically and narrowly, an undertaking in the field of the public schools in the South as matters of race relate to them. Our proposal wouldn't duplicate what they are doing, but would be additional to that effort and much more broader shaped. We would be collecting the flow of fact on many fronts: in housing; in the administration of justice; in matters of health; in the growth of employment opportunities for minority groups; ~~[illegible]~~; cultural achievements; police practices; access to health and hospital facilities; the steady broadening of governmental participation by minorities within the ~~[illegible]~~ South; the attitudes and practices of Churches and voluntary associations in general on matters of race; etc. These are the questions to which attention will be addressed if and after the present special interest in public school matters wanes. And we would like to be prepared to serve in these fields strengthened by an interpreted run of presently proceeding action.

F. Y. I. → PA ✓
JC ✓
FBR —
EFV ✓
File

FARFIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
SUITE 1206
37 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

JULIUS FLEISCHMANN, PRESIDENT
ROBERT K. STRAUS, SEC'Y-TREAS.

November 6, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have received your letter of November 4th with the material on the Southern Regional Council's work in receiving and informing foreign visitors.

Your request for a grant will be presented to the Board of Directors of the Farfield Foundation at their next meeting, which will probably be in January. As I said in our discussion, it is not likely that we will be able to depart from our regular program in order to make a grant for this purpose; however, you may be assured that your request will receive thorough consideration.

With my best regards,

Sincerely yours,

John Thompson

John Thompson
Executive Director

JT:vm

Mr. Fulder

November 4, 1957

Mr. John Thompson
Executive Secretary
The Farfield Foundation
37 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Thompson:

It was very kind of you to see me on short notice when I was in New York week before last. I'm taking advantage of your willingness to have a letter from me describing our work with foreign visitors, present and prospective, and listing some of the recent visitors we have had.

The Southern Regional Council has received an increasing flow of foreign visitors during the past several years, particularly since the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation in May of 1954. This was only natural in view of the attention, at home and abroad, focused on Southern race relations in the wake of the decision. Visitors from Asia and Africa have had a particularly acute interest in the way in which the United States is measuring up to its democratic principles at home. They as well as Europeans have wanted to visit the South, where the redefinition of the Negro's status has had the greatest impact.

In planning the itineraries of these visitors, the State Department, the Governmental Affairs Institute, and similar public and private agencies have looked to the Southern Regional Council as an information center and clearing house for these visitors travelling through the region. The Council has unique advantages in this respect. As a body of white and Negro Southerners working together for progress in race relations, it affords a unique example

of positive interracial effort in the South.

The Council's professional staff is equipped to give emissaries from other lands a detailed and balanced picture of developments within the South, the historical background against which they must be seen, and future propsects. The Council's reference files, maps, publications, and other materials provide as much documentation as a visitor may wish -- and often that is a great deal. The fact that the Council has affiliated interracial organizations in the various Southern states makes it possible to refer visitors to informed and sympathetic persons in whatever part of the region they may wish to visit.

On their return home, not only the newspapermen but often those of other professions write up their observations and reactions for publication in newspapers and magazines. Thus their findings and opinions may influence the views of many thousands of their fellow countrymen. We have been gratified by the fact that many of them communicate with the Council after they leave this country. We have had from many of them requests for more information on specific aspects of Southern race relations.

In order that the diversity and range of foreign visitors may be clearly seen, we are attaching a list of those received since January 1, 1957. It may be noted how many of these individuals are influential leaders and opinion makers in their native countries. They include government officials, newspaper editors, labor leaders, and businessmen.

Also attached is a recent report of the various program activities which the Council carries on. These, particularly the information functions, are the underpinning of the foreign visitor program. Through them, we are able to provide the information that is so eargerly sought, and also to demonstrate the constructive efforts and developments which get such regrettably small play in the international press.

In carrying on this activity, we face a serious dilemma. We feel very keenly the importance of giving foreign visitors a mature and balanced experience in the South. At the same time, other demands within the Council have greatly increased as the strains of racial tension and controversy have grown. The problem is how to give the proper amount of time and professional attention to the servicing of foreign visitors without unduly diverting from the program activities of the organization. To this end, we should like to request of the Farfield Foundation a grant of $5,000 for the year 1958. A grant in this amount would enable us to do the following:

(1) Through being at least partially compensated for the professional staff time involved, we can in good conscience give

more of our time and effort to the scheduling and briefing of foreign visitors.

(2) We would be able to draw on knowledgeable persons in the community who could assist with hospitality, transportation, and introduction to community institutions. These persons would give their time without charge, but need compensation for legitimate expenses incurred.

(3) In addition to supplying visitors with materials while they are here, we should be able to institute follow-up mailings periodically to the list of influential foreigners who have visited the South. For example, material giving proper interpretation to the Little Rock developments could do much to off-set the negative publicity this episode has received throughout the world. Further such episodes, unfortunately, are bound to take place. Here is a chance, through private rather than governmental channels, to build understanding among opinion makers in other countries. The fact that the Southern Regional Council is made up of Southerners of both races would give such information and interpretation a unique value.

I greatly appreciate your interest and earnestly hope that the Farfield Foundation will feel that this effort to increase international good will is worthy of its support. I shall look forward eagerly to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures. List of foreign visitors since January 1, 1957
Selection of Letters concerning Foreign Visitor Program
South of Promise
(see additional encls. over)

Encls. for Mr. John Thompson
Executive Secretary
The Farfield Foundation
37 West 57th Street
New York, New York

1. List of Foreign Visitors received since January 1, 1957; with Synopsis.
2. Semi-Annual Report - January 1- June 30, 1957 for SRC
3. Selected ltrs. regarding foreign visitors serviced by SRC.
4. Ltr. of Tax Exemption - Treasury Department

December 31, 1957

Mr. John Thompson
Executive Director
Farfield Foundation, Inc.
37 West 57th Street
Suite 1206
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Thompson:

You may not have seen the enclosed New York Times story, as it appeared on Christmas day. Since it gives major attention to our work with foreign visitors, I thought you should have several copies.

I'm sorry I missed you when I was in New York recently, but that's what I get for picking so unlikely a time to be there.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: 5 copies of New York Times Reprint - December 25, 1957

VIA AIR MAIL

January 6, 1958

Mr. John Thompson
Executive Director
Farfield Foundation, Inc.
37 West 57th Street
Suite 1206
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 17. While we are sorry your Board did not feel it could assist our work with foreign visitors at this time, I am most grateful to you for seeing that our proposal was considered and for your words of encouragement.

I am adding your name to our mailing list for our monthly publication New South and I will give you a report from time to time on the progress of our foreign visitor program.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FARFIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
SUITE 1206
37 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

JULIUS FLEISCHMANN, PRESIDENT
ROBERT K. STRAUS, SEC'Y-TREAS.

December 27, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The request of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for aid in its program of receiving and informing foreign visitors was considered by the Board of Directors of the Farfield Foundation, Inc., at their recent meeting. I regret to say the decision was that this foundation cannot make a grant to aid in your work.

Our commitments and projects at the present time make it impossible to expand our grants beyond the support of a group of other organizations which are active in promoting international cultural relations.

I want to thank you, nevertheless, for bringing your work to our attention. It was a privilege to hear your account of the job you are doing. Since we cannot be of assistance now, my good wishes are bound to have a rather hollow ring, but I do want to tell you of the great respect I have for your accomplishments and plans.

If you can do so without placing a burden on yourself, you might keep me informed of any developments in your division that deals with foreign visitors. I am afraid it will not be possible for this foundation to aid there in the visible future, but there is always a slight chance that new developments will bring changes in our program.

With my best regards,

Sincerely yours,

John Thompson

John Thompson
Executive Director

JT:vm